Sport for Development and Peace: Gender as the Missing Link

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Abstract

Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) is a growing sector within the field of international development and peacebuilding. Historically, however, sport is a male-dominated pursuit. This essay explores the transformation of gender within Sport for Development and Peace programs located in Low and Middle Income Countries, finding that girls’ participation in sport requires the providing organization to adopt a rights-based approach, secure public spaces, and create female leadership positions. This essay argues that these three critical factors, essential to girls’ inclusion in sport, challenge traditional normative behavior, and thus engender a transformation of gender within SDP organizations. It then questions if theoretically internal transformations will impact the wider-community, as challenges to gender equality seen within SDP programs mirror those that hinder the evolution of a more gender-equitable society.
“I have a job that combines my passions for football, justice and gender equity, and that allows me to describe myself as a feminist footballer—becoming more of a feminist and less of a footballer with age.” – Sarah Forde
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### Abbreviations and Acronyms

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women</td>
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<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Aid – United Kingdom</td>
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<td>GAD</td>
<td>Gender and Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus</td>
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<tr>
<td>IGA</td>
<td>Income Generating Activity</td>
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<td>IT</td>
<td>Internet and Technology</td>
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<td>IWG</td>
<td>International Working Group on Women and Sport</td>
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<td>IYSPE</td>
<td>International Year of Sport and Physical Education</td>
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<td>LMICs</td>
<td>Low and Middle Income Countries</td>
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<td>MDGs</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<td>M&amp;E</td>
<td>Monitoring and Evaluation</td>
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<td>MTG</td>
<td>Moving the Goalposts</td>
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<td>MYSA</td>
<td>Mathare Youth Sports Association</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
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<td>SDP</td>
<td>Sport for Development and Peace</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
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<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
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<td>VAP</td>
<td>Vijani Amana Pomoja: Youth Together in Peace</td>
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<td>WID</td>
<td>Women in Development</td>
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<td>WIS</td>
<td>Women in Sport</td>
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<td>WSD</td>
<td>Women Sport and Development</td>
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Introduction

Sport for Development and Peace

The field of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) recently emerged as an official sector of international development and peacebuilding, with academics, politicians and community development professionals advocating that sport's inherent health and social benefits are an “untapped resource for social development and international community building.”¹ This paper analyzes the transformation of gender within gender-sensitive and gender-based SDP programs in Low-Middle Income Countries (LMICs).

For the purposes of this paper, sport will be defined to include organized team-based activity and unstructured play. Professor Fred Coalter explains two different approaches of delivering SDP programs that recently developed: the more commonly found, ‘Sport Plus’, meaning programs that primarily focus on the development aspect of sport, but often attach an educational curricula; or alternatively, ‘Plus Sport' programs that prioritize social and economic issues, utilizing sport as a method for mobilizing participants and as a teaching tool.² The ubiquitous themes of social inclusion and gender are applied within the educational subjects such as HIV/AIDS and malaria prevention, smart sexual health, leadership training, conflict resolution techniques, and Income Generating Activities (IGAs). Over-arching goals include improving the

participants’ self-esteem, enhancing mental and physical health, and providing an opportunity to move beyond economic hardship.

SDP’s community focus and accessible programming (including: low operating expenses, adaptability to location and social inclusivity), garnered support from the United Nations (UN), which stated that SDP “holds considerable promise as a social justice and development strategy”. In 2001, a mandate of the Special Advisor to the UN Secretary-General on SDP was established, leading to numerous conferences and workshops under the SDP theme. Subsequently, the UN declared 2005 the International Year for Sport and Physical Education (IYSPE) confirming their backing for sport within development and peace work:

The world of sports presents a natural partnership for the United Nations system. By its very nature sport is about participation. It is about inclusion and citizenship. Sport brings individuals and communities together, highlighting commonalities and bridging cultural or ethnic divides. Sport provides a form to learn skills such as discipline, confidence and leadership and it teaches core principles such as tolerance, cooperation and respect. Sport teaches the value of effort and how to manage victory, as well as defeat. When these positive aspects of sport are emphasized, sport becomes a powerful vehicle through which the United Nations can work towards achieving its goals.

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4 ibid. Hayhurst, p. 533.

The UN's strong endorsement for SDP encouraged a proliferation of SDP programs, particularly within what the World Bank labels as low income or low-middle income countries. As Levermore and Beacom note, the majority of SDP programs were launched after the year 2000 with 52% operating in Sub-Saharan Africa. This revealed the rising consensus that “orthodox 'development' initiatives ha[d] failed to deliver their objectives” and that sport programs offer an innovative and flexible option to deliver development and peacebuilding objectives without expensive infrastructure and top-down bureaucracy. As the UN shifted to prioritize cultural and social issues along with economic growth, opportunities for new collaboration between Multi-National Corporations (MNCs) linking Football Clubs to government aid to NGOs commenced. With support from a variety of stakeholders, sport was confirmed as a targeted means to advance poverty eradication and a powerful tool to achieve the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) created in 2000 by the UN Millennium Summit to bring global attention to poverty eradication.

### The Challenges of Goals, Growth and Neocolonialism

The promise in applying sport as a tool for peace is controversially questioned. Sport is not a panacea to solve global imbalances and must be used as one pedagogical style within a wider curriculum. Support and funding from organizations such as the United Nations (UN), the United States Agency for

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8 ibid. p 1.
International Development (USAID) and the Department for International Development – United Kingdom (DFID) brought SDP into the forefront of development and peace initiatives. However, along with this publicity, the United Nations International Working Group suggested that SDP programs are a capable means of achieving the eight MDGs, thereby placing unsubstantiated, lofty expectations on mainly small, grassroots organizations.

The SDP field is young and extensive, resulting in few best practices to share, limited tool kits and novice Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E). Organizations like the International Platform for Sport and Development (SportandDev.org) are creating a pathway to unify stakeholders within the field, but variances among projects such as size, stage of establishment, geography, and language, hinder synergy. Moreover, in a recent publication, academics Hayhurst et al question the legitimacy of an internet-based platform in reaching all stakeholders as technological access in wealthier nations surpasses that within LMICs.

The breadth and rapid emersion of the field leaves researchers with little knowledge as to how many programs exist or the extent of their impact. Furthermore, the holistic approach of SDP, which includes collaboration with complementary organizations, may impede data collection. As Hayhurst and Donnelly note, “the effects and impacts of sport for development projects cannot always be quantified” and furthermore, conclusions cannot be

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extrapolated from the M&E of the larger project. The reasons above appear to prevent researchers from drawing substantial conclusions beyond anecdotal evidence. As a result, comparisons to quantitative research on youth and sport from Western nations is publicized as a promising reality, but researchers Hayhurst, Meier, and Saveedra independently agree that new and innovative research must be done outside the United States.

The ambitious hopes placed on SDP by top-down entities and the challenge in data collection, however, is not as controversial as the historical link between sport and colonialism. Sport is a social construction that in 19th century England evolved from an elitist recreational pursuit to a universal leisure activity. This modern structure of community focused, team-based sport includes simple, ubiquitous rules, which promote social congregation and the following of basic protocol; a tool used to create social order during England's transition to democracy and within colonial nations. Professor Giulianotti acknowledges sport’s transformation to a commonly enjoyed activity within recent history, but highlights the underlining precarious power imbalance that is sport’s legacy coupled with modern day Western-dominated professional

sports. He critically questions whether SDP programs, commonly funded by economically top-tiered nations, are an extension of that inequality which could fall under neocolonialist ideology. Concurrently, sociologist Donnelly questions if Western stakeholders are weaving a “knowing what is best” neoliberal strategy into grassroots community development and peace projects.

Neoliberalism is a term that reflects the economic policies of the world’s leading nations and the World Bank. These policies are based on capitalism and include free trade, open markets, privatization, and improving the private sector. Levermore argues that sports ability to “transform, or give the perception of transformation, of backward societies into more modern, civilized and unified ones” combined with goals of strengthening physical infrastructure, creating a stronger social and economic environment by reducing poverty, and encouraging the escalation of business, all align with neoliberal ideology. In his opinion, the capacity-building agenda found within community level SDP programs reveals a neoliberal affiliation. However, Levermore also notes that advocates of neoliberal and modernization theory, including academics and development entities, have not embraced the SDP field.

Because of sport's history, one cannot argue that SDP is entirely free of neocolonial legacy. However, it can be argued that in the modern world consisting of rapid communication and cross-cultural sharing, team-based sport

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21 ibid. p.37.
can have both a historical presence in colonialism, a modern interpretation determined by the respective participating culture, and a mutually-respectful relationship between the Western and non-Western stakeholders. Conflict Resolution academics Woodhouse, Ramsbotham and Miall label the current (2005-present) conflict resolution generation as cosmopolitan\(^{22}\), highlighting that globalization and modern communication tools are resources for conflict resolution practitioners, of which SDP coaches and volunteers can be included.

**Gender and Feminist Theory**

In addressing gender within SDP, however, neo-colonial criticism and neoliberal theory is trivialized by feminist theory. Young argues that gender discrimination in sport is a repercussion of social exclusion through structural discrimination. The essential understanding of her analysis is in how:

> the rules, relations, and their material consequences produce privileges for some people that underlie an interest in their maintenance at the same time that they limit the options of others, cause relative deprivations in their lives, or render them vulnerable to domination and exploitation.\(^{23}\)

For example, Hunt explains that in the year 2000 “women constituted 70% of the worlds poor and [held] only 10% of parliamentary positions around the


world, whilst receiving 73% of male wages."\(^{24}\) The respective histories of sport and development include hegemonic motives and power structures that maintain gender discrimination and inequality. Paradoxically gender-based and gender-inclusive SDP programs focus on social inclusion, targeting girls and women. As such, sports neocolonial legacy of female exclusion and the neoliberal development theory which sidelines women's interests for short-term economic gain,\(^{25}\) become not only disparaged, but a motivation for SDP programs to "disrup[t] current distributions of power" in order to shift power to girls and women.\(^{26}\)

Brady argues that the benefits girls receive by participating within a SDP program far outweigh the risks.\(^{27}\) This research expounds on Brady's argument, analyzing and reflecting upon the inception and transformation of gender-sensitive and gender-based sports programs in LMICs. It produces a critical synthesis of principally secondary literature to examine how gender can be more seriously engaged in the theory and practice of SDP, but in addition, original field and case study research is used to provide evidence to support this analysis.

The first chapter begins with a literature review, and then defines gender, contextualizing its role within the framework of development and the history of sport. Further, it highlights the establishment of SDP programs and the natural gender transformation that ensued, which accounts for gender (equality and

\(^{24}\) op. cit. Levermore, R. and Beacom, M. p. 41.
\(^{25}\) op. cit. Young, I. On Female Body Experience: “Throwing Like a Girl” and Other Essays, p. 23.
\(^{26}\) op. cit. Saavedra, M. p. 130.
\(^{27}\) op. cit. Brady, M. p. 16.
equity) as a major pillar of current SDP practice.

The second chapter introduces case studies and analyzes the transformation of gender within these highlighted programs. Topics such as social inclusion, safe spaces, and traditional gender roles are defined and discussed by comparing programs' strategies of mobilizing and organizing players, and the programs benefits and awards systems (both abstract and tangible). The leadership structures and gender breakdown between the governing bodies are also reviewed. Finally, attention is drawn to various approaches applied to encourage parental and community involvement, as well as an examination of the outcomes of these initiatives.

Chapter three analyzes the case studies within the context of gender theory, comparing the gender transformations among the three examples and then examining them within a wider context of development and peacebuilding theory. It draws from the case studies that girls' participation in sport requires the providing organization to adopt a rights-based approach, secure safe public spaces, and provide female role models.

This essay concludes arguing that these three critical factors, essential to girls' inclusion in sport, challenge traditional normative behavior, and thus prompt a transformation of gender within SDP organizations. It then questions if theoretically internal transformations will impact the wider-community, as challenges to gender equality seen within SDP programs mirror those that hinder the evolution of a more gender-equitable society.
Chapter One

Literature Review

This literature review will briefly highlight the arguments and discussions from within a nexus of academic disciplines that have led to current debate within SDP theory. The first is the history of women and sport. Most, if not all, authors agree that historical documentation of women in sport is neglected.282930 Bandya’s recent article, From women and sport to gender and sport: Transnational, transdisciplinary and intersectional perspectives, exposes this glaring gap and suggests that gender inequality developed because of the binary system of social organization. This system allowed for the social exclusion of women in sport and thus within history. Bandya concludes by highlighting the juxtaposition of women in sport, past and present, revealing that in the 21st century women are visibly challenging gender stereotypes by participating in sport and consequently they are re-writing their place in history.31

Gender experienced vast transformation during the 20th century, coinciding with changes within feminist theory. In recent history, feminist theorists like Toril Moi scrutinized the relevance of gender as a concept within feminism. She

argues in *What is a Woman?* that the concept of the 'lived body' is paramount because it does not hold the same limitations as "constructivist" gender, but reflects "the physical body acting and experiencing in a specific socio-cultural context." In *Lived Body versus Gender*, Young appreciates Moi's argument but does not reach the same conclusion, suggesting instead that "suppression occurs through systemic processes and social structures" which require different words and concepts. Saavedra finds both arguments valuable, but in the context of sport and gender, relies on Young's reflection of the need to articulate that gendered social structures and institutions still determine gender inequality.

Nancy Theberge and Susan Cahn note that women's athletic participation led to a "resulting sense of gender disorder" and challenged the idea of power within society. It is here that the discussion breaks from the internal debate among feminist scholars and begins to include sociological examination. In 1982 Jennifer Hargreaves adopted a cultural studies perspective in her edition of *Sport, Culture and Ideology*, analytically undermining the orthodox writings that focused on Marxist proclivity and reflected capitalist society. Hargreaves created a critical point of change in sports sociology as she argued against the

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34 op. cit. Young, I. “Lived body versus gender” p. 102
principal ideology that focused on dominance and subordination in sport.\textsuperscript{38} This advancement altered sociological research that previously failed to “grasp the relevance of sport to sexual politics.”\textsuperscript{39} Rosemary Deem harshly criticized John Hargreaves, John Clarke and Chas Critcher for marginalizing gender within sport sociology,\textsuperscript{40} and in \textit{Sporting Females}, Jennifer Hargreaves countered arguments that sidelined gender by “applying the concept of hegemony specifically to male leadership and domination of sports” and exposing the paradoxical character that female athletes must play.\textsuperscript{41}

Jennifer Hargreaves’ efforts led to gender and sport becoming a mainstream debate. For example, Susan Birrell’s essay \textit{Feminist Theories for Sports}, revealed that feminist theory moved past the boundaries of sociology and into a post-structuralist approach. It alerts the reader to the fact that feminist theory is an openly political tool with a goal of social action and change, particularly in sport.\textsuperscript{42} In Social History and Sport, Nancy Struna highlights this change:

\begin{quote}
The recent literature in sport history can be read as a primer on social history writ large. Physical spaces and places, traditions, demography, community building, the construction of social categories and discourses, social structures and structuring and more, constitute research interests that cross scholars’ national and political interests.\textsuperscript{43}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{38} ibid. pp 52.
\textsuperscript{39} ibid. pp 54.
\textsuperscript{40} ibid. pp 54.
\textsuperscript{41} ibid. pp 55.
The writings of Hargreaves influenced academics and researchers such as Martha Saavedra, Martha Brady and Marianne Meier to look further into the Sport for Development and Peace field, placing much emphasis on the history of women in sport and the role of women within society. In *Letting Girls Play: The Mathare Youth Sports Association’s Football Program for Girls*, Brady and Arjmand Banu Khan exposed the challenges the Mathare Youth Sports Association faced when including girls. Brady built on that report and additional research from an SDP program in Egypt to write *Creating Safe Spaces and Building Social Assets for Young Women in the Developing World*, which highlighted the vital importance of safe spaces needed for adolescent girls to participate in sport and noted the positive outcomes of their involvement. That same year Meier wrote *Gender Equity, Sport and Development* and endorsed sport as a tool for gender transformation. Saavedra added to Meier’s efforts with a chapter on sport, published in *A Companion to Gender Studies*, which champions SDP’s ability to empower girls and to challenge normative gender behavior.

Adding to the gender analysis of SDP, The International Working Group, in collaboration with Right To Play, published *Harnessing the Power of Sport for Development and Peace: Recommendations to Governments and Literature Reviews on Sport for Development and Peace*. Both reports comprehensively explain the development and strengths of the dominant themes within SDP, such as health, child development, gender, disability, and peacebuilding. The document concludes with topic-specific recommendations for organizations and government policy, but also leads the reader to believe that sport is a
development and peacebuilding cure-all.

In an indirect response, Richard Giulianotti criticized SDP as a neocolonialist effort in a glorified form, arguing that there is an inherent power imbalance within sport and that culture and local relations must be emphasized.\(^{44}\) Hayhurst et al further question the neoliberal agenda in *Navigating neoliberal networks: Transnational internet platforms in sport for development and peace* by looking at the internet platform SportandDev.org, and asking whether this platform unifies the field or discriminates against LMICs. This neoliberal framework is critiqued through a gender lens by Donnelly et al in *Sport for Development and Peace: A public sociology perspective*, which questions SDP’s use as a just tool for challenging gender norms when NGO workers and researchers of Western backgrounds impose Western gender ideology. In *Corporatising Sport, Gender and Development: Postcolonial IR feminisms, transnational private governance and global corporate social engagement*, Lindsay Hayhurst continues this argument through a post-colonial feminist framework, questioning the social and economic impact of said programs. Brady responds to these critiques by stating that in terms of gender equality and women’s empowerment, SDP programs are more beneficial than harmful.\(^{45}\)

The mere fact that these arguments are taking place within a public platform highlights the advancements in women’s inclusion in sport. This is further seen within the 2009 anthology of *Sport and International Development* by Roger

\(^{44}\) op. cit. Giulianotti, R. pp. 207-228.

\(^{45}\) op. cit. Brady, M. pp. 15-35.
Levermore and Aaron Beacom. As Simon Darnell and David Black note in *Mainstreaming Sport into International Development Studies*, Levermore and Beacom recognize that development strategies at-large are failing and acknowledge the unification between sport and development as a potential solution.\(^{46}\) Produced with the intent to mainstream SDP within development literature, the book includes a significant chapter about gender written by Saavedra. Darnell, Black and Bruce Kidd\(^{47}\) accept that a plausible symbiotic relationship between development and sport is taking place, however, they question the extent of SDP as a vehicle for development and call for further investigation.\(^{48}\) SDP reaches beyond development theory and into the conflict resolution arena with a chapter in Ramsbothom, Woodhouse and Miall's latest version of *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: the prevention, management and transformation of deadly conflicts*, as well as in various other articles on reconciliation and peacebuilding.

Due to the fact that “the world of sport remains profoundly gendered, with practices and experiences marked and bounded by sex and sexuality,”\(^{49}\) a gendered analysis of SDP programs can be explored through an array of academic subjects. What is essential to note within these texts is the extensive gender transformation that occurred in sport within recent history, and the relationship between SDP and the feminist agenda. The new stage in SDP and gender literature, however, is focusing on voices from participants and


\(^{48}\) op. cit. Darnell, S.C. and Black, D. p. 376.

\(^{49}\) op. cit. Saavedra, M. p. 125
stakeholders within LMIC’s which is evident in books such in Sarah Forde’s book Playing By Their Rules: Coastal Teenage Girls in Kenya on Life, Love and Football. This new perspective ensures important voices are heard, which is important for program development, breaking gender and cultural stereotypes, and for shaping the field outside the Western liberal feminist post-colonial framework.

Defining Gender

The term gender evolved prodigiously during the 20th century from a confining biological reference focused on an individual’s male or female sex, to a broader definition that includes the social construction of being a man or woman and “the system of social practices” that accompany this distinction. The social influences that created gender differentiation and stratification, convinced academics such as Wharton and Smith-Lovin to label gender an evolving term that requires a working definition. Risman builds on this idea, classifying gender as a multi-layered phenomenon that includes “a system of practices that are far-reaching, interlocked, and that exist independently of individuals.” Iris Marion Young and Martha Saavedra describe gender within three structures: a sexual division of labor, normative heterosexuality and gendered hierarchies of power; all three of which are “historically and spatially specific

54 op. cit. Young, I. “Lived Body Verses Gender.” pp. 102-112.
and condition the actions and consciousness of individual persons, shaping and
constraining their choices, opportunities, and resources."\textsuperscript{56} This essay will use
the term gender in reference to the aforementioned structural and social
distinctions that are continuously developing.

The importance in framing research from a gender perspective lies in the fact
that "gender identity may be among the most influential in shaping the
standards people hold for themselves."\textsuperscript{57} Gender is also one of the largest
human classifications, as masculine or feminine traits are manifested by how
people present themselves and in how they expect to be received. As a result
of gender's role in human classification, a "gendered institution" developed
whereby "gender is present in the processes, images and ideologies, and
distributions of power in the various sectors of social life."\textsuperscript{58}

Even though gender does not solely refer to women, gender studies tend to
focus on the weaker positioned group within the social strata, which within the
topic of sport is girls and women. Referring to Anderson's research on
masculinity, gender segregation, and sport, this essay will engage with the
socio-feminist theory of masculinity that maintains, "gender is produced through
a complex interaction of institutional power, organizational culture, and
individual agency."\textsuperscript{59} As such, this essay focuses on the gendered institution of
community sport and the gender transformation engendered within SDP

\textsuperscript{56} ibid. p. 126.
\textsuperscript{57} op. cit. Wharton, A. p. 9.
\textsuperscript{58} ibid. p. 65.
\textsuperscript{59} Anderson, E. "I used to think women were weak: Orthodox masculinity, gender segregation and
organizations since the inception of girls’ programs. As Marini notes, analyzing alterations to gender on the microlevel within multiple programs allows for greater understanding of the larger picture.

Analysis of variation on the microlevel enables us to understand how gender differentiation and stratification condition the life experiences of women and men within a society. Individuals born into a society at a particular time come to fill gender-specific roles via processes of socialization and allocation that operate throughout life. They also internalize attitudes and beliefs, including gender stereotypes, that buttress existing gender differentiation and stratification. Because institutionalized practices and the beliefs that justify and reinforce their existence perpetuate the status quo, identifying the practices and beliefs that perpetuate gender inequality makes it possible for us to intervene to bring about change.\(^{60}\)

In order to understand the social evolution of gender within a microlevel context, the historical relationship between gender and development must be unpacked.

**The Evolution of Gender within Development and Peacebuilding**

It is only within recent history that the lack of women's voices within the public domain and gender inequalities within power structures have been recognized and legitimized as a threat to maintaining a peaceful society. In the mid-1900's, feminist peace pioneers such as Elise Boulding argued for women's participation and for gender equity within mainstream society. She suggested

\(^{60}\) op. cit. Marini, M. p. 114.
that gender inequality was a catalyst of conflict and thus gender equality could be a route towards peace.\textsuperscript{61} But other peace theorist trivialized her argument. To combat this injustice, she encouraged transformational feminism, focusing on the broader structures of violence and oppression that negatively affect both sexes.\textsuperscript{62} Esther Boserup furthered Boulding's argument in 1970 with her book Women's Role in Economic Development, which revealed the realities of social injustice that were taking place within development.\textsuperscript{63} Arguing for equality and efficiency, she articulated that due to the mechanization of agriculture and roles based on gender, wage earnings between men and women were commensurate to sex and not ability; thus, women earned less than men, resulting in inferior social status.\textsuperscript{64}

The mainstream awareness that resulted from social shifts caused by the Second World War aided peace activists and feminist such as Boulding and Boserup in their fight for gender equality. Women who worked in the public sector whilst men were at war reframed society’s previously conformist notion of gender and the capabilities of women. The combination of these efforts led to liberal feminist ideology and the 1970’s Women in Development (WID) agenda. WID drew attention to women’s issues within development work. However, it overlooked the significance of confining social and political structures that


\textsuperscript{62} ibid.

\textsuperscript{63} op. cit. Meier, M. p. 6.

metaphorically housed women.\textsuperscript{65}

The UN recognized this shift in society, declaring 1975-1985 the ‘Decade of Women’, encouraging gender-analysis in policy and research.\textsuperscript{66} In that inaugural year, the first UN Conference on Women was held in Mexico, leading to the Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and their Contribution to Development and World Peace, which highlighted women as contributing peacemakers. The 1979 General Assembly Resolution 34/180 on the Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) followed. It acknowledged that in the pursuit of global peace, women's participation in all arenas of society is necessary.

By 1980, feminist scholars criticized the WID approach claiming that it had led to a shift in “the discursive focus from the inclusion of women in development towards the transformation of gender relations as the major concern.”\textsuperscript{67} With this transformation WID became known as Gender and Development (GAD). Rai argues the GAD framework, with its “fundamental goal of emancipation” created a “confrontational approach” resulting in a lack of influence in development planning and de-politicization.\textsuperscript{68}

Despite GAD’s flaws, progress did continue. UN practitioners endorsed gender mainstreaming and gender analysis as crucial processes for developing peaceful societies. These pro-gender realizations were introduced at the Third

\textsuperscript{65} ibid. p. 29.  
\textsuperscript{66} op cit. Meier, M. p. 6.  
\textsuperscript{67} op cit. Rai, S. p. 32.  
\textsuperscript{68} ibid. p. 32.
World Conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985 and later redefined:

Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.\(^6^9\)

This legislation, however, was not implemented until the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing, where 189 countries supported gender policy, thus carving a new era for gender.\(^7^0\) Here, the importance of applying a gendered perspective to achieve gender equality and equity within society was realized. It calls for an examination of “the political, economical and social spheres to highlight the gendered nature of the structures and how the structures bring about gender inequalities”; and, it addresses various experiences boys, men, girls and women face within conflict, which assists in “providing clear guides for intervention that address their needs and concerns.”\(^7^1\)

Gender inequality continues to debilitate societies today and the fight for gender justice continues. Nevertheless, progress towards a non-discriminatory society

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is evident as a growing number of women are participating in leadership positions in all levels of the workforce, higher numbers of women are receiving formal education degrees, and gender quota systems are being implemented. Moreover, regular international conferences, publications and discussions have stemmed from WID and GAD, which continue to push the concept of gender and publicize the inequalities that continue to afflict society.\textsuperscript{72}

**Women in Sport, Penetrating a Gendered Institution**

The relationship between gender and development parallels that of gender and sport; it varies by location and it remains in a state of constant change. Moreover, until recently both faced the reoccurring issue of female-exclusion or de-prioritization. The stark difference within this, however, is that sport is an arena where “social practices that rest on beliefs or assumptions about physical possibilities...are magnified.”\textsuperscript{73} Sport and gender researcher Eric Anderson confronts the inherent sexism within sport:

> Gender institutions are always a dynamic arena of tension and struggle, but perhaps there is no other institution in which gender is more naturalized than sport...As a highly segregated, homophobic, sexist, and misogynistic gender regime, sport not only contributes to the gender order, but it also reproduces a conservative and stabilizing form of masculinity that renders considerable costs for both sexes.\textsuperscript{74}

\textsuperscript{72} op cit. Rai, S. p. 35.
\textsuperscript{74} op cit. Anderson, E. p.260.
Although sport remains a “hegemonic masculine enterprise”\textsuperscript{75} that caters to boys and men,\textsuperscript{76} recent history reveals that modern sport is becoming more socially inclusive. The inclusion of women within a male-dominated field discloses a potential paradigm shift for gender relations, one that feminist scholars wrestle with due to the basic contradictions between sport and feminist theory such as “role specialization, rationality (rules), bureaucratization (hierarchy) and quantification.”\textsuperscript{77}

A myriad of influences led to the inclusion of girls and women in sport. The political competition of the 1960's Cold War period showed nations vying for power and using athletes as proxies to do so. Ironically, this boosted funding for female participation at the Olympic level.\textsuperscript{78} This newfound support for female athletes in professional sport coupled with the growing feminist movement illuminated the gender gap within all areas of sport, and encouraged conferences, forums and academic research to be devoted to this topic. The female athlete became a centerpiece for sociological research, and debates concerning gender, sexuality, and masculinity proceeded.\textsuperscript{79}

Building on the revelation that gender is a social construct and not coextensive with the term sex,\textsuperscript{80} academics Nancy Struna, Catriona M. Parratt and Roberta J. Park argued for social inclusion within sport and proceeded to clarify the

\textsuperscript{76} op cit. Bandy, S. Gorib, G. and Jinxiac, D. pp. 667-674.
\textsuperscript{78} op cit. Bandy, S. Gorib, G. and Jinxiac, D. p. 667.
\textsuperscript{79} ibid. p. 668.
difference between gender equality and gender equity.\textsuperscript{81,82} Researchers revealed the stark reality that women were slowly being included in sport, but were considered less valuable in both economic terms and with physical performance in comparison to men.\textsuperscript{83} Talbot argues that during this period, feminist critique missed the opportunity to argue that “so-called equality does not consist merely of being free to do whatever men have done, but first to question the moral and human consequences of structures and procedures which have been created by a patriarchal society.”\textsuperscript{84} This realization contextualized the argument for gender equity, which ignited debate, but led to minimal legislative change outside of the United States.

Significant advancements took place in 1972 under the US amendment of Title IX which stated that “no person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under an education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.”\textsuperscript{85} Building on Title IX, the liberal-feminist sporting ideology developed in the 1980s, arguing for equal opportunities for women and men, based on the fact that male domination within sport is not inviolable and that women should have access to traditionally masculinized activities.\textsuperscript{86}

\textsuperscript{81} op cit. Bandya, S. Gorib, G. and Jinxiac, D. p. 668.
\textsuperscript{84} ibid. Talbot, M.
\textsuperscript{86} Hargreaves, J. Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports.
Multiple ideological veins and broad groupings of supporters divided the Feminist Sporting movement; and little changed, especially outside the United States, until the creation of the World Conference on Women and Sport, titled, *Women, Sport and the Challenge of Change*, held in Brighton, England in 1994. The Women in Sport (WIS) movement commenced in the 1990’s aiming to eliminate “all the obstacles to women’s active participation in all spheres of public and private life.”

The WIS movement, however, was and continues to be driven by elitist Western female athletes who began to alter the gendered nature of sport within their sphere. For example, the former British Sports Council, supported by the International Olympic Committee, organized the first World Conference and included only a small number of participants from the grassroots level. Even so, the Brighton Declaration and the creation of the International Working Group on Women and Sport (IWG), managed to reframe the issue of gender and sport to include and prioritize female athletes in LMICs. Yet, despite those efforts, voices from the global south continue to be infrequently heard. Both WIS and GAD advocates realized common ground in facing issues of gender inequality, and an alliance between them emerged, creating a movement called Women, Sport and Development (WSD). This act of mutual support took place

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88 ibid, Saavedra, p. 3.


in public view at the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action. Although GAD does not specifically focus on SDP projects and the WIS movement continues to focus on the development of women's sports rather than women and development through sport, there is a visible synergy taking place, especially as more advocates from LMICs become involved.\textsuperscript{91}

The past two decades revealed monumental advances, but empirical evidence demonstrates that female athletes continue to be universally subjected to varying degrees of structural and cultural discrimination.\textsuperscript{92} Despite progress, boys and men maintain a monopoly over sport and as UC Berkeley professor Martha Saavedra emphasizes, “female participation in sport still raises a series of reactions, issues and questions that are theoretically challenging, culturally revealing and programmatically pressing.”\textsuperscript{93} Paradoxically, with the rise of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) programs, the traditionally male-dominated arena of sport is becoming a pathway for girls’ empowerment and gender equality on the community level. As such, there is potential for a paradigmatic shift for the gender relations in question.

The Paradox: Gender-Sensitive and Gender-Based SDP Programs

The challenges surrounding the inclusion of girls and women within sports programs, demonstrate the social constructions of gender and the strict and complicated systems that surround the labels of woman and man. For example,

\textsuperscript{91} op. cit. Saavedra, M. 2008.
\textsuperscript{92} ibid, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{93} ibid, p. 1.
for boys, playing sport is a method by which to publicly proclaim their masculinity through aggressive behavior and leadership. On the whole boys’ participation in sport is socially encouraged and accepted. This suggests that SDP programs are purely a method to mobilize boys before adding on an educational component.

The opportunity to play on a sports team attracts girls as well, but requires female participants to step outside of their comfort zone to participate in what is projected as a masculine activity and therefore socially taboo. For various reasons many local customs tend to disparage or bar female participation, which creates a barrier to girls’ participation and a significant challenge for SDP organizers.\textsuperscript{94} For female participants sport becomes more than a method of assembly or a leisure activity; it's a tool to breakdown gender stereotypes and sensitize communities to the capabilities of girls and women.

As Saavedra notes, public displays of female athleticism can be frowned upon and lead to “moral failings of a family or community.”\textsuperscript{95} Observation to girls and women's involvement in sport encourages gender reflection and questioning on multiple levels. Adverse reactions to female participation can be disruptive to the girl, program and community, especially when her participation is assumed to contradict local customs. As such, SDP organizers must include local leadership and be aware of cultural interpretations of gender.

\textsuperscript{94} op. cit. Meier, M. pp. 8-10.
\textsuperscript{95} op. cit. Saavedra, M. 2009. p. 127
The challenge within gender-sensitive and gender-based SDP programs is creating a gender equitable environment within sport's gender-biased structure, and moreover, to break the sustained pattern of hegemony that endorses the exclusion of women participants and the discrediting of their talents by comparing them to men.\textsuperscript{96} Talbot argues that “women's participation in sport is conditional upon its continuing in segregated and less valued forms”, which is rooted in Clarke and Critcher's analysis:

Sport remains largely an area where existing gender roles are re-established and confirmed. Segregation is its ultimate form...sport at all levels converts physical differences into cultural definitions of superiority and inferiority, ensuring that women come off as second best...\textsuperscript{97}

Meier notes that within this framework, “nothing is more unjust than treating different subjects equally”.\textsuperscript{98} In 2002, the IWG highlighted the battle between gender equality and gender equity in the Montreal Tool Kit:

[G]ender equity is the principle and practice of fair and equitable allocation of resources and opportunities for females and males. Gender equity eliminates discriminatory practices that are barriers to full participation of either gender.\textsuperscript{99}

It is evident that an approach focusing on gender equality cannot combat

\textsuperscript{96} op. cit. Anderson, E. p. 261.
\textsuperscript{98} op. cit. Meier, M. p. 8.
\textsuperscript{99} Original quotation from IWG Montreal Tool Kit, found in: op. cit. Meier, M. p 8.
cultural and structural injustice and that SDP organizations must be creative and flexible to create gender equitable programs. Saavedra argues that gender-sensitive and gender-based SDP programs are confronting the traditional concept of “normal” sport and that “female involvement in sport has the power to upend what is seen/presented as ‘normal’ and become a major force to social change beyond sport by challenging gender norms.”

This chapter explored the definition of gender and its transitions within the feminist agenda, development and peacebuilding, and the history of sport. It revealed the significance and interdependence of gender’s transformation within the aforementioned sectors, which prompted the creation of gender-sensitive and gender-based SDP programs. Chapter two will explain the extent of Saavedra’s above quotation by analyzing the gender transformation that has occurred within the selected case studies since the inclusion of the female athletes.

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Chapter Two

Introduction to Case Studies

SDP program logistics and curricula depend on the organization’s main goal, its approach to gender, and the respective culture’s gender relations. There is an array of SDP programs that approach gender through various methods including, play-focused programs that keep boys and girls together; team-based programs that segregate teams by age and sex; and single sex, typically all-girls programs. Although each program experiences disparate challenges, there are significant commonalities that SDP programs face when incorporating girls.

Most notable is that for boys, SDP is a method to mobilize them within their comfort zone, whereas for girls to participate they must step out of theirs and challenge traditional gender stereotypes. The Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA) noted that including girls within their program wasn't simply about organizing a team, but “embarking on a process to transforming gender norms.”

Adolescence is a trial period between childhood and adulthood when skills are learned and futures are charted; it's also a period when, in certain cultures, girls begin to lose their freedom to socialize in public spaces and are separated from supportive peer groups. “As their lives become increasingly focused on

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domestic life, their opportunities for obtaining employment outside the home decline, making the possibility of breaking the cycle of poverty ever more unlikely.”\textsuperscript{103} The Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG) notes, “sport can play an important role in reducing social tensions and conflicts at the community and national level by addressing the sources of this exclusion and providing an alternative entry point into the social and economic life of communities.”\textsuperscript{104} This section reveals examples of this phenomenon with case studies from Kenya and India.

This chapter introduces three grassroots SDP projects that are directly and indirectly tackling the issue of gender-based social exclusion through football. All of the case studies are based in patriarchal societies located in the countries of Kenya and India; two nations with a colonial link to sport and a large population living below the poverty line. The Mathare Youth Sports Association, Moving the Goalposts, and the Akhand Jyoti Football Academy were respectively selected because of their structural differences, diverse approaches to gender-related issues, and success in reaching their target participants and communities. The objective, motivation for establishment, organizational structure, and local culture within each program are distinct, yet all three are linked by the common thread of using football as a method to unite girls from disadvantaged communities and provide new skills for an improved future. In doing so, these programs are altering gender stereotypes and improving gender equality.

\textsuperscript{103} ibid. p. 1.
Common themes featured within SDP theory and within these case studies include: traditional gender roles requiring the objectification of girls’ bodies (sexual violence and early marriage), safe spaces, the role of community and parents, the significance of female role models, and social inclusion. To grasp the transformation of gender, it's necessary to expand on each of these categories and then analyze them through a cultural lens within the context of each case study.

Traditional gender roles and the social pressure that encourages girls to strictly adhere to their expected roles weighs heavily on girls’ access to play sport. A girl’s role within her family includes assisting with domestic chores and childcare, which may hinder her from finding the time or funding to play. In a patriarchal system whereby boys are expected to become the breadwinner, girls’ education is deemphasized when resources are scarce. And, for economic reasons, girls may face prostitution or marriage at an early age or be manipulated through sexual violence. Any or all of these factors will hinder a girl’s participation in sport and can lead to social exclusion, limited peer groups and a low quality of life.

A second hindrance to girl’s participating in sport is a lack of safe public spaces. Girls and women can often travel freely to markets or health facilities, but have limited access to public parks, sports arenas and other public areas.\textsuperscript{105}\footnote{op. cit. Brady, M. p.19.} Moreover, transportation to the safe space is not guaranteed to be secure. A
scarcity of safe space and transportation to that space is both physically and psychologically limiting. This limits individual freedom, the ability to congregate with peers, and access to important arenas, such as school and work facilities.

Sport places girls in a position of challenging traditional femininity in the public eye. As such, for the program to progress sustainably, girls’ parents must approve of the program and support their daughter’s participation. Equally as important is the inclusion of community stakeholders and local decision makers.106

When public space is inaccessible to girls and their life is structured within the domestic sphere, their spectrum of female role models is limited. In contrast, the variety of media outlets that emerged with globalization has provided girls’ access to view women in a variety of traditional and non-traditional roles. Female public leaders such as teachers, politicians and athletes are now visible within these outlets, motivating girls to achieve beyond the domestic sphere. Concepts of female empowerment are localized and transformed into a personal experience when girls are introduced to sport because the SDP organization will be required to employ female coaches and staff. Moreover, playing sport in public arenas and travelling to tournaments allows for local players and coaches to be celebrated.

The final theme, social inclusion, discloses the degree to which girls and

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women are included in mainstream society, a subject that relies on the synergy of all the issues listed above. The extent to which girls and women's social inclusion depends on girls’ access to safe spaces, the malleability of traditional gender roles, and the attitudes of parents and community members. As girls and women break the barriers to social inclusion, these factors improve and a more gender equal society is conceivable.

**Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA)**

Nairobi, Kenya

“Giving youth a sporting chance on and off the field”

MYSA is based in the Mathare district, located on the outskirts of Nairobi. It is one of many “informal settlements” not recognized by the Kenyan national government. This large slum is roughly estimated to house 900,000 residents living below the poverty line. The area’s insecure mud huts, unemployed residents, and poor sanitation including lack of clean water and electricity, creates a breeding ground for violence and cyclical poverty. The combination of the above factors greatly affects girls’ lives, especially as they reach puberty. Due to high rates of sexual violence, girls’ safety in public is significantly constricted. As Brady notes, women can comfortably access public spaces like markets and health-centers, but other spaces such as public parks are gendered and unsafe for girls and women. This restriction of space forces girls to remain within a safe zone, usually their home or neighborhood. As a

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107 [www.mysakenya.org](http://www.mysakenya.org)

result, they lose their individual freedom of expression and drop contact with their peer networks.\textsuperscript{109} For economic reasons, girls leave school at a young age and frequently engage in prostitution to support their families. As such, the HIV rate among 15-24 year old females in this area is 23-38 percent, doubling that of males.\textsuperscript{110} With limited options for employment and insufficient formal education, girls become confined to the domestic sphere and married to a life of poverty.

Established in 1987 by the cooperative efforts of a Canadian expatriate, Bob Munro, and many Mathare community members, MYSA developed a 'Sport Plus' program focused on linking sport with community service.\textsuperscript{111} The program began when Munro observed a few boys passionately playing football with a ball made from scraps, straw and bags.\textsuperscript{112} The original program required participants to pick-up trash after each game but over time grew to include many other objectives.

To date MYSA reaches 25,000 youths through football, and boasts 500 girls teams.\textsuperscript{113} Participants are required to engage in community outreach, to organize matches, and to lead youth-run boards operating in collaboration with the official MYSA Board of Directors. Among other initiatives, MYSA offers photography classes, open libraries and access to support networks such as counselors and lawyers. Its volunteer structure encourages participants to stay

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{109} ibid. p. 18.
\item \textsuperscript{111} www.mysakenya.org
\item \textsuperscript{112} www.mysakenya.org
\item \textsuperscript{113} op. cit. Maqulate Onyango.
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involved after age 18 by providing free training for coaching, refereeing and first aid, of which it currently counts 1200 members.\textsuperscript{114} Respected as one of the most well established grassroots, SDP programs, MYSA offers advice, tool kits and training sessions to other organizations, is regularly analyzed by researchers, and is financially supported by big name donors.

MYSA's program, however, originally excluded girls. In 1992, participants observed girls playing in the Norwegian Cup and questioned why Kenyan girls didn't participate in sport. This conversation encouraged MYSA directors to launch the girls program. In \textit{Letting Girls Play: The Mathare Youth Sports Association’s Football Program for Girls} the directors reflected on the challenge of including girls:

\begin{quote}
It required considerable thought and effort and an understanding of the physical and social constraints on girls' lives. Parental and community support had to be garnered and accommodations in girls' schedules and in the program made in order for girls to participate. As it turned out, prevailing gender roles weighed heavily on the process of integrating girls into MYSA.\textsuperscript{115}
\end{quote}

The first lesson MYSA learned was the difference between gender equality and gender equity. To be equal they gave both boys and girls teams access to their football fields, but they soon realized that due to the dangers girls faced when walking in public to the fields, the situation still favored the boys. Moreover, the obligatory community outreach projects reinforced gender stereotypes as girls

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{114}{ibid.}
\footnotetext{115}{op. cit. Brady, M. and Banu Khan, A. p.12.}
\end{footnotes}
were tasked with laundering the uniforms whereas boys organized the fields and picked up litter. Their awareness of this continued inequality sparked much dialogue about gender and the need for change within MYSA's program.

Within the last twenty years, MYSA embarked on developing a gender-neutral and gender-equitable environment for learning and playing. Realizing the importance of safe spaces, MYSA secured their playing fields and bought a bus to facilitate girls’ safe travel to fields. To break gender stereotypes, create female role models for players and develop a staff representative of the Mathare community, MYSA trained and hired female coaches and staff members. They created gender quotas for the youth-run Board of Directors, reassuring that girls are represented among peer leadership. In addition, MYSA divided community outreach by organizing mixed teams rather than by gender. To sensitize parents and the community, the biggest obstacle to girls’ participation, MYSA organized specific events to address the issues that discouraged involvement. They sought to persuade parents by creating an awards system for players, providing opportunities for educational scholarships, and free travel to football tournaments. To directly address the challenge of sexual violence and prostitution, MYSA created a free and accessible board of female lawyers specifically trained for such issues. In addition, MYSA hired professionally trained female counselors and developed a Boyfriend Signup Program. In this program, girls are encouraged to discuss their sexual relationships with the trained counselors, who confidentially record information concerning their sexual practice. This allows MYSA’s counselors to monitor sexual activity among participants and encourages girls to be open about their
relationships. Finally, MYSA opened a free 24-hour telephone hotline with trained counselor available to answer questions or seek assistance in crisis situations.

These adjustments have created opportunities for staff, participants and parents alike, while substantially altering gender within MYSA. Maqulate Onyango, Director of Sports and Training Department, who first joined MYSA at age 13 and later became the first woman to referee a Kenyan Premiere League match, proclaimed that within MYSA “girls have broken the barrier of football being male-dominated.” As such, MYSA now takes a rights-based approach focusing less on internal barriers and more on the policy of the rights of girls within Kenya. In order to do this, MYSA launched gender as a theme within all of their 2012 curricula, and continue to adjust and improve programs. For example, MYSA prioritizes the role of parents, regarding them as major stakeholders and consulting them before their daughter is allowed to play. MYSA also changed its approach to sensitizing the community on girls’ participation in sport and on sexual violence. Community days are no longer held in one location, but within zones and divided into specific workshops arranged for various audiences such as parents, teachers, and civic leaders. This new approach allows for consistent messaging and community-specific programs. It has also led to the creation of new partnerships with other organizations. MYSA is active in advocacy and information sharing, reassuring parents and the community that it is a safe place where participants can play, find support, and seek referral systems.

116 op. cit. Maqulate Onyango.
It is obvious that drastic logistical and structural changes transpired as a consequence of girls' involvement. But as Onyango articulates, the girls themselves changed as well.

They are more responsible, more independent...More focused. I think they show qualities of leadership. When you play on a team there is togetherness, sisterhood, they feel responsible for the other person. They have a need to care for each other for next match. And, respect.  

In addition to this, boys and girls are creating healthier relationships and peer groups that look after one another. In 2002 Brady questioned the relationships between boys and girls, noting that power dynamics and stereotypes of female frailty still prevailed. She stated, however, that “[s]eeing girls achieve success in what had been a male domain may begin to reshape boys' notions about girls' roles and capabilities.” When asked to address this issue ten years after Brady's assessment, Onyango pointed to the fact that the program can now take a rights-based approach, which could only happen once girls were accepted as footballers and developed friendships based on mutual respect. She recognized that it is common for girls and boys to walk to the training facilities together and support each other outside of the MYSA facility.

MYSA directly addressed gender inequality within its program. However, even with these milestones, there remain challenges including and extending beyond

117 op. cit. Maqulate Onyango.
sexual violence. The biggest question MYSA faces today is how to maintain girls’ interest as they grow older, helping them to safely transition to adulthood while maintaining both their peer groups and personal freedoms. Participant numbers reveal that as girls approach their late teens, the number of participants drastically drops. There are valid reasons for this sharp decline. First is the onset of their menses and lack of sanitary protection, forcing them to stay inside the home. Second is early marriage and pregnancy, two factors that will encourage girls to return to the traditional female role and discourage them from playing football. In response, MYSA created a mothers-only team, with a curriculum based on maternal health. Onyango noted, however, that it is more difficult at that level to continue to play and “not everyone is strong enough to go to that level. Marriage often ends the football career.”

This case study highlights the structural and logistical changes enacted to alter gender within a well-established gender-inclusive ‘Sport Plus’ program located within an urban environment. The second example, Moving the Goalposts introduces the challenges faced by an all-girls program within a rural Kenyan landscape.

**Moving the Goalposts (MTG)**

Kilifi, Kenya

“Tunaweza, Yes we can!”

The Kilifi district, with 68.5 percent of its population living in poverty and eight

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119 op. cit. Maqulate Onyango.
percent infected with HIV/AIDS, is located within Kenya’s second poorest region, the Coastal Province. This vast rural landscape is one of contradictions, a place where subsistence farmers facing malnutrition are juxtaposed with wealthy expatriates who pepper the coast with mansions. The unstable economy depends on both agriculture and the passage of tourists in transit from the more populated coastal towns of Mombasa and Milindi. Beyond discernible poverty, Kilifi wrestles with gender power imbalances, placing girls and women second to boys and men. Kilifi women have the lowest rates in both literacy and school enrolment in Kenya, at 26.8 and 54.4 percent respectively. A 2003 Kenya Demographic and Heath Survey indicated that at least one in four women between ages 15-19 in the Kilifi district had a child. A recent Moving the Goalposts publication summed up these statistics, stating,

Girls are less likely to be educated...less likely to access health care, less likely to control family finances or inherit land, and less likely to have a voice in the social and political systems that will shape her life.

MTG recognizes that traditional gender roles and power relations directly relate to “low retention in school, early and unwanted pregnancies and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS”, all of which foster cyclical poverty. Lidya Kasiwa, MTG’s Health Project Coordinator explains the status of women in Kilifi:

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124 www.mtgk.org
In Kilifi girls are not given space. The women have become passive and don't care to speak their mind. It is men who dominate as well as the older people—children, especially girls, are always told to be quiet, never to express their thoughts or wishes. This is the nature of the soil, where a young girl is planted and where she must grow her life.\(^{125}\)

Aware of MYSA's success in combating gender inequality through girls' football, Sarah Forde created Moving the Goalposts, a SDP program run by women for women and girls. In 2001 with funding from the British Council, MTG launched a 'Plus Sport' model adapted from MYSA's 'Sport Plus' method. MTG recruits its participants through the medium of football, but its overarching goal is to improve the health and overall status of women within the rural Kilifi district.

To date MTG organizes 3,000 girls who play for 215 teams on 33 fields.\(^{126}\) The teams are divided by categories of under 10, under 13 and open age. MTG's grassroots approach requires the referees, first-aid responders, peer educators, counselors, and coaches to be female and to have been trained by MTG. Beyond breaking traditional gender norms by giving girls leadership roles and access to play sport within a public space, MTG educates participants on female reproductive health.\(^{127}\) The Kenya Association of Professional Counselors trained 22 MTG counselors on issues including sexual relationships, friends and family problems, school exam grades, betrothal, and

\(^{125}\) op. cit. Oliff, M. p. 4.
\(^{126}\) www.mtgk.org/content/leagues
\(^{127}\) op. cit. Oliff, M.
not being allowed to play football. Moreover, 30 peer-counselors are trained to facilitate regular Life Skills Program sessions on issues such as self-esteem, decision making, puberty, girls’ rights, drugs, sexual violence, STIs, testing for STIs and HIV, and incest.

For MTG it was no easy feat to launch a program with the intention of empowering and educating girls in a location where gender discrimination is rampant. However, with knowledge from MYSA about the importance of providing a safe space, MTG quickly gained participants. Originally they recruited participants by going to fields and asking girls already playing to participate. This strategy seemed promising, but they realized that without parental permission and community support, small problems could develop into larger ones. Evading traditional gender roles and convincing parents has been a challenge, particularly within a rural environment in which outreach is difficult.

In these circumstances, support from community members such as local teachers goes a long way. Discussing MTG, one teacher said, “In schools like ours the girls have very little and they know very little. It puts them at a disadvantage, even they think they're not worth the same as boys. But this football has exposed them, it's made them realize that they can achieve, it's made them see further, to look beyond the homes from which they come. It's a very important programme in our school.”

Realizing the importance of community involvement, MTG changed its

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128 www.mtgk.org/content/leagues
129 op. cit. Forde, S. p. 22.
approach to prioritize their relationship with parents and community stakeholders. Initially parents met MTG representatives only after the girl had joined. The new strategy required the parent’s permission for their daughters to participate and created a space for MTG to hear their input as to what obstructs girl’s rights and how to best address these issues. MTG then developed a niche in the community, addressing girls' reproductive and health rights in public forums. Structurally, MTG adjusted to provide incentives for parents to allow their daughters to participate, such as opportunities for educational scholarships, and potentially funded travel to tournaments. It maintained its focus on hiring female employees to provide girls with role models, but did hire two men. To include boys, MTG created a peer education video program in which films are projected on fields or in schools. And most recently, to give players aging-out an economic opportunity, MTG attempted to create an IGA program to make biodegradable sanitary pads; however, due to logistical issues the project has been put on hold.

Because MTG developed its curriculum from the onset to address gender and drew from the experience of MYSA, it experienced fewer structural changes. MTG’s Monitoring and Evaluation Coordinator, Cocky van Dam believes that small strides in gender equality are evident because girls are now more open to discussing gender and reproductive health. Moreover, community members are more aware of gender violence. She notes that although rape and gender-based violence are still prevalent, the first step of girls acknowledging, reporting, and addressing the issue is taking place, which is an important step forward. MTG volunteer Perris Mwaka eloquently said:
As a girl in Kilifi, I grew up being told that I would never make it past this line in life (drawing a line in the sand.) But what MTG does right from the start is to draw the line, much further away, closer to the horizon. As girls we look up, we lift our heads and aim for what we never thought was ours. The goalpost moves.\textsuperscript{130}

This case study highlighted an SDP program with a gender- and health-specific agenda located in rural Kenya. The third study takes place in rural India, where the program’s focuses revolve around blindness eradication, efforts to make the hospital staff gender-equal, and the cultivation of a love of football among all stakeholders.

\textit{The Akhand Jyoti Football Academy}

Mastichak, Bihar, India

Second Sight's operations are based in the northeastern region of Bihar, India. Labeled India’s “most impoverished state,”\textsuperscript{131} Bihar is home to an estimated 45 million people who survive on less than one dollar a day, most with limited access to potable water and electricity.\textsuperscript{132} UNICEF reports on India and child marriage reveal that in 1999, 33.8 percent of girls aged 15-19 were married and 56.5 percent of women between the ages of 20-49 were married by 18.\textsuperscript{133}

These statistics are attested in Bihar where girls marry as young as 13. Early marriage and poverty are mutually reinforcing, and are further linked to poor health and nutrition. A typical girl in this region will receive two or fewer meals per day, leading to 70 percent of girls qualifying as severely anemic. The low standard of living is compounded by the one million citizens living with cataract blindness and the “children who too often are taken out of education to be the ‘eyes’ of the blind.”

The Akhand Jyoti Football Academy is located in the town of Mastichak. This program is presented as a case study because it cannot be classified as ‘Sport Plus’ or ‘Plus Sport,’ but does emphasize sport as a key aspect of its curricula and founding. Its unorthodox formation included Dr. Lucy Mathen, an Ophthalmologist from London who operates the charity Second Sight, Mrintunjay Tiwary, the Akhand Jyoti Hospital Director, and six girls who played football near the hospital. Mathen and Tiwary cited the hospital’s gender imbalance, with no women on the staff at the time, as the initial motivating factor behind the project. However, there was a predicament in finding female staff members, as local girls did not receive education to a sufficient standard. After playing football with six girls who regularly played outside the hospital, Mathen and Tiwary, who also love the game, began to rethink the organization’s challenges and developed a creative solution.

134 Lucy Mathen, Founder, Second Sight, Skype Interview, November 16, 2012.
135 ibid.
http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b01d0rtl [November 15, 2012]
137 http://secondsight.org.uk/New/Pages/Locations.shtml
The scheme began with the hospital giving breakfast to the female footballers and within five months it evolved into a tuition-free boarding school that provides the female players with the basics of food, clothing and housing, but more significantly with a formally agreed-upon delay in marriage and the option to train as an Ophthalmology Assistant and potentially work in the hospital.\textsuperscript{138} The program allows girls regular access to play football and participate in tournaments; it gives their parents reassurance that their daughters receive three meals per day, advanced education, and opportunities for future employment; and, it provides the hospital a gender-balanced staff. But football is not only for the girls as it reaches “the heart of the community.”\textsuperscript{139} The staff and community members play regularly as well in non-competitive, open-invitation football games.

This case study is an outlier from mainstream gender-sensitive and gender-based SDP programs because in Bihar, football is not classified as a male sport and as such, girl footballers are not stepping outside of their comfort zone to play.\textsuperscript{140} Moreover, although sexual violence exists, it does not prevent girls from accessing public fields.\textsuperscript{141} Furthermore, the Academy is at an advantage as it receives enthusiastic community support with endorsement from the Hindu Temple and Islamic Mosque.\textsuperscript{142} The central issue here is extreme poverty, which leads to early marriage, low education rates and the high prevalence of curable blindness that exacerbates the hardship.

\textsuperscript{138} op. cit. Mathen, L., Junction for Having Fun.
\textsuperscript{139} http://secondsight.org.uk/New/Pages/MoviePremiere.shtml
\textsuperscript{140} op. cit. Lucy Mathen, Founder, Skype Interview.
\textsuperscript{141} op. cit. Lucy Mathen, Founder, Skype Interview.
\textsuperscript{142} op. cit. Lucy Mathen, Founder, Skype Interview.
Like the other SDP programs, the Akhand Jyoti Football Academy is flexible to participant needs and community variables, but it does require the girls to attend football training sessions and school. The unique attribute to this case study, however, is its direct approach to eliminate early marriage. To participate, girls and their parents are required to sign a contract pledging to abstain from marriage until they have completed their tertiary education at age 21.\textsuperscript{143} Mathen believes that parents agree to delay marriage without hesitation because the incentive to early marriage is removed. She argues that in Bihar early marriage is less about tradition, but mostly a precaution parents take when they can no longer afford secondary school fees and seek to secure their daughters’ basic needs.\textsuperscript{144} To keep the parents involved, the Academy provides them with access to cell phones to contact their daughters and regular holidays for the girls to return home. Moreover, parents are comforted in knowing that their daughters’ security is ensured because the hospital is highly reputed and is the only place within ten kilometers that has electricity.

Established in 2010, the program is new, but progress and successes have been realized. According to Mathen, the first change is visibly the girl’s health, “now these girls are strong, sturdy and confident, a huge contrast to before. You see girls on the sideline, not involved, and compare their bodies. There is a fine line between their previous life and now.”\textsuperscript{145} Besides their improved physical health, the girls are regularly attending school, which includes classes

\textsuperscript{143} op. cit. Lucy Mathen, Founder, Skype Interview.
\textsuperscript{144} ibid.
\textsuperscript{145} ibid.
in English and Internet and Technology (IT). Older girls with higher education are being trained to join the hospital staff, and although they are not required to play football, Mathen notes that many of them continue to participate.

Although Mathen questions if Akhand Jyoti Football Academy is technically a SDP program, it is evident that football is an important ingredient to the program's success. Football is the prime interest of the girls and the competitive tournaments keep them motivated. Additionally, the hospital staff and the Mastichak community bond through supporting the girls' team. Like gender-based SDP programs, the scheme also provides more opportunities for gender-equality in a society that Mathen argues is not innately sexist, but simply "poor and dealing with it." For example, their football coach is the vice-captain for the Indian Women's Football Team and one Academy player was recently selected for India's U-19 team. Both women serve as local female role models.

However, what makes this program extraordinary is its ability to connect football to real, sustainable employment. It is common to see SDP programs connect to an IGA, but it is rare for them to be effective and sustainable. The difference here is that the business was established before the football scheme, rather than the other way around. Hiring female employees was the pillar of the program, not football. Yet football, the program's adhesive component, prompted a natural transformation in gender within both the Academy and the Hospital. Evidence includes the committed female participants who now enjoy an improved quality of life by delaying marriage, eating regularly, and attending

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146 ibid.
school within a safe environment. Most distinctly, the girls are trained for respected and well-paid jobs at the hospital. This not only secures a sustainable transition in gender, as girls will have economic decision making power over their own lives, but also alters the gender ratio within the hospital, sets an example for the community, and creates female role models. The participants’ opportunity to reach economic security through working in the hospital distinguishes the Academy from the other case studies.

The three case studies highlighted in this chapter exemplify the diversity within SDP gender-sensitive and gender-based programs. This reveals varying motivations for program creation, differing approaches and goals, and diversity in cultural environments. Yet, despite these differences, all three face similar obstacles. As Saavedra notes, undertaking SDP and gender work is a challenge that requires both theoretical and practical navigation.\(^{147}\) Owing to the fact that SDP programs include diverse themes and peoples, the organizer must expertly address various topics, including, but not limited to, sport, health, and development. Moreover, to create a program that is empowering and will lead to participants becoming volunteer leaders, the organizers must allow for creativity and for the participants to be principal decision makers. To operate, organizers must include community members and make allowances for their investments. Finally, the organization must be prepared for their program to catalyze change by driving dialogue and debate about the role of girls and women.

\(^{147}\) op. cit. Saavedra, M. 2009. p. 147.
Chapter Three

The Internal Gender Transformation

Despite their differences, MYSA, MTG and the Akhand Jyoti Football Academy all show that when a gendered arena such as sport becomes socially inclusive, three transformations occur: a rights-based approach is adopted, selected public spaces become safer, and a place for female role models is created. These three themes are interdependent. For example, girls and women represent the majority of the poor, revealing “human rights are tragically gendered.”\(^{148}\) Gender inequality, which stems from discrimination correlates with girls’ access to public space. Professor Tovi Fenster supports this argument stating, “there cannot be in-depth discussion on notions of identity... or human rights without looking at the intersection between gender relations, power and their expressions in space.”\(^{149}\) One ramification of inequality and lack of access to safe space is the absence of female leadership in the public sector, and thus a void of female role models. Regardless of culture or nationality it is evident that these three factors critically affect girls’ access to education, healthcare, future employment, peer groups, and her overall sense of freedom.

Both MYSA\(^{150}\) and MTG\(^{151}\) directly address their recent internal gender


\(^{149}\) ibid. Fenster, T. p. 473

\(^{150}\) op. cit. Maqulate Onyango.

\(^{151}\) op. cit. Cocky van Dam.
transition by categorizing their approach as rights-based. This includes providing participants with knowledge on the topics of health and human rights, and engaging with advocacy work. There is much debate among development theorists as to whether this approach promises change within politics and development, or if it is simply another trend to attract donors. However, the approach of Sport for Development and Peace programs focuses on education, accountability, and empowerment, making a rights-based approach logical, especially since girls’ participation in sport is relatively new and their role in society is often marginalized. Teaching girls about their rights and giving them a physical presence in public, emboldens them with improved tools to face controversy and decisions.

The rights-based approach directly relates to girls’ access to safe spaces. Garnering a safe space is crucial within all SDP programs. But creating a safe space goes further than simply creating a physical area approved by girls and their parents. Fenster addresses this complication stating that:

[S]pace is not a neutral entity; rather, it is culturally constructed, creating symbolic meanings with regard to gender relations, roles and values. Secondly, gender relations and their expressions in space are linked to notions of power relations and citizen identity both between communities and the state and between men and women in specific communities. Thirdly, the notions of gender and space are highly connected to human rights issues.

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Space creates physical freedom and the psychological freedom for expression.\textsuperscript{154} Constructing a safe space can break the acceptability of pernicious behavior within public domains and can alter social scenes and cultural ideology. Massey\textsuperscript{155}, Nussbaum,\textsuperscript{156} and Fenster\textsuperscript{157} agree that space symbolizes human social interrelations and on the local to global scale, space and human rights reflect patriarchy, power, and access to resources. Due to these reasons, securing safe space requires serious consideration.\textsuperscript{158} It comes as no surprise that establishing a safe environment is foremost to a SDP program’s success, for without it, the program cannot exist. It is evident that this action decreases structural and psychological boundaries that may hinder girls’ freedom of expression.

Because poverty is gendered and public spaces can be dangerous for women, girls frequently lack role models outside the domestic sphere. The third internal transformation, exemplified by all three case studies, is the inclusion of female mentors who regularly interact with participants. Once girls joined MYSA, the organization sought out and trained female staff members. MTG mandates that women be hired for leadership roles, which is one of their toughest challenges given the low education rates of women within Kilifi.\textsuperscript{159} Beyond simply hiring female employees, MYSA and MTG give specific training to mentors (coaches and trained counselors) on the challenges girls face within their respective

\textsuperscript{157} op. cit. Fenster, T. p. 468.
\textsuperscript{159} op. cit. Cocky van Dam.
communities. Furthermore, the Akhand Jyoti Hospital Director’s motivation to employ a gender-balanced hospital staff, led to the establishment of the all-girls Football Academy.\textsuperscript{160} The Akhand Jyoti Football Academy attracted the vice-captain of India’s National Women’s Football Team, and the girls are in close contact with female workers in the hospital. The jobs created for women in these programs, provide girls with role models and allow them to visualize their future with options other than early marriage. Moreover, women with financial stability have more control over their own life and better opportunities to become an active voice within the community, potentially creating a wider range of opportunities for women in the future. In sum, SDP programs create female specific leadership positions and jobs, building a pathway to generate role models and peer mentors.

When a gender-sensitive or gender-based SDP program takes a rights-based approach to programming, it results in a more gender-balanced culture within the organization. A gender-sensitive or gender-based, well planned SDP program offers a socially inclusive activity that creates dialogue and interaction within groups who previously may not have had such an opportunity.\textsuperscript{161} And by increasing participants’ social capital, including “networks, connections and sense of belonging to a wider society that enable individuals to access the people, resources and institutional help” participants’ opportunities to improve their lives will increase.\textsuperscript{162} For example, MTG female participants recognized

\textsuperscript{160} op. cit. Lucy Mathen, November 16, 2012.
\textsuperscript{162} ibid. p 212.
that once they joined a team, they identified themselves with that group,\footnote{op. cit. Forde, S.} while the Mathare community identified MYSA girls as the “tough girls in the neighborhood”.\footnote{op. cit. Maqulate Onyango.} These findings are directly connected to those of The International Working Group on Sport for Development and Peace, which notes that “[r]esearch suggests that sport has the potential to promote community identity, coherence and integration, and that people actively involved in sport are more likely to play an active role in the community in other ways.”\footnote{op. cit. Right to Play. p. 213.} Within these SDP programs, important gendered issues are naturally addressed at the root level, but what remains in question is the extent of gender alterations on the wider community.

A Theory of External Gender Transformation

Analyzing these three case studies, it appears that gender-sensitive and gender-based programs have a flexible structure, optimal for supporting gender transformation. Conflict Transformation practitioner John Paul Lederach argues that for a real and lasting paradigm shift to happen, “transformation must respond to, but not be limited by, the symptomatic parameters of dispute” meaning the shift must be attentive to “structural and systemic complexity.”\footnote{Lederach quoted in: Austin, B., Fisher, M., and Giessman, H.J. (eds.) Advancing Conflict Transformation. The Berghof Handbook II. Opladen/Framington Hills: Barbara Budrich Publishers, 2011. p. 7 Available online: http://www.berghof handbook.net/documents/publications/foreword_handbookII.pdf [December 2, 2012]} The unification of various disciplines within SDP attracts diverse community stakeholders and offers a non-threatening platform for engagement. Its survival is dependent upon the balance that is struck between the participants,
organizers, and community members who work together despite various goals in mind. All participating stakeholders must be sensitive to the cultural systems, but not necessarily adhere to them.

However, gender transformation is inevitable, and despite community inclusion does often result in conflict. These alterations lead to a redistribution of power, which may be interpreted as a threat to time-honored cultures and communities. Lederach notes the second key to transformation is adopting “creative ways to integrate the multiple levels of change processes unfolding in and outside the settings of protracted conflict.”\textsuperscript{167} This is evident in the creative methodologies exemplified by the three case studies, such as hosting community events, reaching-out to religious leaders, collaborating with NGOs, and creatively adapting to local issues, all of which protects and sustains gender transformation and the institution thereof.\textsuperscript{168}

Finally, Lederach asserts a “deep understanding, the kind that engenders respect for the difficulty of the transformational aspiration” is needed.\textsuperscript{169} The case studies reveal program structures whereby local female citizens, empathetic to the conditions of the participants due to their own upbringing, are encouraged to become coaches and peer mentors. The potential of these programs’ reach is illuminated when Lederach's transformation theory is applied to gender transformation within SDP programs. The question then becomes, to what extent can these programs transform gender beyond their

\textsuperscript{167} ibid. p. 7  
\textsuperscript{168} ibid. p. 8.  
\textsuperscript{169} ibid. p. 8.
internal praxis.

The topics of rights, space and role models have proven to be extremely important on the organizational level in transforming gender. In this spectrum, the global scale parallels the community, as the issues plaguing gender inequality are much the same. Recent debates find a correlation between gender status and state security. Hudson et al strongly argue that a society where women live with a lower status to men results in insecure state security:

The differences in gender status beliefs, reflected in practices, customs, and law, have important political consequences, including consequences for nation-state security policy and conflict and cooperation within and between nation-states.\(^{170}\)

Hudson et al and Peace theorist Johann Galtung suggest that the roots of gender inequality lie in structural violence that naturally develops from patriarchal societies.

All three organizations highlighted operate within patriarchal societies and reveal structural violence as defined by Galtung. Unpacking the term, he notes that binary gender roles lead to various realities in terms of security, education and livelihood.\(^ {171}\) Secondly, he posits the society will have a “manipulation of consciousness to ensure acquiescence, which is maintained through


\(^{171}\) Galtung quoted in ibid. p. 21.
socialization, gender stereotyping, and a constant threat of domestic violence—all of which insidiously identify women as inferior.” In addition, “[m]arginalization distinguishes men and women by status of sex.” Finally, women's social access to build networks with other women is fragmented due to gendered responsibilities determined by the patriarchy. In both urban and rural Kenya, and in Bihar, India, normative behavior determined by the patriarchy allows for Galtung’s four measures of structural violence to flourish.

Galtung suggests structural violence is a result of cultural violence, which occurs in everyday activities to suit the hegemonic figures and as such “makes direct and structural violence look, even feel, right—or at least not wrong.” The curricula of gender-sensitive and gender-based SDP programs combat structural and cultural violence by bringing attention to gender inequality. This is shown in the educational lessons where girls learn about their rights and through the physical participation in sport, which sparks debate about gender equality and equity, and confronts hegemonic discrimination. Moreover, the programs repeatedly question cultural violence through the delivery of rights-based messages that take place in one-on-one mentoring, team practices, and community events. This grassroots approach to address the individual and the community is aimed directly at the root causes of cyclical cultural violence: the society that endorses it, the home that perpetuates it, and the individuals who impose or receive it.

172 Galtung quoted in ibid. p. 21.
175 Galtung quoted in ibid. p. 21.
Cultural Violence: Rights, Space, and Role Models

The subject of participant’s rights is a common theme among each case study, and the Kenyan-based SDP program directors frequently discussed that gender-based violence is ingrained as a cultural norm. Hudson et al argue that the first step to breaking patriarchal power is to disrupt key elements of male dominance such as “early to mid-teen marriage for females.” MYSA and MTG’s rights-based approach encourages education and the delay of marriage. Both organizations employ peer counselors who are trained to listen openly and confidentially to girls’ concerns about sexual relationships. Taking a more drastic approach, the Akhand Jyoti Football Academy requires participants to delay marriage until age 21, including a formal agreement signed by both the player and her guardians. All programs openly discuss the negative repercussions of early marriage and the necessity for girls to continue their education and delay marriage in order to break the cycle of poverty. It is expected that the delay of marriage will lead the participant to better health and the opportunity to break free from poverty, but the impact on the wider community is yet to be researched systematically.

The gendered concept of space, and subsequent restrictions on girls and women, are also a form of cultural violence. Space defines a girl's physical reach in society through the structural layout of public space as defined by the

176 op. cit. Obyango.
177 op. cit. Cocky van Dam.
patriarchy. Brady frequently argues that a girl's access to space directly impacts her freedom of expression. MYSA Director Onyango\textsuperscript{180} and Brady\textsuperscript{181} discuss that girls who cannot leave their homes complain of idleness and then tend to “find trouble.”\textsuperscript{182} But this lack of freedom in the form of access to public arenas reaches further than creating idle girls. It impacts an entire society that becomes physically segregated along gendered lines, which as research reveals, is unfavorable for economic progress and peace. Hudson et al concur, evidencing a “strong and significant relationship between the physical security of women and the peacefulness of states.”\textsuperscript{183} SDP programs break the barrier of space ownership and secure what were previously male-only sporting arenas in order for girls’ programs to exist. This results in small-scale alterations to gendered public spaces.

Another repercussion of cultural violence within a patriarchal society is a lack of role models and female representation in the public domain. Children learn behavior from their parents and siblings. Naturally the influence of relatives is stronger in places such as the Nairobi's informal settlements where girls may not attend school or have access to public space and external role models. If the child's relatives respond to problems through violent means of conflict resolution, the children will be inadvertently trained to continue practicing violent behavior from one generation to the next.\textsuperscript{184} SDP programs address community issues such as gender-based violence with participants, parents, and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{180} op. cit. Maqulate Onyango.
\item \textsuperscript{181} op. cit. Brady, M. and Banu Khan, A.
\item \textsuperscript{182} op. cit. Maqulate Onyango.
\item \textsuperscript{183} op. cit. Hudson, V., Caprioli, M., Ballif-Spanvill, B., McDermott, R., and Emmett, C. p 42.
\item \textsuperscript{184} ibid. p. 22.
\end{itemize}
stakeholders. To support participants who encounter such challenges, MYSA and MTG provide participants with access to counselors, lawyers, and a free emergency hotline. Hudson et al assert the importance of these support networks and interventions:

[I]f gendered violence can be undermined at its taproot—domestic violence within the home—the effects, as we have shown with violent patriarchy, should cascade outward to affect many social phenomena, including state security and behavior.\(^{185}\)

The creation of support mechanisms, such as those at MTG and MYSA, is an essential step forward in breaking the cycle of cultural violence. Moving past the cycle requires conceptually envisioning a gender equitable world without cultural violence or gendered space and in which women have representation in the public sector and role models outside of the domestic sphere. By providing work and leadership positions for women, all three case studies provide an opening for female role models. This is exceptionally important because when women are visible in the public sphere, it signifies that women are gaining decision-making power within society, and thus improving the overall gender status quo.

The justification for arguing that gender-sensitive and gender-based SDP programs may influence the wider community relies on the significance of day-to-day activities that define the all-encompassing and ever-evolving word, ‘culture’. “Culture allows warfare to be either suppressed or exacerbated...it is

difficult to over-state the significance of educational systems, popular culture, and the media, among many [proximate] causal mechanisms.  

When sport transitions from being defined by a culture as a gendered activity to one normalized for girls, it creates a non-threatening platform for open discussion, adds opportunities for formal and informal education, expands access to broadened social networks, and generates additional female role models. These are important and necessary elements needed to disparage cultural violence, transform gender, and create a safe community, which in return may create a safer state.

The Limitations of SDP as a Vehicle for Gender Transformation

There are three observed limitations to gender-sensitive and gender-based SDP programs: the understanding of success, the idealization of becoming a professional athlete, and the exclusion of boys. Saavedra notes that the definition of success and how it is interpreted varies by culture. For example, success may be granted only to the winning team or it can include everyone who participated. SDP programs inherently include competition. Low-level competition is motivating and can incite camaraderie, but there is danger in emphasizing winning as success and losing as failure. This can detract from the joy of play and the educational message. Moreover, there are SDP participants who aspire to become professional athletes and view these programs as their founding point. This is a risky idealization in a world that is only now

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186 ibid. p. 23.
188 op. cit. Mathen, L. Junction for Having Fun.
beginning to appreciate female athletes and rarely provides them with economically stable careers. Most striking is that gender-based programs are missing half of the potential participants. The fault in having a gender-based SDP program for girls, without a complimentary program for boys, is that girls are given preferential treatment. In a society that includes a history of discrimination against girls, this may seem the logical response, but as detailed below, this is not pragmatic.

The research of Hudson et al insists that violence against women is not a natural behavior, but learned or encouraged through three factors. The first is that children adopt the behavior of their parents. Therefore, if violence occurs in the home, the child will be likely to imitate their parents.\textsuperscript{189} The children found to be most violent are sons following in the footsteps of violent fathers and reacting to the same triggers, thus perpetuating patterns of violence against women across generations.\textsuperscript{190} Men almost always relate violence against women in the home to fulfilling emotional or physical needs.\textsuperscript{191} This leads to the second factor, immediate reinforcement and gratification, which occurs through cultural traditions rewarding misogynous behavior. The same authors note, “unless aggression toward women becomes less rewarding to men, and prosocial skills become more functional within families, communities, and societies, violence against women will continue.”\textsuperscript{192} Lastly, research shows that boys tend to prefer to play in male-only groupings.\textsuperscript{193} This in itself is not a

\textsuperscript{190} ibid. p. 24.
\textsuperscript{191} ibid. p. 24.
\textsuperscript{192} ibid. p. 24.
\textsuperscript{193} ibid. p. 24.
problem, but a concern develops if within male-only groupings, the ‘other’ being women become labeled inferior, creating a justification for objectification.\textsuperscript{194} Combining these three factors, evidence suggests that if the half of society that holds both physical and political power frequently engages in antisocial actions and receives rewards from it (such as higher social status and dominance), then they will continue in this manner.\textsuperscript{195} As such, even though it is beneficial and necessary to train girls, it appears that to combat cultural violence and make the transformation of gender sustainable, boys must receive comparable education and training.

This chapter analyzed the transformation of the gender-sensitive and gender-based SDP case studies on the process to improve social inclusion. The three interdependent changes highlighted were: adopting a rights-based approach, securing public spaces, and creating female role models. These topics were analyzed through the lens of Lederach’s conflict transformation theory and Galtung’s theory of cultural violence, finding that these targeted areas of transformation are essential for both small-scale and large-scale sustainable change. These ideas were postulated within the framework of Hudson et al who assert that a gender equal state results in a safer state.

\textsuperscript{194} ibid. p. 24.  
\textsuperscript{195} ibid. p. 24.
Conclusion

This essay analyzed the transformation of gender within Sport for Development and Peace programs located in Low-Middle Income Countries, concluding that when girls are included in sport, gender is altered within the organization. To affirm this conclusion, the historical transformation of gender was analyzed within feminist theory, development and peacebuilding, and the history of sport. The transformation of gender within each respective topic led to a ubiquitous finding of the significance of gender equality and more specifically, gender equity, two prominent pillars of gender-sensitive and gender-based SDP programs.

The case studies analyzed include Kenya-based Mathare Youth Sport Association and Moving The Goalposts, and the Akhand Jyoti Football Academy located in India. Despite diverse cultural and geographical environments, and various program motivations for establishment, comparable internal alterations occurred in order for these programs to become socially inclusive and sustainable. These alterations include the administering of a rights-based approach, the provision of safe spaces, and the creation of internal female leadership and thus, the production of female role models outside the domestic sphere.

The case studies also revealed the seriousness and breadth of SDP work that results from girls publicly challenging traditional normative behavior through participation in sport. Because of this, the organization must be prepared for
their program to catalyze change by driving dialogue and debate about the role of girls and women. This suggests that SDP organizations need to be flexible in approach because if their work is successful, impediments to girls will change, and therefore the approach must change again. In order to do this, they must have the capability to expertly address various topics, including, but not limited to sport, health, and development.

This research suggests there is a natural link between gender-sensitive and gender-based Sport for Development and Peace programs, and improving the status of women. As such, organizations running these projects inherently enter the political arena because their challenges include advocating for basic human rights and fighting against social inequality. This political crossover is observed within issues such as early marriage and gender-based violence; the ramifications of social exclusion such as limited safe spaces, access to peer groups and freedom of expression; and a society without equal female representation that impacts role models and economic opportunity.

By entering the political arena, SDP organizations often assume the role of community contrarian, threatening the balance of power that is structured along binary gender lines. This may prompt adverse reactions, particularly in time-honored patriarchal societies. The role of a change-maker requires resourcefulness, creativity and flexibility, all elements evident within the three case studies analyzed. Moreover, the organization must be prepared to facilitate dialogue and debate, as well as include local stakeholders in various capacities.
In theory, internal transformations also impact the wider-community, as challenges to gender equality seen within SDP programs mirror those that hinder the evolution of a more gender-equitable society. When applying Lederach’s theory of conflict resolution transformation, fundamental points that relate to sustainable conflict transformation are addressed. For example, prohibitive structures are altered, diverse stakeholders are included within the transition process, creative methodologies are adapted, and a deep understanding of the issues is cultivated and addressed. In result, the process taken by SDP programs to alter gender within organizations falls within the suggested parameters of Lederach’s approach to create lasting resolution to conflict.

Galtung argued that structural violence is a derivative of cultural violence. Each case study is operated within a patriarchal society that uses cultural violence to denigrate girls and women. Hudson et al argue that a gender imbalanced society, where women are not valued equally to men, is naturally a less peaceful state, thus further endorsing Galtung’s theory. Comparing the internal transformation of gender to the wider community, theoretically the issues remain the same, with gender equality and equity at the heart.

The bigger picture includes more than the theoretical analysis that the creation of gender-equal communities can lead to safer states. Over time, the expansion of recreational and professional sport for girls and women will lead to a normalization of their participation. And, research suggests the male-centric
historical identity of sport is under transformation, becoming more gender-inclusive. This indicates the likeliness of an increase in recognition and representation of female athletes in both historical documentation and current mainstream media.

Despite internal and potentially external progress in gender, limitations within the reach of SDP exist. For example, various understandings of success and the value of winning may detract from the natural camaraderie and support networks created by sport. This may also dilute the message taught within the curricula. Furthermore, there is a danger in participants idealizing a career as a professional athlete, rather than improving their current status through education. Finally and most disconcerting, is the exclusion of boys within gender-sensitive programs that do not have a corresponding boys program. This exclusion may detract from the overarching goals of social inclusion and transforming gender norms.

These findings lead to questions for further research. Due to the breadth of topics that fall within SDP, a variety of cross-cultural perspectives and cooperative interdisciplinary analyses are needed. Research in the fields of Peace Studies, Gender Studies, Public Health, Psychology, and History, to name just a few, would significantly contribute to advancing SDP. As western-educated female scholars have conducted the majority of gender-focused SDP research, a post-colonial approach including the output from SDP monitoring and evaluation teams and information stemming from players themselves, will be significant within future research. To date, most research has limited
empirical and quantitative evidence to support conclusions. Qualitative research reveals that girls who participate benefit by increasing their social capital, but the extent of this result is unknown and a quantitative analysis is required.

Furthermore, the impact of gender transformation resulting from SDP programs on the wider community is yet to be analyzed, opening up questions such as: Are girls who play football in public spaces altering the concept of who can access public space within the community? And, when girls play football within these newly acquired safe spaces, is the community perception of girls and their abilities transformed? Finally, it is necessary to record and compare the progression of gender relations between gender-sensitive programs that include boys and girls, and gender-based programs, which most often serve girls only.
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