

**A Critical Examination of Girls' (Dis)empowerment in Sport
for Development and Peace**

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Abstract

In recent years, women's and girls' development has taken centre stage within the sport for development and peace (SDP) movement so much so that some scholars have referred to the attention on women and girls as the 'girling of development' (Hayhurst 2013a; Chawansky 2011). Amongst the increasing number of programmes targeted at women's and girls' development within SDP and the broader development sector, the term 'empowerment' regularly features as a desirable outcome (Lindsey et al. 2017; Hancock et al. 2013). Most notably, international development agencies such as the United Nations have emphasised their backing for empowerment within the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) where SDG number 5 is to 'Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls' (United Nations Sustainable Development 2015). Despite the increasing number of sport-based empowerment programmes targeted at women and girls globally, very few academic studies have explored precisely *how* participation in SDP programmes empowers women and girls or whether participation leads to their disempowerment. As a result, development agencies, policy makers and practitioners have continued to offer unfounded and ambitious claims regarding sport's potential for empowering women and girls.

This qualitative study aimed to provide an in-depth and critical understanding of girls' (dis)empowerment by examining two National Governing Organisations (NGO) in Rwanda. Drawing on Critical Feminist Theory and Zimmerman's (1995, 1990) conceptualisation of empowerment, concepts such as gender, empowerment and power were unpacked and critically examined in the context of SDP. Multiple methods of data collection were used to achieve the aim including a document analysis, a research journal and fourteen in-depth semi-structured interviews with practitioners working for NGOs. Significant attention was paid to the researcher's reflexivity, given the limited time spent in the field collecting data (21 days), and practical strategies for mitigating the limitations of the research were discussed.

The study uncovered programme mechanisms and social processes that enabled girls to increase their capabilities to improve control over important life matters as well as those which served to disempower girls because of participation in SDP. Empowering programme mechanisms included designing a critical pedagogy, recruiting local Rwandan coaches to deliver sessions and creating a supportive environment to foster mutual and peer support. Disempowering mechanisms were those which reproduced harmful power relations between volunteers from the Global North and girls participating in the programme. The findings also revealed the presence of complex contextual mechanisms related to fostering girls' empowerment including the role of family and the values embedded in cultural philosophies.

In light of the primary findings, this study advocates the requirement for NGOs to develop a critical and holistic understanding of the culture and context which effect girls' (dis)empowerment. The identification of programme and contextual mechanisms provide crucial insight into the relationships between gender, empowerment and SDP in research and practice. Overall, this study produced new trajectories for the conceptualisation and implementation of SDP programmes to foster dimensions of girls' empowerment and prevent their disempowerment.

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Abbreviations

CFT	Critical feminist theory
CWB	Cricket Without Boundaries
GAD	Gender and development
HIV/AIDS	Human immunodeficiency virus/ acquired immune deficiency syndrome
KPI	Kids Play International
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
PLWHA	People living with HIV/AIDS
RCA	Rwandan Cricket Association
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SDP	Sport for development and peace
SGD	Sport, gender and development
SE	Sport empowerment
UN	United Nations
WID	Women in development

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Chapter One: Introducing the Study

1.1 Scope of the study

As the dust begins to settle on the romanticised global sport for development and peace (SDP) movement, concerns of its developmental efficacy have begun to take centre stage. Leading scholars have pointed to poor theorisation underpinning research and practice as one crucial concern (Mwaanga and Prince 2016; Levermore and Beacom 2012; Sugden 2010; Black 2010; Coalter 2010). Moreover, the case for sport as a development tool has been rather simplistic, vague, and imprecise around the mechanisms underpinning the claimed outcomes (Adams and Harris 2014). Research and knowledge development in the field has been largely dominated by the Global North, leaving little room for conceptualisations and theorisations of development for the Global South who are passive recipients of the so called ‘development’.

Women’s and girl’s development has taken the limelight within SDP following a trend within wider international development, SDP scholars have referred to this attention as the ‘girling of development’ (Hayhurst 2013a; Chawansky 2011). For example, in Hancock et al’s (2013) study which searched using four online SDP databases, they recorded that 440 (42.5%) of 1033 SDP programmes were specifically targeting girls and women. Additionally, Lindsey et al (2017) and Hancock et al (2013) have highlighted the frequency of ‘empowerment’ when referring to women and girl’s development. The term empowerment also features within international mandates such as the United Nation Sustainable Development Goals and Sustainable Development Goal number 5, ‘Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls’ (United Nations Sustainable Development 2015).

Policy makers and National Governing Organisations (NGOs) have viewed SDP programmes as sites to empower women and girls and encourage them to take control of their lives (Campbell and Macphail 2002; Hylton and Totten 2013) based on the notion that in most cultures male roles are more valued than female (McPherson et al. 1989). Empowerment is often discussed in terms of targeting the gender disparities between men and women and boys and girls, promoting equality, increasing access to

education, making healthcare accessible, facilitating social inclusion and integration, employment and entrepreneurship, leadership and self-confidence. Yet, despite the growing portfolio of empowerment programmes targeted at women and girls in SDP, there is a paucity of academic literature that attempts to understand sports affiliation with empowerment and gender. This is exacerbated by the absence of critical questioning related to women and girl's empowerment in SDP such as, how does participation in SDP develop girls' empowerment? What is the relationship between gender and empowerment in the context of SDP? And, can participation in SDP programmes lead to girls' disempowerment?

The social, political, economic and psychological dimensions of women's and girls' every day realities are often viewed independently from programmes (Kay and Spaaij 2012; Weber 1998). This is of great concern as girls' participation in SDP might be *disempowering*, contrary to popular claims made by policy makers and NGOs that participation in sport is inherently positive. The absence of in-depth academic literature has led to policy makers and practitioners knowing little about *how* NGOs and their programmes can be a site for (dis)empowering. As such, this research attempts to demystify the claim that participation in SDP automatically empowers girls.

1.2 Aim of the study

This research aims to provide an in-depth and critical understanding of (dis)empowerment for girls participating in SDP programmes in Rwanda.

1.3 Research objectives

The research objectives are as follows:

1. To investigate the ramifications of Global North and Global South politics on gender in SDP.
2. To explore the role of NGOs in fostering girls' (dis)empowerment in SDP in Rwanda.
3. To provide critical insight into the programme mechanisms that operate within SDP programmes to foster (dis)empowerment for girls in Rwanda.

4. To identify and explore the contextual factors external to SDP programmes and how they implicate girls' (dis)empowerment.

1.4 The researcher's position within the research

The initial research idea for the thesis was derived from two key driving factors. Firstly, the lack of current, in-depth and critical understanding of how girls' participation in SDP leads to their (dis)empowerment. Secondly, my own personal experience and training as a practitioner designing and delivering sport programmes for women and girls living in areas of deprivation in the UK. Over the last six years I have become ever more fascinated by the complexities regarding gender in SDP, an area which has also been recognised by other scholars such as Hayhurst (2013a, 2013b), Chawansky (2015; 2011) and Saavedra (2009). Both anecdotally through my engagement in practice and empirically through completion of a Masters dissertation which studied empowerment in the context of the Go Sisters programme in Zambia, it became apparent to me that the concepts of empowerment and gender are complex and dynamic when embedded in SDP. This view is supported by Schulenkorf et al (2016) Chawansky (2015) and Jeanes and Magee (2014) who argue that much more research is needed into the gendered nature of SDP.

The lack of research about girls' empowerment and disempowerment through sport has led to my personal desire to gain an understanding of the politics, mechanisms and contextual factors associated with (dis)empowerment in SDP. Specifically, there is a need to develop a knowledge base that identifies and unpacks the multidimensional factors involved in conceptualising and implementing SDP programmes to see whether they can foster positive empowerment outcomes for girls. This involves unpacking the effect of Northern and Southern politics on gender in SDP which can be understood by drawing on feminist perspectives. Given that the context of this study was in Rwanda but I am white and based in the UK, selecting an appropriate feminist position to explore phenomena was crucial. For example, there have been numerous studies conducted by academics who have adopted postcolonial feminist perspectives in SDP (see Engracia and Brown 2018; Hayhurst 2016, 2014, 2013a, 2013b, 2011; Darnell and Hayhurst 2011). These perspectives are useful for understanding how power is embedded within Eurocentric discourses (Hayhurst 2011; McEwan 2009) and destabilising Northern worldviews (Mwaanga and Banda 2014). To manage and

negotiate Eurocentric discourses and potentially harmful power imbalances in this study, I had a commitment to engage in reflexivity (see section 4.2 in Chapter Four for a detailed discussion of reflexivity). This was especially important given the short length of time spent in the field collecting data.

A potential avenue to build on existing studies and acknowledge my position in the research is by adopting critical feminist theory. A critical feminist position includes and builds on postcolonial feminist perspectives that challenge the social relations and processes of power, race and gender in SDP (see section 2.6 for detailed breakdown of critical feminist theory). It is thus expected that by adopting this position, this study will enable policy makers, practitioners and academics to better understand the empowering and disempowering potential of SDP.

1.4.1 Context and background of sport for development

Globally, there has been a long history of using sport to assist in achieving other outcomes including, character building for public schoolboys in Britain (McComb 2004), developing communities in the Global South by Christian missionaries since the sixteenth century (Guilianotti 2004) and in Ancient Greece as a way to strengthen military training. The belief that sport can be used as a catalyst for achieving non-sporting outcomes is one that has been held by local, national and international organisations for decades (Levermore and Beacom 2009; Beutler 2008). Partnerships between the United Nations (UN) and the International Olympic Committee have existed since 1992 when the IOC established cooperation with the UN International Labour Organisation to improve the accessibility of sport for workers (Beutler 2008). There has also been an increase in international stakeholders including FIFA (Football for Hope), UNICEF in partnership with UK Sport and the British Council (International Inspirations) and a myriad of development agencies such as Laureus Sport for Good Foundation who have “capitalized on the ‘sportification of social investment’” (Burnett 2010, p. 29).

Terms which frequent international development contexts and literature have been used in this study include ‘Global North’ and ‘Global South’. Global North refers to the part of the world which is characterised as being more economically developed and consequently had propensities to facilitate the development of the ‘Global South’ (Hayhurst 2011). Even though the terms Global North and Global South have received

some scrutiny because they generalise diverse contexts and cultures geographically and in the binary, they have been chosen to minimise confusion for the reader (Hayhurst 2011; Dodds 2008; McEwan 2001). As Carney and Chawansky (2016) explain, terms such as ‘Western’ and ‘one-third world’ have also been used to refer to the Global North and ‘two-thirds world’, ‘majority world’ and ‘developing’ have been used to refer to the Global South. The term ‘West’ is also used in this research to refer to Europe and North America. This research remains mindful of the problems associated with using such terminology.

While it is difficult to provide one overarching term for understanding sports affiliation with development, for this research project the term ‘sport for development and peace’ (SDP)¹ is adopted to refer to the use of sport to achieve social change and international development objectives such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). The term is recognised across political and cultural spheres and featured within international policies such as the UN and academic literature (Darnell et al. 2018; Darnell and Black 2011). The term SDP also encompasses ‘sport and peace’ whereby sport is also used as a social and cultural catalyst for conflict resolution, in response to natural disasters and warfare (Giulianotti 2011).

According to Levermore and Beacom (2009), the work in SDP can be grouped into six broad clusters: conflict resolution and intercultural understanding, building physical, social, sport and community infrastructure, raising awareness through education, empowerment, direct impact on physical and psychological health as well as general welfare and economic development/poverty alleviation. While Levermore and Beacom’s (2009) categorisation reveals the variety of SDP programmes, it is important to acknowledge that the increasing portfolio of programmes has led to wide-reaching claims about sports potential to achieve such development outcomes (Schulenkorf 2017; Giulianotti 2012; Beutler 2008; Beacom 2007). For instance, Levermore and Beacom’s categorisation only acknowledges the positive potential of programmes for change and development which results in an oversimplification of social change and development processes (Carney and Chawansky 2016), which are crucial when studying (dis)empowerment.

¹ It is acknowledged and accepted that similar terms exist to describe the relationship between sport and development such as ‘sport in development’ (SiD) and ‘sport for development’ (SfD). The choices of terms used by scholars are respected when citing their work in this research.

1.4.2 Dominant perspectives of development in SDP

The SDP field has become defined by donors (Kidd 2008) who maintain an evangelical stance that sport is an effective means for social change on the international stage. Certain perspectives have dominated the way SDP is conceptualised during policy making and then operationalised and implemented in practice. This is problematic because despite popularity and backing from organisations globally, scholars argue that the dominant perspectives held in SDP serve only to reproduce the donor-recipient relationship between the Global North and South evident in traditional international development work. The traditional trajectories of top-down development in SDP have been discussed by several scholars (see Kay 2011; Darnell 2010; Hayhurst 2009). The ‘donor’ (Global North) maintains control of resources for distribution to the ‘recipient’, in the so called, Global South (Darnell 2007). Consequently, a disparate relationship between the Global North and South has formed resulting in many SDP organisations in the Global South dependent on receiving resources from the Global North (Girginov 2008). Such resources from the Global North include funding for programmes, dissemination of Northern volunteers, and distribution of materials required for delivering programmes such as equipment or programme manuals. The presumption has been that sport universally and incontestably is a suitable tool for development work (Darnell 2012; Levermore and Beacom 2009; Hayhurst 2009), yet, concerns for using sport in the Global South have emerged based on the “implicit assumption that the conditions in these societies were unsatisfactory and ought to be changed” (Desai and Potter 2008, p. 8). The asymmetrical flow of resources and expertise from the Global North to the Global South has been likened to the traditional ‘aid’ giving approaches used by development organisations:

“‘aid’ is regarded by many as a continuing form of cultural imperialism through which the countries of the Minority World protect their political interests and perpetuate the structural disadvantage of those who lack power within the capitalist system.”

(Kay 2011, p. 310)

Within broader sociological literature, the emphasis on the Global North ‘developing’ the Global South reignites the role of sport within the ‘civilising process’ associated with imperialism and colonisation (Darnell 2014; Beacom 2007). Ideas around

material and moral improvement can be seen as far back as the Western Enlightenment era in the eighteenth century which predominantly focused on development work in the Global South (Levermore and Beacom 2009). Dominant Northern based ideologies implicate the conceptualisation and implementation of SDP programmes in the Global South by imposing Western values and practices (Mwaanga and Banda 2014). As a result, “those with vested power are able to impose their ideologies and goals on a policy agenda.” (Hayhurst 2009, p. 207). This critique prompts an important line of questioning for this study to examine whether ‘empowerment’ is a viable alternative to traditional ‘aid’ approaches or whether it is simply repackaging the same development discourses in SDP?

Regardless of the increasing number of programmes and academic interest the problematic issue in SDP is that it is “still in its infancy, woefully underfunded, completely unregulated, poorly planned and coordinated and largely isolated from mainstream development efforts.” (Kidd 2008, p. 376). SDP has become increasingly contested and challenged (Burnett 2008) and the donor-recipient relationship is one that continues to marginalise the voices of policy end-users whilst propagating Northern hegemonic discourses. Progression in this field has stagnated in terms of research which requires greater depth to capture the complexity of multi-faceted SDP programmes and the individuals participating in them. Burnett (2010, p. 30) argues that part of the problem has been that SDP research has “isolated bodies of knowledge due to uncoordinated studies, not encapsulating the complexity of development dynamics, methodological limitations, diverse contextual realities and the lack of guiding theoretical frameworks”. According to Darnell, these limitations are intensified by the highly competitive field of SDP research that “calls for and privileges positivist, evidence-based research” (2014, p. 1012). In moving the field forward, most SDP researchers must ‘unlearn’ their strategies, training and approaches to such research and attempt to counter the undemocratic research processes that ignore the complex realities of the social world (Mwaanga and Adeosun 2016; Chambers 1983).

1.5 Overview of the chapters

Chapter Two engages with the intersections of sport, gender and development to provide the context and background for examining girls’ (dis)empowerment in SDP.

A background of the research context is provided, detailing a historical account of pre-colonial and postcolonial Rwanda. The chapter introduces the adoption of critical feminist theory (CFT) which draws on multiple feminist perspectives. Using CFT, the chapter explores central concepts related to gender, the historical and cultural baggage of sport, the role of sport NGOs and an examination of how existing research on gender in SDP is conducted.

Chapter Three examines the conceptual framework being employed in this research to study girls' (dis)empowerment. The chapter begins by examining the origins of the term empowerment in community psychology, sport psychology, sociology, education, leisure (including sport studies) and gender studies to comprehend the processes linked to girls' (dis)empowerment in SDP. This examination takes us beyond poorly applied and simplistic definitions of gender and empowerment to recognising the complex intersections of gender and empowerment in relation to sport in the Global South. In this chapter, the framework for the thesis is established and the strengths and limitations of past studies are determined.

The study's methodology is detailed in Chapter Four. Given that the primary aim of this research is to develop an in-depth understanding of girls' (dis)empowerment in SDP, this study draws on critical realist and qualitative paradigms. The two cases are used to decipher conceptualisations of (dis)empowerment are discussed. The chapter then examines the instruments that were used to collect data and highlights the ethical considerations and limitations of such approaches and how they were overcome in the study.

Chapter Five presents the findings which emerged from Case 1; Kids Play International. Four main themes emerged from the data analysis that best explain the complexity of conceptualising and practicing girls' (dis)empowerment in SDP. These were:

- unpacking the conceptualisation of self-confidence
- negotiating the complex role of parents in girls' empowerment
- critical pedagogy
- menstruation in girls' (dis)empowerment.

By drawing on research participants' narratives, documents and a research journal, an examination into the efficacy of the programme was conducted.

Chapter Six presents the findings which emerged from Case 2; Cricket Without Boundaries. Three main themes emerged from the data analysis that best explain the complexity of conceptualising and practicing girls' empowerment in SDP. These were;

- embedding HIV/AIDS education with cricket coaching
- using new sports to transform gender relations
- global citizens and their effect on girls' empowerment.

Chapter Seven brings together both cases to examine some cross-cutting themes in relation to girls' attainment of individual empowerment including:

- creating a setting for peer support
- developing relationships, bonding and Ubuntu
- self-realisation and the collective

The examinations centre on the role of cultural philosophy and how that influences girls' participation in SDP programming. The findings suggest that there was a conflict between the individual and the collective but highlight there is scope for the collective to be a productive influence on girls developing their empowerment.

Chapter Eight concludes the thesis, drawing together the findings and discussion chapters of both cases to demonstrate the overall contribution of the research project to the theoretical, political and practical progress of SDP. It is suggested that SDP programmes should do more at the design phase to conceptualise (dis)empowerment and gain a critical understanding of what that might mean for girls in that context. In this vein, it emerged that SDP programmes could use universal concepts identified in this research and bring them down to a local and contextual level to examine girls' (dis)empowerment.

Chapter Two: Sport, Gender and Development

2.1 Overview of the chapter

The last chapter established the aim and objectives of this research project and provided an outline of the SDP context. In this chapter, the context of SDP is built upon to examine the relationship between gender and SDP. This is crucial in achieving research objective one ‘To investigate the ramifications of the Global North and Global South politics on gender in SDP’, because it examines the key concepts related to girls’ participation in SDP programmes and the conceptualisation of ‘gender’.

The chapter begins by discussing the history of Rwanda to provide a context for this research. The reader is then introduced to the gender and development field and provided with a background of the emerging focus on girls in the development and SDP landscape. A brief history of the women’s movement and the usage of feminist theories are discussed and critiqued in line with the study’s research objectives. Such analyses lead to revealing the adopted feminist perspective that is used throughout the study to achieve said research objectives. The feminist perspective is then used to critically examine the relationship between gender and SDP, offering new insights into the conceptualisation and implementation of gender, sport and development in SDP programmes.

2.2 Country context: Rwanda

2.2.1 Precolonial Rwanda

In precolonial times, the population of Rwanda was categorised into one of three groups; Hutu, Twa and Tutsi based on their social class, ethnicity, race and caste (Bale 2002). The relationship between the Twa, Tutsi and Hutus was most often reciprocal because of their exchanges in labour. Tutsi would breed and herd the cattle and Hutu would till the field with all groups revering the cow (Bale 2002). Prior to colonisation, having the label of Hutu, Tutsi or Twa was a reflection of social mobility. Wealth and status was defined by the number of cattle you owned. The Tutsi King or *Mwami* owned land and exercised his control over Hutus. Tutsi people were often considered

as the elite class, with many Tutsis being chiefs of the King including cattle chiefs, land chiefs and military chiefs, but this was not always the case. In some regions, Tutsis had power because they were royal descendants, whilst in other regions, Hutus had the majority land and dominated agricultural work. During precolonial Rwanda, Tutsis and Hutus were permitted to marry, for example, a wealthy Hutu man could marry a Tutsi woman. Moreover, a Tutsi could become a Hutu and a Twa could become a Hutu a Hutu and so on (Wielenga 2011). Tutsis, Hutus and Twas lived together and “shared a common culture that valued music, poetry, rhetoric and body cultures such as dance and *gusimbuka-urukiramende*” (Bale 2002, p. 4).

2.2.2 Colonial Rwanda and the Genocide

Germany was the first to colonise Rwanda, or Rwanda-Urundi as it was known at the time, until the Treaty of Versailles in 1918 stated that the Belgium Empire would govern the country. In contrast to other African countries being colonised at the time, Rwanda’s King Mwami Musiga maintained control on behalf of the German Empire, despite though the presence of German military in Kigali was enforced in 1908 (Totten and Ubaldo 2011; Bale 2002). During this time Mwami, a Tutsi, reigned Rwanda and the colonisers assumed that Tutsis generally had more power and control across the country, even though Hutus controlled many northern kingdoms. The colonisers further legitimised this belief based on the view that Rwanda was ruled in a similar way to European monarchies at the time because Rwanda also had a king (Bale 2002). Despite some stereotyping of Tutsis, Hutus and Twa during precolonial Rwanda, European colonisers reinforced these stereotypes after 1900 where “the transformation of a fairly complex status hierarchy into the more essentialised ethnic pyramid of Tutsi, Hutu and Twa” (Bale 2002, p. 10). Early colonial writing described the Tutsi, Hutu and Twa groups as different races and ethnic groups but with the same language (Kinyarwanda) and a common set of philosophical and religious beliefs. The colonisers defined Hutu and Tutsi people by their moral traits and physical appearances such as intelligence, beauty and political alignment where Tutsis “were not seen as conforming to the negative Negro stereotype” (Bale 2002, p. 14). Tutsis were described as “intelligent and attractive, but rather frail; they were destined for governance. Hutu were stocky, coarser featured, but not overly intelligent; physical strength made them suitable for agricultural labour” (Taylor 2001, p. 60). In 1933, the Belgians solidified such stereotypes by introducing identity cards to differentiate

between Hutu and Tutsi civilians (Totten and Ubaldo 2011). The identity card served to reinforce the differences between Tutsi and Hutu people and reproduced the view that ‘you remain Tutsi or Hutu for life’.

In 1962, Rwanda and Burundi separated to become independent countries. As Belgium withdrew, Gregoire Kayibanda, a Hutu, became president and many Tutsis fled the country as tension between the Hutus and Tutsis rose. A year later, Hutu military murdered approximately 10,000 Tutsis and the ethnic tension deepened, so much so, that another purge took place murdering Tutsis in 1967. Meanwhile in Burundi, the Tutsi army killed over 200,000 Hutus. Discrimination against Tutsis became more systematic as their persecution continued during the 1970’s including their removal from universities and restrictions to certain jobs. Accordingly, “It is in this context that Tutsi, a group with a privileged relationship to power before colonialism, got constructed as a privileged alien settler presence, first by the great nativist revolution of 1959, and then by Hutu Power propaganda after 1990” (Mamdani 2001, p. 14).

The genocide occurred amidst a civil war between the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) and the Hutu Rwandan Army in 1990 (Burnet 2011). Anti-Tutsi propaganda became more extreme and thousands of Tutsis were killed in massacres across the country. The radio station, Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines played a significant role in the genocide, broadcasting extremist anti-Tutsi propaganda between 1993 and July 1994 through commentaries, interviews and non-factual reports combined with street language and hip hop music (Melvern 2006). The point that sparked the genocide was the death of Habyarimana, the President of Rwanda. On the 6th April 1994 the president’s and several government official’s plane was shot down and the Tutsis were blamed for their deaths (Grünfeld and Huijboom 2007).

In the span of just 100 days the Rwandan genocide unfolded and between 800,000 and 1 million Tutsis and moderate Hutus were murdered (Debusscher and Ansoms 2013; Zorbas 2004; Mamdani 2001). The victims of the genocide were murdered because of their identification as Tutsis and with moderate Hutus also becoming victims as they were labelled as Tutsi co-conspirators (Zorbas 2004). During the conflict, women were raped, sexually harassed and tortured leading to HIV infection (Debusscher and Ansoms 2013). The order was given that Tutsi women and children would not be spared and those who lived suffered sexual violence and rape (Sharlach 1999). Hutu

women were also victims of rape because of their perceived association with Tutsi people.

The genocide was carried out entirely by hand using mainly machetes and wooden clubs. The victims were murdered by Hutus who were members of the same communities and Tutsis were often people they knew as neighbours, friends and work colleagues (Kirkby 2006). Local leaders would use churches and schools to round up victims to organise mass slaughtering by the *interahmwe* (Kirkby 2006). The *interahmwe* were groups of civilian death squads who were trained by the military to massacre and circulate weapons (Strauss 2013; Grünfeld and Huijboom 2007). The *interahmwe* consisted mainly of young people who were dedicated to the political cause and the persecution of the Tutsis (Strauss 2013).

Men *and* women were complicit in the genocide. Sisterhood between Tutsi women and Hutu women was overridden by Hutu nationalism (Sharlach 1999). In Sharlach's study speaking to a representative of Pro-Femmes, the interviewee described how Hutu women were given Tutsi children to protect but instead turned them over to the *interahmwe* to be killed. Extremist wings of political parties with militia groups also participated including the "Forces Armées Rwandaises (FAR), the Presidential Guard and local 'self-defence' groups that had been armed by government authorities in the preceding months" (Zorbas 2004, p. 31).

The genocide ended on the 4th July 1994 when the RPF won control of Kigali (Totten and Ubaldo 2011; Burnet 2011). The genocide sparked National media interest across the world from the first day to the last day and despite the violence, the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) were the only organisation on the ground peacekeeping in Rwanda during the genocide (World Without Genocide 2013). UNAMIR raised several warnings to the UN Secretary Council about the Hutu's plan three months prior to the start of the genocide but they denied UNAMIR access to intervene in the killings (World Without Genocide 2013). Additionally, some countries such as the US and UK initially refused to send additional support to Rwanda for economic reasons (Melvern 2006).

Approximately, 6 million people survived the genocide but were left in horrifying situations where most of their family members had been slaughtered and material possessions destroyed or looted (Burnet 2011). Those who fled to neighbouring

countries were forced to live in overcrowded refugee camps along borders with limited access to basic amenities which meant many died of epidemics. The country was in shock and civilians were left emotionally and physically traumatised by the genocide with many survivors incapacitated (Burnet 2011)².

2.2.3 Post Genocide Rwanda: Ubuntu and the Gacaca process

The formal legal system in Rwanda was left in ruins after the genocide and faced more than 120,000 prisoners awaiting trial (Hinton 2015; Kavuro 2011). In response to the backlog of suspects, the Gacaca Law was enacted where the role of the Gacaca was to contribute to the post-conflict resolution and reconstruction of Rwanda (Hinton 2015). Gacaca in Kinyarwanda translates to ‘justice on the grass’ and during pre-colonial Rwanda, community members would sit on the grass and settle local disputes about land use, marriage and cattle ownership (Hinton 2015; Karbo and Mutisi 2008). The reincarnated Gacaca enabled indigenous community courts the ability to deal with genocide cases to help decongest the prisons and speed up the trials at the community level (Hinton 2015). Suspects waiting to attend trial lived in dire conditions and many died before going to trial because of their living conditions. It was clear that the legal system in Rwanda and international tribunals could not deal with all the cases of genocide.

The Gacaca courts were run by community members who had been elected for their high moral or ethical standards such as honour, courage and justice (Karbo and Mutisi 2008). In a Gacaca court, local community residents would provide testimonies for and against the suspects accused of committing the crimes and participate in a debate about what happened to establish ‘the truth’. The emphasis of the court would be on volunteering to confess crimes and apologise, and those who confessed would receive significantly reduced prison sentences (Hinton 2015; Karbo and Mutisi 2008). According to Karbo and Mutisi (2008), the Gacaca did not serve only as a place for justice and conflict resolution to rebuild communities, it also provided an opportunity for victims to speak about their ordeal and to mourn their loved ones.

² It is important however to note that historical accounts of events are contested, for example, there were some parts of Rwanda which were largely unaffected by the genocide. Communes in the Southern Province of Rwanda experienced a higher number of deaths in comparison to the communes in the Northern and Eastern Provinces (Census of Survivors from the Genocide Report 2008). Thus, it should not be assumed that people experienced the genocide the same way.

The Gacaca courts were controversial with some human rights groups arguing that the Gacaca were not up to the standard of international legal standards. Some trials were held where defendants had no access to qualified lawyers and, like pre-colonial Gacaca courts, trials were run by judges who were members of the community known as the *inyangamugayo* or ‘persons of exemplary conduct’ (Kavuro 2011; Karbo and Mutisi 2008; Kirkby 2006). This meant that judges tended to focus on ethical, moral and emotional judgements rather than applying legal systems (Kavuro 2011). The judges were unpaid but received free schooling for their children and medical access in return for their work (Karbo and Mutisi 2008).

To examine the Gacaca judicial process, analyses have drawn on the indigenous cultural philosophy of Ubuntu. Some scholars argued that the Gacaca embeds and reproduces the African concept of Ubuntu which, although not easily translated into English, can be expressed as ‘people being people through people’ (Hinton 2015; Mucini 2013; Karbo and Mutisi 2008). Ubuntu is a cultural philosophy practiced in communities across Rwanda and other countries across Africa. The African values of Ubuntu involve individuals working through the good of the collective rather than working solely for their own good (Mucini 2013; Lutz 2009). According to Mbiti, Ubuntu can be explained as “I am, because we are; and since we are, therefore I am” (1969, p.108).

The Gacaca focussed on restoring the balance between perpetrators and their victims through truth, harmony and forgiveness. The Gacaca encouraged communities to work together as jurors, witnesses and voters to create a common experience “in which everyone works together toward a common goal, thereby replacing the divisive experience of the genocide with the cohesive experience of securing justice” (Karbo and Mutisi 2008, p. 14). The above points reflect tenets of Ubuntu which advocate togetherness, mutual support, bonding and, according to Kavuro (2011), emphasises reconciliation and restoration rather than exclusion which is more aligned with Western judiciary systems. As Kirkby states, the idea behind this is that “after the act, however awful, both survivors and perpetrators must often live together” (2006, p. 95).

Central to Ubuntu is the idea of human inter-connectedness allowing individuals to pursue his or her own good through the common good, rather than instead of his or

her own good (Mwaanga and Banda 2014). However, Shutte (2001) argues that Ubuntu and the relationship between individuals and collective are contradictory because the individual only exists in relation to other people. Consequently, individuals also develop the perception that they “cannot survive outside of their respective communities in as much as fish cannot survive outside of water” (Dolamo 2013, p. 8). As such, “individuality can easily derail into an oppressive collectivism or communalism” (Louw 2006, p.169). It is because of the influence Ubuntu has had on individuals and communities in Rwanda that Ubuntu must be studied, because it may influence girls’ daily lives and effect their (dis)empowerment. A relevant question therefore might be, how do individuals developing their empowerment negotiate their relationship with the needs of the collective?

Despite the growing literature studying SDP in African communities, the relationship between Ubuntu and SDP has rarely been explored, apart from a few exceptions (see Mwaanga and Prince 2016; Mwaanga and Banda 2014). The lack of exploration partly a result of research which has been conducted by Western academics who have overlooked indigenous cultural philosophies (Mwaanga 2013). However, for the few studies which exist, they have not studied the relationship between gender, (dis)empowerment and Ubuntu in the SDP context and therefore provides a clear gap in knowledge which this research can contribute.

2.2.4 Post Genocide Rwanda: Gender development

After the genocide, Rwanda’s infrastructure was destroyed and the population was made up of 70% of women (Burnet 2011). Men were either killed during the genocide, in prison or had fled the country. The gender expectations and responsibilities of women and men had drastically changed after the genocide leading to a shift in women’s livelihoods and place in society (Rwabyoma 2014; Debusscher and Ansoms 2013; Burnet 2011). This led to a significant change in many women’s lives because they adopted their husband’s or father’s responsibilities to build houses, farm cattle and make decisions. Women were catapulted into the head of the household which was especially challenging, given the context of a post-genocide landscape, because many people were lacking basic amenities and access to shelter, food and clothing (Rwabyoma 2014; Debusscher and Ansoms 2013). Accordingly, most Rwandan women “took on primary economic responsibility for their households because their

husbands were either absent or unable to do it.” (Burnet 2011, p. 11). The traditional gender roles and responsibilities were no longer an option.

Before the genocide, women were forbidden by law to engage in commercial activities or apply for employment without authorisation from their husbands. However, with disruption to gender roles and relations post-genocide, some women, especially in urban areas, saw an opportunity to liberate themselves by pursuing careers, engaging in commercial activities and setting up businesses (Burnet 2011). In comparison, rural women experienced an increased workload of manual tasks to cover the shortfall of their husband’s labour where they relied on the income from farming to cover essential costs of food, health care and school fees for children.

Rwanda has taken considerable action at the political level to increase gender equity and women’s participation in government. According to Debusscher and Ansoms (2013), there are three reasons to explain this shift in politics. First, with changing gender roles and women becoming head of households, the social structure began to change with women having no choice but to take on roles which were traditionally reserved for men. Second, the advocacy work of women’s groups and activists such as the Pro-Femmes formed the women’s movement to promote women’s rights and gender-based development policies (Sharlach 1999). The movement advocated for laws around inheritance, land ownership and gender policies on gender-based violence, for example the law on inheritance was changed so that female survivors of the genocide can inherit property of the deceased. Third, “The ruling RPF’s commitment to women’s empowerment is a third factor that has contributed to increased attention to gender equality” (Sharlach 1999, p. 1116). For example, the Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion (MIGEPROF) which is now based within the Prime Minister’s office giving precedence to gender policies at the highest level.

Empowering women has remained a central focus in the latest Rwandan national gender policies. Rwandan President Paul Kagame emphasised the government’s dedication to gender where he advocated that “gender equality is not just women’s business, it is everybody’s business and gender equality and women’s empowerment are critical to sustainable socio-economic development”³. Empowerment also features

³ Opening address by President Paul Kagame, Gender, Nation Building and Role of Parliament conference report, 2007

in the national Girls' Education Policy (2008) that outlines the role of training and education to foster women's and girls' empowerment. The broader national focus on gender is also reflected in the nation's 'Vision 2020' which details strategic long-term development goals. 'Gender equality' is listed as a cross-cutting agenda across the six pillars of Vision 2020 which focus on governance, human resources, economy, infrastructure, agriculture and regional and international economic integration (Rwanda Vision 2020 Strategy 2012).

Even though steps have been taken to promote gender equity at a governmental level, concerns have been voiced that it is only high class women in urban areas who have experienced the benefits of the women's movement. Urban women have seen increased opportunities to paid employment and enjoyed greater purchasing power for amenities such as clothing, transport and domestic servants whereas "rural peasant women in elected positions in local government have seen their workload increase and their economic security undermined" (Burnet 2011, p.4). In contrast, participation opportunities in policy making at grassroots and in rural areas are limited. One reason for this is that those who work in government positions may be detached from rural Rwanda because of their elite background or because they have been raised in a neighbouring country (Debusscher and Ansoms 2013).

2.3 Context and background of 'Gender and Development'

Development is a term used throughout this research and so it is imperative to be clear on the definition of 'development' because the study is situated in the context of SDP, which itself is an approach to development. Broadly, development can be defined as both a "physical reality and a state of mind in which society has secured the means for obtaining a better life" (Todaro and Smith 2006, p. 22). Black (2010) builds on the idea of development for creating a 'better life' in his definition where he asserts that development is an organised intervention for a standard of improvement. Unlike Todaro and Smith's (2006) definition, that views development as inherently positive, Black's (2010) definition is somewhat more critical because he argues that what counts as 'improvement' is largely dependent on Global Northern interpretation. In this research, Black's definition of development is adopted because it challenges the

dominant approaches to development by policies and organisations that emphasises the material and moral ‘improvement’ of people around the world. What constitutes development or ‘improvement’ is often built on the cornerstones of modernisation and neo-liberal ideologies (Rist 2014; McMichael 2010). Historically, Western powers “‘discovered’ these other cultures, enslaved the peoples, expropriated their natural and human resources, and then, once such exploitation had proved too exhausting to maintain, the colonists introduced the colonized to notions of nationhood, political independence, free-market international trading, and human rights” (Giulianotti 2004, p. 358). Subsequently, countries in the Global South have been heavily associated with poverty, exclusion and instability, leading to the view that they are ‘underdeveloped’. As such, the response of the Global North to development in the Global South is understood as “benevolent and rational” (Darnell 2007, p. 564).

In the early 1970’s, the term ‘Women in Development’ (WID) was coined by second wave feminists drawing attention to the role of *women* in the development process (Sweetman 2013). WID emphasised global development work and interventions in Sub-Saharan Africa with the view that if resources were redirected to women they would be able to enhance their economic productivity leading to emancipation (Razavi and Miller 1995). Arguably, the WID approach provided the first step in analysing and addressing women’s subordination in the development context. Research began to examine the importance of power and gender relations to analyse the marginalisation of women. Now, four decades on, such research has informed the current field termed ‘Gender and Development’ (GAD). Internationally, development and non-development organisations from private, public and charity sectors have focused their attention on alleviating and minimising gender inequality.

2.4 Context and background of sport, gender and development

The SDP movement has burgeoned with the increasing variety of interventions and policies targeting an array of social issues. The focus on tackling issues relating to ‘gender’ has escalated during the last decade partly due to investment and commitment from organisations internationally (Ferrant and Nowacka 2015). During this time, SDP has become increasingly attractive to policy makers and practitioners to address gender disparity between men and women and boys and girls. This has resulted in inflated claims and promises about sport’s potential to address gender related issues

despite a lack of evidence and research on these types of programmes (Mwaanga and Prince 2016; Chawansky and Hayhurst 2013). The view that women's and girls' participation in SDP interventions corrects the imbalances between men and women and boys and girls is far too simplistic. Gender, sport and development are complex in both theory and practice (Saavedra 2009) and 'gender' alone is already a complex concept whose meaning varies across contexts (Chawansky 2011). The growth in interest and focus on 'gender' within SDP policy and practice has led some scholars to refer to this unique area as 'Sport, Gender and Development' (SGD) (Hayhurst et al. 2014; Hayhurst 2011; Chawansky 2011). Leading scholars in the field are Lyndsay Hayhurst, Megan Chawansky and Ruth Jeanes. Hayhurst's work has contributed significant knowledge towards understanding grassroots girls-focused interventions in Uganda, global gender-focussed development campaigns and postcolonial feminist perspectives on development in the Global South (Hayhurst 2014, 2013a, 2013b, 2013, 2011). Her work is heavily drawn on in this research, especially her paper titled: *The Girl Effect and martial arts: Exploring social entrepreneurship and Sport, Gender and Development in Uganda* (2013a) which examines the 'economic empowerment' of girls and is discussed in greater detail later in Chapter Three. Likewise, Chawansky's research on mixed-gender programming, intersectionality and social change in SDP (Chawansky 2015, 2011) are regularly cited when discussing critical feminist perspectives in SDP. Additionally, Jeanes' research is frequently referred to in this chapter drawing on her extensive research in Zambia examining the role of sport in HIV/AIDS education and critical pedagogies. Hayhurst, Chawansky and Kay have also edited a book *Beyond Sport for Development and Peace: Transnational Perspectives on Theory, Policy and Practice - Routledge Research in Sport, Culture and Society* (2015) which features chapters from other key SDP scholars such as Tess Kay, Simon Darnell, Ramon Spaaij and Nico Schlenker whose work is also referred to in this research.

SGD is part of the broader SDP movement that primarily focuses on contributing the achievement of global development objectives such as the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) (Hayhurst et al. 2014). Youth and women and girls have been at the centre of the SDGs and a SDP programmes and interventions (Collison et al. 2017). There currently exists a broad and varied portfolio of interventions and programmes targeting different forms of inequality that women and girls experience,

such as: limited access to education, HIV/AIDS and health care, social inclusion and integration, employment and entrepreneurship, leadership and empowerment. At the time of writing, 420 SDP programmes focussing on ‘gender’ are registered on the International Platform of Sport for Development many of which are delivered by NGOs, sport organisations and government agencies and are in the Global South (International Platform for Sport and Development 2018). This is over a 50% increase in the number of programmes registered on the platform when last recorded by Saavedra in 2009. Eighty-two of these organisations use the term ‘empower’ either in their aim, objectives or description about their services (International Platform for Sport and Development 2018). However, it is important to note that the International Sport for Development Platform only accounts for a minority of programmes that exist globally, for instance, some programmes do not have access to the internet and some programmes are located in remote areas with limited resources. Further, because of the complex way ‘sport’ and ‘development’ fields overlap in research and practice (Darnell 2007), it is difficult to say exactly how many NGOs and programmes exist of this kind.

2.4.1 Policy context of sport, gender and development

Despite academic critiques which challenge the dominant sport rhetoric, these perspectives have not yet filtered into political spheres where the role of sport in achieving policy goals is often unquestioned (Schulenkorf 2017). For example, in partnership with the Commonwealth Secretariat (2013), a guide was prepared for members of governments to promote best practice in SDP. The guide featured ‘Gender Equality through Sport’ demonstrating the UN’s commitment to using SDP as the platform for addressing gender issues. The UN’s more recent commitment to girls in SDP is representative of how SGD has come to be formed over the last sixty years. In 1969, the International Association of Physical Education and Sport for Girls and Women (IAPESGW) was formed, advocating greater opportunities for women and girls to participate in sport and physical education at all levels (IAPESGW 2011). Arguably the first organisation dedicated to emphasising the importance of sport and physical education in the lives of girls and women worldwide, IAPESGW works across different interest groups to fulfil core values of education, social justice and active participation (Pike and Matthews 2014). Such values are reiterative of the aims and objectives seen in more recent sporting and non-sporting development

organisations like the UN and the Women's Sport Foundation. The first World Conference on Women and Sport and the signing of the Brighton Declaration occurred in 1994, which signalled a greater presence of the 'women in sport' movement taking on an increasing international dimension. It was the advancements made during the women in sport movement, which spurred an emphasis on the relationship between GAD work and sport (Saavedra 2009), and since then, a further five conferences have taken place, each giving greater emphasis to the development mandate of women and girls internationally.

Scholars such as Lindsey have made significant contributions to understanding sport and the SDGs at the policy level. Lindsey and Darby (2018) have utilised the concept of policy coherence to analyse the factors which may enable and/or constrain the potential role of sport in helping to achieve the SDGs. They ask, "How should the determination of sport policy priorities take account of differing issues of development need, the evidence-base on sport and development, and the practical feasibility of progress towards particular SDGs?" (p. 14). Examining the differing issues and feasibility of SDP programmes is an important inquiry for this study to build upon and examine whether sport is a realistic tool for addressing girls' empowerment as outlined in SDG number 5 (to Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls).

In their guide for the Commonwealth entitled 'Enhancing the Contribution of Sport to the Sustainable Development Goals', Lindsey and Chapman (2017) provide a robust analysis and recommendations for sport's potential contribution in achieving each of the goals. In their section on SDG 5 they make several suggestions for improving policy and achieving SDG5, this includes:

- Embedding existing legal frameworks that promote and enforce gender equality in sport
- Ensure that all sporting spaces are safe
- Engage media organisations to promote mainstream representation of female sport athletes
- Ensure that organisations receiving public funding have appropriate strategies and monitoring in place
- Involve experts on gender from sectors outside sport to ensure integrated capacity-building to improve gender equality

- Encourage sport organisations to publish data regarding girls’ and women’s involvement and representation in sport

According to Lindsey and Chapman (2017), to address gender inequalities, the stakeholders involved in delivering policies need to be recognised. This includes recognising the role of commercial, non-profit and media organisations in sport. They argue that monitoring of resources and data can “also be used effectively to inform-building across a range of sport and development stakeholders, and to shape media strategies and campaigns to address gender inequality” (Lindsey and Chapman 2017, p. 82). The guide also advocates the need for “gender-sensitive” systems to distribute and re-distribute funding effectively and employ various and multiple approaches to data gathering and dissemination of information (p. 88). Employing multiple and various approaches to gathering and disseminating information is crucial because different contexts will have different approaches to implementing policy options. This involves undertaking in “full cognisance of broader discrimination against girls and women, and also be sensitive to context-specific influences on their involvement in sport” (Lindsey and Chapman 2017, p. 81). In his earlier research, Lindsey (2011) suggests that policy making shouldn’t be top-down and recommends involving practitioners in the process in an attempt to make policies contextually relevant.

Lindsey’s investigations, into the policy level of SDP, are useful in this research for identifying and understanding the key discussions at the policy level and how such messages manifest in practice with regards to gender (dis)empowerment. Additionally, this research may be able to explore the extent to which Lindsey and Chapman’s (2017) suggestions for achieving SDG 5 are realistic for multifaceted communities within rural Rwanda.

2.4.2 The prevalence of HIV/AIDS in sport, gender and development

The rise in concentration on women’s and girls’ development in policy and practice is partly a result of non-sporting and sporting NGOs holding on to the promise of sports’ ability to facilitate social change and address broader development agendas (Burnett 2010). One area where SDP has been viewed to contribute to international development agendas is the education and prevention of HIV/AIDS (Maleka 2017; Mwaanga and Adeosun 2017; Forde 2014; Mwaanga and Banda 2014; Jeanes 2013; Mwaanga 2010).

Globally, 36.9 million people are living with HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS 2018). Although there has been a reduction in new HIV infections, in 2017 there were still 1.8 million new infections, compared to 3.4 million in 1996 (UNAIDS 2018). With the prevalence of HIV/AIDS globally, it comes as no surprise that many SDP initiatives are linked to HIV/AIDS related work. The modern SDP movement has involved responding to the prevalence of HIV/AIDS “which dominated the development agenda in Africa from the mid-1990s” (Lindsey et al. 2017, p. 26). In 2001, the Kicking Aids Out (KAO) network was established in Zambia to raise awareness and educate communities about HIV/AIDS through sport (Lindsey et al. 2017; Mwaanga and Adeosun 2017). KAO is now a global network comprised of over twenty countries including multinational organisations such as UK Sport, the Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Confederation of Sports and the Commonwealth Games Canada (Mwaanga and Adeosun 2017). Additionally, in 2003, the United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force for SDP stated that programmes such as these are a powerful tool for communicating key messages about preventing HIV/AIDS (Banda 2011; Lindsey and Banda 2010).

It is widely recognised by researchers, policy makers and organisations that women and girls remain the most vulnerable to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. In East and Southern Africa, the number of infected girls and women is double the number of men and boys – 1.9 million compared to 780,000 (UNICEF 2017). Due to the high rate of infection among women and girls, the number of programmes aimed at empowering women and girls is an indication that HIV/AIDS is a disease of inequalities (Banda 2011). There are several gender-specific risk factors related to HIV/AIDS for women and girls. First, some women and girls engage in transactional sex exchanges for economic and material reasons in attempt to combat their living situations where many are living in poverty (Sia et al. 2016). This means that they often have very limited possibilities to negotiate safe sex, including condom use (UNICEF 2017). Thus, the economic inequality between men and women is likely to increase women’s and girls’ vulnerability for contracting HIV.

Second, as demonstrated in Kalibala et al’s (2016) study, women’s and girls’ level of education is a significant predictor of HIV knowledge. If women and girls don’t have access to information at school or from engagement in other services they are less likely to know about how to prevent disease transmission.

Third, it is widely acknowledged that there is a strong correlation between contracting HIV/AIDS and gender-based violence (Russell et al. 2016). According to Sia et al (2016, p. 2) “social norms permitting violence against women, including domestic violence, spousal abuse, and rape might increase the probability of infection among women”.

When examining the determinants of gender inequalities in HIV/AIDS prevalence, it is necessary to acknowledge that issues vary across different countries. In the context of Rwanda, which has been affected by a genocide, sexual and gender-based violence was used as a weapon against women and girls (Russell et al. 2016; Chun and Skjelsbæk 2010; Donovan 2002). Despite progress after the genocide in gender development, as discussed in section 2.2.4, women survivors still experience struggles such as poverty and health issues related to HIV/AIDS. For example, some of the women who survived the genocide not only suffered traumatic psychological and physical infirmities but were also infected with HIV. According to African Rights (2004) cited by Russell et al “Rape survivors were often rejected by their families due to the stigma surrounding both rape and HIV/AIDS (2016, p. 724-725). These ordeals were further exacerbated for female survivors living in poverty who could not afford basic health care or who lacked information about services to support them (Russell et al. 2016).

In response to the lack of services which adequately support people living with HIV/AIDS, the presence of NGOs and development agencies in East and Southern Africa increased. For example, there was a growth in the number of local, national and international organisations in Rwanda after the genocide aimed at providing support to genocide survivors and PLWHA (Russell et al. 2016). This included the creation of Foundation Rwanda and international collaborations with UNICEF, USAID and PEPFAR.

In SDP, education on HIV/AIDS is often centred on providing girls, and boys, with information about methods to prevent the transmission of diseases. Several authors have written about the positive potential for SDP to educate and prevent HIV/AIDS and examined the role of peer education and life skills (see Spaij and Jeanes 2013; Jeanes 2013), empowerment of people living with HIV/AIDS (see Mwaanga and Banda 2014) and monitoring and evaluating HIV/AIDS in SDP (see Maleka 2017). These studies have been significant for examining what is currently being delivered in SDP programmes to address HIV/AIDS and the limitations of such approaches.

Additionally, Forde's (2014) discourse analysis on HIV/AIDS education manuals highlights the tendency for programmes to overlook structural factors such as gender inequalities, poverty and colonisation when educating about HIV/AIDS transmission. Forde takes the analysis further and begins to connect empowerment and HIV/AIDS:

“... focusing on the empowerment of individuals, and emphasizing individual behaviour change and prevention over structural factors that limit the availability of, and access to, HIV/AIDS treatment, can be described as nonmaterial approaches to prevention...”

(2014, p. 291)

This is significant as the claims made for the contribution of sport to address gender empowerment and HIV/AIDS are ambitious (Lindsey et al. 2017). Building then on the existing SDP literature, this research provides a different perspective because it examines the methods and approaches taken to educate girls about HIV/AIDS through an empowerment and disempowerment lens. By examining the same issue from a (dis)empowerment perspective permits us to ask new questions about the relationship between (dis)empowerment and HIV/AIDS. For example, what messages are girls receiving about HIV/AIDS and will these messages lead to their empowerment or disempowerment? Additionally, are the HIV/AIDS prevention methods realistic for supporting girls to take control over their lives?

2.5 The Women's Movement

To understand girls' participation in SDP in the Global South, it is crucial to examine the women's movement and the emergence of feminism in the Global North because that is where most SDP programmes are designed and conceptualised. Examining the historical context of feminism in the Global North, specifically Western feminism, sheds light on how feminist assumptions and key concepts such as gender, masculinity and femininity have been embedded within present day conceptualisations of SDP programmes located in the Global South.

The women's movement, also known as the feminist movement and women's liberation movement and feminism, refers to a series of campaigns for reforms on issues such as women's suffrage, employment, education, equal pay, reproductive rights and sexual violence. In parts of the Western world, feminism has gone through three waves. The first-wave of feminism occurred during the nineteenth and early

twentieth Century mainly in Britain, the United States and Canada. Women felt they were excluded from the political arena and because of their lack of education could do little to improve their conditions (Griffin and Braidotti 2002). Hence, education and women's suffrage became central issues during the first-wave of feminism. The first major works on feminism emerged during this time including key writers such as Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797) and Emmeline Pankhurst (1858-1928).

Second-wave feminism was built on the foundations created by first-wave feminists targeted at ending discrimination and occurred during the 1960's to the late 1970's. These feminists emphasised the connection between cultural and political inequalities such as employment and education and sought to encourage women to understand all aspects of their lives as deeply politicized. The second-wave saw advancements in women's career prospects and education as well as the legal end to discrimination in the workplace in many countries. Second-wave feminists attracted significant attention through their public demonstrations (i.e. during the Miss World competition protestors threw flour and smoke bombs) (Osborne 2001).

Known as the mainstream or 'egalitarian' feminism, liberal feminism emerged during the second-wave of feminism under modern feminist theories which advocated the Equal Pay Act and an Equal Rights Amendment during the 1960's (Hattery 2010). Liberal feminists emphasised equal rights between men and women, concerned with equality in society and equal access to pay, education and healthcare (Nanayakkara 2012). Even though liberal feminism is useful for illuminating how inequality has stemmed from the denial of equal rights between men and women, the perspective holds the position that women should be like men. Liberal feminists claim that equality can be achieved by women if they become like men. However, this perspective assumes that most women *want* to be like men and that women should be like men and aspire to masculine values to be equal.

In contrast to liberal feminism, radical feminism has been described as the most extreme form of feminism. Radical feminism emerged during the 1960's during the second-wave as an attempt to locate the root causes of women's oppression. Many radical feminists critique Wollstonecraft and other liberal feminists arguing that reforming political and economic institutions does little for transforming gender relations. Radical feminists such as Andrea Dworkin (1981), Robin Morgan (1970) and Catherine Mackinnon (1987) have advocated the need for institutions to be

deconstructed and rebuilt with women in mind. Another influential writer within the radical feminist movement, Kate Millett (1971), claimed that the oppression women experienced was because of a patriarchal society which constructed gender appropriate behaviour that limited women's access to positions of authority. Radical feminism focuses on the influence of male patriarchal power within society and identifies inequalities in the power relationships between men and women as the fundamental cause of women's oppression (Stroud 2014; Powell 2013). Patriarchy refers to "a system of power relations by which men dominate women" (Craig 2016, p. 118). Radical feminism uses the concept of patriarchy to understand how traditional views of masculinity and femininity are reinforced and accepted. Sexuality is perceived as central to this subordination and men's expectation of female sexuality (Scraton 1992), this is because patriarchal assumptions permeate all social institutions including marriage, family, love and heterosexuality. Nevertheless, radical feminism has also been critiqued because it tends to suggest that men are always the victimizers and women are always the victims. This perspective is consistent with radical feminist emphasis on sisterhood whereby women's bonding and unity is promoted (Kroløkke et al. 2006). However, this perspective tends to homogenise groups of women *and* men based on the assumption that men are always oppressors and women are always the oppressed.

The main critique of the second-wave, that paved way for the third-wave feminists, was that many second-wave feminists were white, middle class, Western women that failed to account for the diversity of women in the West and the rest of the world. The relationship between women and sport has traditionally been examined from a liberal feminist perspective based on the experiences of women located in the West (Pike et al. 2018). However, when attempting to understand gender relations in other parts of the World, a liberal feminist perspective does little to critically examine the issues that women and girls encounter in parts of the Global South such as poverty, limited or no access to health care, sanitation and education. Liberal feminist perspectives on gender relations in the Global South fail to account for the social structures which implicate women and girls acquiring equal opportunities (Hayhurst et al. 2011; Hargreaves 1994). There is a danger that white, Western forms of feminism will re-enact historical imperialism in that "scholars from the north (or West) make authoritative claims about communities in the south (or east)" (Lazar 2005, p. 18). Hence, the third-wave, which began in the early 1990's, sought non-Western, non-white, non-middle class forms of

feminism inclusive of other forms of oppression such as race, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, disability or global location (Mann 2013; Osborne 2001).

Black feminism emerged in response to the critique that white feminists have overlooked how black women have more intense forms of oppression compared to white women (McDonald and Shelby 2018; Walker 2000). Black feminism demonstrates resistance to white feminist perspectives during the second-wave (Scambler, 2005). This is agreed by Oglesby (1981 cited by Nanayakkra 2012, p. 1997) who states many researchers view society “through a ‘gender lens’ of white women’s experiences, and black women remain unknown and unheralded”. Black feminists argue that sexism, class oppression and racism are bound together. Feminist enquiry of class-race-gender inequalities intersecting came about through the struggles of black women during the Civil Rights Movement. Articles and books by black female academics such as bell hooks and Patricia Hill Collins emerged from the late 1970s which critiqued the ethnocentrism seen in feminist theory (Daly 1997):

“All too frequently in the women’s movement it was assumed one could be free of sexist thinking by simply adopting the appropriate feminist rhetoric; it was further assumed that identifying oneself as oppressed freed one from being an oppressor. To a grave extent such thinking prevented white feminists from understanding and overcoming their own sexist-racist attitudes toward black women. They could pay lip service to the idea of sisterhood and solidarity between women but at the same time dismiss black women.”

(bell hooks 1984, p. 8–9)

bell hooks inaugurated a greater recognition of and response to diversity by feminist thinkers. Patricia Hill Collins, another significant writer during this movement, argued that black feminism should be produced by black women clarifying the standpoint for and of black women.

While black feminism provides a useful starting point for this study and analysing the experiences of black girls in Rwanda, there is a tendency for black feminism to overlook the homogeneity of ‘black’ women or women from other ethnic groups. There is also an absence of how sexuality and global location implicates and intensifies other forms of oppression such as race and class and, as such, does not provide a

holistic framework to guide analysis in this research. Western feminist theories are “bound up in global power relations, particularly when we consider the various ways in which a presumed opposition between Western gender equity and non-Western patriarchal cultures is mobilized in temporal and spatial modes” (Hemmings 2011, p. 2 cited in McDonald 2015, p. 912). This is of relevance to this research because historically gender analysis has been limited by bias because it has been conducted based on the experiences of white women in the Global North (Saavedra 2009). Continuing to research SDP on this feminist trajectory does little help us make sense of the complex relationships between sport, gender and development in a non-Western context. Thus, this research draws upon Critical Feminist Theory to critically examine girls’ participation in SDP.

2.6 Critical Feminist Theory

To respond to the limitations of some Western feminist theories for exploring girl’s development in the Global South, this research adopts Critical Feminist Theory (CFT). CFT is one of several theories which has been born from Critical Race Theory in recognition that individuals and groups experience various forms of oppression at the same time. Scholars engaged with Critical Race Theory are often studying the relationship between race, racism and power. Catherine MacKinnon’s (1983) work was largely responsible for the expansion of CFT where the perspective has been drawn upon to study employment rates (Becker et al. 1999) and education (Tiedemann 2000).

CFT can be summarised as a framework which explores gender inequalities in society that have tended to privilege heterosexual, white, middle class males. Like Critical Race Theory, CFT challenges historical and present structures in sport that subjugate, discriminate and oppress women and girls (Hylton 2009). The aim of CFT is to challenge and confront the dominant belief that heterosexual, white, Western males are the epitome of normality, objectivity, neutrality and truth (Wing 2003). CFT can provide a framework for understanding social relations and processes of power, race and gender in SDP based on underlying assumptions. These assumptions build on the existing literature on CFT including the work of MacKinnon (1991; 1983), Geisinger (2011) and Singh (1997):

1. Recognises the differences between sex and gender and asserts that a person can have multiple masculinities and femininities at the same time.
2. Identifies that structures of power are often located in the Global North by white, middle class, heterosexual men.
3. Acknowledges that using solely Western feminist perspectives does little to explore the experiences of women in non-Western contexts.
4. The differing intersections and identities of women must be acknowledged, for example, race alone cannot account for all the oppression women experience.
5. Claims of neutrality in social institutions must be contested and challenged to reveal the interests of dominant groups.
6. History and historical contexts must be taken into consideration to challenge policies and practices that affect women.

As with Critical Race Theory, CFT is an umbrella term that draws insights from multiple feminist perspectives including critical race feminism, postcolonial feminism, African feminism and post-structuralist feminism. For example, critical race feminism examines issues of intersectionality and examines the conceptualisation of the “reasonable man” in the judiciary system that operates a white male bias, making it difficult for non-white or women to receive justice (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). Postcolonial feminism has been adopted by other SDP scholars (see Pike and Matthews 2014; Darnell and Hayhurst 2011; Hayhurst 2011) and is drawn upon to examine how knowledge is produced and the effect of dominant development discourses on gender in SDP. Likewise, African feminism has also been drawn upon to respond to the critique that Western feminism dominates analyses of women’s and girls’ experiences internationally. In the following sections, CFT is used as a framework to contextualise the study and critically examine gender in SDP.

2.7 Sex, gender, masculinity and femininity: The differences and why it matters in SDP

Sport carries historical and cultural baggage (Saavedra 2009). Propagated by middle class, white men as a character building activity in British public schools in the nineteenth Century, the notion that sport is a tool for increasing strength and character underpins the conceptualisation of many SDP programmes today (Coalter 2013). The popular discourse held by policy makers and practitioners is the view that women’s

and girls' participation in sport is something which facilitates multiple benefits physically, psychologically, socially and physiologically, yet historically women in sport have been viewed as the 'other sex'. Women and girls were viewed as latecomers to an institution that was already in existence who were only allowed to take part in certain sports, if at all (Pfister 2010). Today, men still possess a high degree of power in sport because they hold high positions within sporting organisations and governance (Pfister 2010). Subsequently, fundamental concepts such as gender, masculinity and femininity have only been understood through the white, Western, middle class males' eyes, and as such do not fully reflect the complexities associated with the concepts in a non-Western context.

2.7.1 Sex or gender?

For this study, clear definitions must be provided for key terms such as 'sex' and 'gender' because they have previously been used interchangeably within GAD and SDP in the policy and practice domain. Sex is the term used to describe the biological characteristics that distinguish males and females such as: anatomy, chromosomes, hormones, reproductive systems and other physiological components (Lindsey 2005). Gender is defined as a social construction related to the socio-cultural and psychological traits linked to females and males within particular contexts (Bettcher 2007; Connell 2005; Stets and Burke 2000). Gender can also be understood as a continuum whereby an individual's or group's characteristics are demonstrated regardless of their biological sex (Lindsey 2005). Simply put, sex is what makes us male or female and gender is used to clarify what makes us masculine or feminine. However, what appears to be two relatively straight forward definitions are far more ambiguous in their usage. First, the assumption is that individuals and groups fit neatly into categories of sex and gender. While it may be easier to identify a person's sex, because it is less likely to have been altered, gender is more complex because gender has been understood and theorised in several different ways. Second, it is assumed that each person has one sex and one gender that are compatible with each other and static. The differentiations in how gender is displayed has been overlooked and the basic assumptions have been that women are assumed to be female and feminine and men, male and masculine (Kitzinger 1999). These descriptions refer to gender as a binary, i.e. a person is either male or female, a man or a woman and therefore doesn't allow for any variations within the binary. In SDP, there is an absence of research studying

gender changes over time and what this means for programmes in practice. For example, postmodern feminists have begun deconstructing sex, sexuality and gender to reveal multiple possible categories embedded in social practices and experiences (Lorber 1996).

Other terms which are often used in literature about gender include 'sexism' and 'patriarchy'. Sexism is defined as "a prejudiced attitude or discriminatory behaviour based on the inferiority of women as a social group" (Cameron 1977, p. 340), although this is a term that seldom appears throughout this thesis. Patriarchy refers to a society, or any group or social institution such as sport, which is dominated by men and is ultimately oppressing for women. To fight patriarchy, feminism and feminist theory was born.

2.7.2 Masculinity and femininity

It is no surprise that sport reflects masculine values and ideas; a topic which scholars have discussed for the past three decades (see Theberge 1987; Hargreaves 1986; Dunning 1986). The long-held association of masculinity and sport has provided a justification for sporting provision as a place for boys to become men, but at the same time had also served to exclude girls from the institution who are assumed to be feminine. Sport has been promoted as a domain for males representing the idea of masculinity that emphasises physical strength which men are perceived to have and women are assumed to have not (Hargreaves 1986). Subsequently, in sport women have tended to fulfil passive roles such as club secretaries, kit washers and as admirers on the side-lines. It is these reifications of masculinity and femininity which hinder attempts to critique and transform the pervasive gender ideologies in society (Hall 1988), and subsequently in SDP.

The perceptions of masculinity and femininity within sport often reflect the dominant perceptions within the rest of society. Typically, males are expected to act masculine and females feminine, although very few people fully conform to these stereotypes. Masculine values typically involve leadership, dominance, wealth and power (Lopez-Zafra and Rodríguez-Espartal 2014; Sweetman 2013). Accordingly, "In a masculine culture, most people believe that men should be the bread winners and should study and work; whereas women should be house holders and should not have to work or study if they don't want" (Lopez-Zafra and Rodriguez-Espartal 2014, p. 146). This point is exacerbated through use of the term 'hegemonic masculinity' which describes

the ideal man as elite, strong and heterosexual whereby ‘performance and status’ is important (Sweetman 2013, p.4). Hegemonic masculinity is the most esteemed in society and ‘rooted in the social dominance of men over women and non-hegemonic men (particularly homosexual men)’ (Currie 2013, p. 706).

Drawing on CFT, it is also necessary to try and understand ‘masculinity’ in a non-Western setting. Even though there are limited studies on examining gender in Rwanda (Madsen 2018), there is a small body of literature which examines ‘African Masculinities’. African masculinities refer to the holistic and in-depth understandings of masculinities in Africa for African men and women. Based on the assumptions outlined in CFT, exploring historical circumstances is central for understanding gender, masculinity and femininity in present day. Scholars examining African masculinities have largely focussed on the impact of colonisation in the formation of masculinities.

“Men in patriarchal settings were irrefutably the favoured class: an esteemed group that grew from childhood to manhood culturally imbued with notions that made them believe they were superior and had multiple privileges, including inherent rights to dominate. Where matrilinealism diffused such masculine confidence, colonialism, which was uniformly patriarchal in its verbal and non-verbal expressions and social exportations in the continent, undermined non-patriarchal hegemonic masculinities.”

(Uchendu 2008, p. 13)

Colonisation strengthened and reinforced gendered spaces (Pasura and Christou 2017; Rwabyoma 2014; Mekgwe 2010). Men were approached by colonists to work in fields to manage crops and mine for materials while women remained at home as head of household (Pasura and Christou 2017; Rwabyoma 2014). The gendered spaces were built on Western gender ideologies that men are masculine, strong, aggressive and assertive to manage crops and mine to earn money, while women were responsible for managing the household and upholding feminine characteristics such as caring for children. These constructions of gender and masculinity were further reinforced by the increasing penetration of religious organisations in parts of Africa, “The notion of a male breadwinner was reinforced as considerable numbers of Africans converted to

Christianity, which stressed monogamous marriage in which the man was the household head and breadwinner.” (Pasura and Christou 2017, p. 6).

It is important to note that although the broad term ‘Africa’ is used to denote ‘African masculinities’ or ‘African feminism’, each country within the continent of Africa has a unique context and history. Post genocide Rwanda, for example, is a space where 35% of households are headed by women performing non-traditional roles including managing finances, building houses and decision-making (Rwabyoma 2014). This is higher than other neighbouring countries such as Uganda (27%), Tanzania (25%) and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (25%) where most households are headed by men who control most decision-making (Female headed households The World Bank 2018). Thus, the dominant perspective that only African men are masculine is challenged because some African women are performing roles traditionally defined as masculine. Recognising the uniqueness of different countries and contexts within Africa, Madsen (2018) calls for more research into local level nuances of gender and masculinities in Rwanda.

2.7.3 Masculinity, femininity and SDP

The lack of understanding regarding gender ideologies, masculinity and femininity are evident in SDP programming. SDP programmes are often limited to hegemonic forms of masculinity because of where and who they have been conceptualised by. This is problematic because the conceptualisation of SDP programmes “are permeated with particular norms and expectations about gender” (Saavedra 2009, p. 127). The type of skills girls should develop, the education they receive and the choice of sport in programmes are ultimately guided by the gender ideology of those who are conceptualising the programmes. Rowe (1998, p. 246) agrees with this point and warns of the dangers of promoting hegemonic masculinity when conceptualising sport programmes:

“Sport is a crucial site for the reproduction of patriarchal structures and values, a male dominated secular religion that has celebrated the physically aggressive and often violent deeds of men. Sport has been an integral element of self-sustaining forms of exclusivist male culture, lubricating a closed system of male bonding and female denigration”.

Sport is regarded as a space where men can excel because it celebrates strength, aggression, competitiveness and rationality and disregards physical weakness, emotion, gentleness and passiveness which are associated with femininity (Shehu 2000). According to Saavedra, “sport still exemplifies and upholds essential masculine traits, and becomes a code for heterosexual male superiority and domination over the feminine” (2005, p. 1). This creates a situation where men are considered as the ‘natural’ participants in sport (Theberge 1987), and women are considered outsiders to an institution that was not designed for them with their participation constantly requiring justification and explanation (Saavedra 2005). This is the case in Rwanda where football is a sport reserved only for men and boys to play. This creates challenges for women playing football because they are “expected to ‘play like men’ but ‘look like women’ when entering this male domain, creating a system in which football remains understood in masculine terms, even when women are playing the game” (Engh 2010, p. 75). In this vein, women and girls and their femininity are viewed as incompatible with sport because they must continuously negotiate expectations of their femininity in a masculine institution (Engh 2010). Connell (1987) uses the term ‘emphasised femininity’ to describe the dominant and most culturally valued form of femininity, that is, a woman who panders to interest of the man and is compliant, submissive and non-assertive. Connell purposely uses the word ‘emphasised’ rather than ‘hegemonic’ to reinforce the idea that this type of femininity does not have cultural authority. Moreover, the term ‘emphasised femininity’ is “oriented to accommodating the interests and desires of men” (Connell 1987, p. 183). However, the assumption that females who participate in sport are not, and cannot be, feminine is strongly refuted (Jackson and Marsh 1986), but it does highlight the question of what SDP programmes would look like if they focussed on developing traits of femininity than masculinity.

“Women’s appearances are regulated in response to a male gaze, and the feminine athlete is acceptable so long as she is considered sexually attractive to men. This reinforces the objectification of women’s (sporting) bodies, and represents women’s achievements as secondary to their appearances, thus lending support to notions of male superiority.”

(Engh 2010, p. 74)

According to Engh (2010, p. 75) the fear in some African communities is that “Women in male domains and occupations, such as football, are threatening the ‘naturalness’ of the current gender order, and as a result face heightened pressures to prove their womanhood and heterosexuality”. This is intensified by cultural traditions in rural Rwanda which expect women to be feminine so they are more attractive to men so they can get married. The emphasis on marriage can come from parents in the hope that marriage will benefit their daughter and their family financially and socially (Bayisenge 2010). These assertions prompt more questions for this study such as how do girls negotiate cultural expectations of femininity and gender norms such as marriage? Does femininity even have a place in SDP programmes? And, should SDP programmes be selecting sports which emphasise characteristics associated with femininity instead of masculinity?

Ultimately, it is members of society that decide what it is to be masculine or feminine and what being a man or a woman means (Stets and Burke 2000). Local communities perform a significant role in localising femininities and masculinities and identifying those which are hegemonic. Within different societies, the social and cultural hierarchies of masculinity and femininity can differ with some forms being *less* valued than others (Connell 2011). A homosexual male who exhibits culturally defined feminine behaviours may be less valued than a woman who exhibits the same behaviours. This is an example where some individuals and groups are viewed as moving too far away from the social script (Chambliss and Eglitis 2014) by which, there can be social consequences to doing so such as exclusion, marginalisation and discrimination.

Depending on the context, certain sports may be more or less associated with hegemonic masculinities and femininities with some contexts holding certain beliefs about particular sports and who should be participating in them (Saavedra 2009). Some communities may view sport as a domain reserved solely for males and something which is not conducive for encouraging females to be feminine. The problem with these perspectives of masculinity and femininity is the assumption that a person is only either masculine or feminine. Rather, as Paechter asserts “most people are simultaneously members of a number of communities of masculine and feminine practice in the different contexts of their lives” with multiple memberships (2003, p. 72). If masculinity and femininity are multiple, dynamic, shifting and provisional

because they are socially constructed, there might be scope for SDP programmes to support girls experiencing conflict regarding their masculinity and femininity. Based on gender ideologies which characterise males as masculine and females as feminine, in sport women have always had to negotiate the struggle of entering an institution which reproduces traditional gender ideologies, roles and norms. The notion that sport is a neutral and socially inclusive institution is therefore a misconception, “for many, sport still exemplifies and upholds essential masculine traits, and becomes a code for heterosexual male superiority and domination over the feminine” (Saavedra 2005, p. 1). Globally, men and women across different cultures and contexts experience sport differently (Shehu 2010). This is crucial to acknowledge in this research because it starts to break down the question of whether sport is inherently a ‘good thing’ with regards to gender development, and ultimately, girls’ empowerment? Could participating in SDP lead to girls’ disempowerment if they are only encouraged to be ‘masculine’? And, are there versions of masculinity and femininity which are (dis)empowering and why?

2.8 The White Feminist Burden

Researching the affiliation between sport, gender and development is still relatively new although some attempts have been made at bridging the gap between sport development and gender. An early attempt was Brady’s (1998) research, where she examined how sport can address broader development issues such as early marriage and sexual health knowledge. More recently scholars such as Hayhurst (2015, 2014, 2013a, 2013b, 2011), Chawansky (2015, 2011), Jeanes (2014, 2011) and Saavedra (2009) have played a fundamental role in progressing academic understanding of SGD. Most notably, Saavedra’s book chapter titled *Dilemmas and Opportunities in Gender in Sport-for-Development* began to breakdown fundamental concepts such as masculinity and gender within SGD.

The above scholars are some of the exceptions to the majority of Western feminist research which has failed to account for the complex experiences of women and girls in the Global South. Since colonial times, Western feminists have spoken on behalf of women and girls globally (McEwan 2001). Amadiume (1997) describes this as the ‘silenced sisters’ whereby white, middle-class women have the power to speak on behalf of their sisters in the Global South. This is of concern because some Western

feminists have tended to make assumptions about the universality of women and girls in the Global South in that they all face the same forms of oppression (McEwan 2001), overlooking key social, economic, cultural, historical and political factors which effect their participation in SDP. Evidently, a point of contention in this research is whether I, as a white, female researcher from the West have authority to examine girls' (dis)empowerment in Rwanda. This examination unfolds in-depth in Chapter Four and discusses the complex role of the researcher in this research.

Using CFT helps to address some of the criticisms and encourages the researcher to interrogate *why* and *how* the research is being conducted, this is because “as a mode of analysis, it attempts to revise those nationalist or ‘nativist’ pedagogies that set up the relation of Third World and First World in a binary structure of opposition” (Babha 2004, p. 248). For example, marginalised women are “resisting their representation by elite women from within their own cultures, many of whom are now located within the Western academy” (McEwan 2001, p. 101), although this is rarely acknowledged in SDP research. African feminism, black feminism and postcolonial feminism in particular are useful for applying non-Western feminist analyses on SDP and studying “the legacy of colonial power in shaping gender relations” (Aitchison 2005, p. 428). Indeed, “black feminist and postcolonial critiques have also offered more profound examinations of the racism and ethnocentrism at the heart of (white) Western feminisms” (McEwan 2001, p. 97).

While it is important to identify the gaps and limitations of existing research and literature, it is also crucial to identify and appreciate the ‘non-gaps’ and what is already known in the field. In this research, drawing on existing studies and academics who have conducted research in the GS is useful for providing guidance when applying CFT. For instance, there have been a growing number of studies in SDP which have begun to adopt postcolonial feminist perspectives. Postcolonial feminist perspectives within CFT are useful for understanding how power is embedded within Eurocentric discourses (Hayhurst 2011; McEwan 2009) and destabilising the Global Northern worldview (Mwaanga and Banda 2014). Few academics have emphasised decolonising practices within the SDP movement (Darnell and Hayhurst 2011; Darnell 2012; Hayhurst 2011), yet many have highlighted the propensities and dangers of the colonising tenets of SDP. Hayhurst (2013a, 2013b) adopted postcolonial feminist perspectives in her research conducted in Uganda. Using this perspective, she

critically questioned the role of global neoliberal development on gender in SDP. According to Hayhurst (2013a, 2013b), the postcolonial feminist perspective is useful for deconstructing neoliberal processes and colonial legacies which are imbued by SDP programmes. In her more recent work, Hayhurst et al (2015) argued that it is not enough for SDP to be decolonising, the field needs to move towards *anti-colonial* approaches. Postcolonial perspectives go beyond decolonising to examine the assumptions at the heart of Western ideologies and beliefs of the Global South (Mwaanga and Banda 2014). Despite some difficulty with defining the term postcolonial, because ‘post’ immediately infers ‘after’ as if colonialism was a thing of the past, postcolonialism can be characterised as ‘anti-colonial’ (McEwan 2001). According to McEwan (2001, p. 94), like feminism, postcolonialism is a “powerful critique of development and an increasingly important challenge to dominant ways of apprehending North-South relations”.

While postcolonial perspectives are useful for bringing the experiences of women living in postcolonial locations to the fore (Engracia and Brown 2018), the perspective has two potential limiting factors. First, ‘post’ suggests that colonialism is a thing of the past and in danger of assuming that contexts automatically changed once they became independent. Second, there is a concern that postcolonialism focuses too heavily on the differences between contexts (i.e. Global North and Global South) rather than identify similarities between contexts. Hence, cultures and contexts within the Global South continue to be marginalised because it is assumed that the Global South bears little, if any, resemblance to societies within the Global North presenting the relationship between the North and South as something which is unbridgeable. To counter this perspective, this research aims to examine girls’ (dis)empowerment using multiple forms of knowledge not just knowledge from the North *or* the South. This might help progress academic and practical understanding of (dis)empowerment as a universal phenomenon as well as something which is contextually specific.

African feminism challenges the homogeneity of Western feminism because it calls for acknowledging the diversity of Africa’s ethnicities, classes, religions and societies which form aspects of African identities (Edwin 2006). Part of third-wave global feminism, African feminism was born out of the misrepresentation of African women in the African context by activists and scholars seeking to provide an alternative to

emulating their Western feminist counterparts (Eze 2014; Mekgwe 2007; Edwin 2006). A central part to the African feminist movement is resisting ethnocentrism and the “blind transfer of Western notions of emancipation and liberation to Africa” (Edwin 2006, p. 141), so much so that some African feminists including Emecheta have rejected the term ‘feminist’ based on the critique that it is a Eurocentric term:

“I will not be called feminist here, because it is European. It is as simple as that. I just resent that... I don’t like being defined by them... It is just that it comes from outside and I don’t like people dictating to me. I do believe in the African type of feminism. They call it womanism, because, you see, you Europeans don’t worry about water, you don’t worry about schooling, you are so well off. Now, I buy land, and I say, ‘Okay, I can’t build on it, I have no money, so I give it to some women to start planting.’ That is my brand of feminism.”

(Buchi Emecheta in a 1989 interview cited in Nfah-Abbenyi and Makuchi 1997, p. 7)

There has been a propensity for the Global North to create an image which views girls in the Global South as in need of being ‘saved’ by the Global North. This idea is reiterative of what Kipling’s (1899) poem entitled *The White Man’s Burden* described, where development organisations and Christian missionaries would go to the Global South on civilising missions. However, as has emerged in this section, the ‘White Feminist’s Burden’ might be a more appropriate application for exposing the discourses in SDP. The notion of the ‘third world woman’, which is often situated in the context of Western feminist writing (Engracia and Brown 2018; Mohanty 1988), is deeply rooted within SDP and gender development where girls are viewed as objects of development and white ‘experts’ continue to shape policy and practice (Chawansky and Schlenker 2015; Wilson 2011). This is a crucial point for SDP because it moves away from imperialist ideas of modernisation, neoliberalism and ‘civilising’ processes and instead begins to challenge the *type* of gender related messages embedded in SDP programmes. This also leads to crucial questions in relation to this study such as: what messages are girls participating in SDP programmes receiving about their own culture? To what extent do SDP programme messages conflict with cultural traditions and knowledge? And, how can NGOs prevent developing curriculums and messaging that reproduce imperialist ideas of modernisation or the ‘civilising process’? In

attempt to unpack these questions, adopting traditionally unheard feminist perspectives such as postcolonial feminism and African feminism in SDP can help to make sense of ‘how’ and ‘where’ knowledge is produced. African feminism within CFT can also assist this research in questioning aspects of traditional African values and cultures without denigrating them, and acknowledging that “these might be viewed differently by the different classes of woman” (Mekgwe 2007, p. 16). In essence, CFT is concerned with intervening the dominant discourses that are portrayed as ‘normality’ and observe the differences between genders, races, classes, cultures, communities and histories (Babha 2004).

While considering alternative feminist perspectives are crucial, Chawansky and Schlenker (2015) have also discussed the need for researchers to critically reflect on the methodology, methods and evidence to understand the ‘girling’ of SDP in new ways. Chawansky and Schlenker (2015) discuss alternative methods of data collection via popular representations such as novels, television, films, websites and public campaigns. By studying these popular representations, Chawansky and Schelenker (2015, p. 102) assert that the broader conceptual frames of girls’ experiences, which are often overlooked, can be understood as well as the “larger social forces that help explain why girls are under-served or in need of empowerment in the first place”. Thus, building on previous studies by critical feminists such as Chawansky and Schlenker (2015) and Hayhurst (2013a, 2013b), this research attempts to extend their lines of inquiry when applying CFT and to critically reflect on the design of the research.

2.9 “The real power of the West... lies in its power to define”⁴: Knowledge production in SDP

CFT acknowledges that discourses are deeply rooted in histories of “cultural displacement” such as slavery, civilising missions, migration after the Second World War and “the traffic or economic and political refugees within and outside the Third World” (Babha 2004, p. 247). Notions of “spatial metaphors and temporality employed in western discourses” are critiqued as well as the usage of terms such as

⁴ Cited from McEwan (2009, p. 95)

‘Third World’ and ‘out there’ that have been used in development literature (McEwan 2001, p. 95). Such terminology is restrictive because it reinforces the perspective that there are significant *differences* between the Global North and South in addition to being geographically and historically ‘distant’ to the Global North. Terminology assumes a hierarchy which dictates what is considered as the norm and anything outside of that is a problem or issue for people ‘out there’ (McEwan, 2001).

The relationship between power and knowledge is also studied using CFT on the basis that those with knowledge possess greater power, and so, when knowledge is created and controlled in the West, the West maintains power (Briggs and Sharp 2004). Likewise, as Sadar (1999) states in McEwan (2009, p. 95), “the real power of the West lies not in its massive economic development and technical advances but, rather, in its power to define, represent and theorise”. Escobar (2011) argues that the knowledge put forth by the North is unconsciously Eurocentric and portrays an arrogant confidence because it is rarely challenged by anyone else. This is partly because programmes have received funding from organisations located in the Global North (Levermore, 2009) or, programmes are developed with international partners located in the Global North. Northern/Western expertise continues to “circulate within popular discourses related to gender and development including sports-related discourses” (McDonald 2015, p. 916). Wealthy, middle-class men have been at the forefront of the policy-making process and the interests of disadvantaged groups such as women and girls are absent from the process (Frisby et al. 2007). Thus, gender ideologies which underpin Northern ways of being and knowing are transferred as ‘knowledge’ to the Global South through SDP programmes. This is of concern because these ‘knowledges’ are not questioned during the policy-making process or the development of SDP programmes “but are instead repeated and reiterated by the policies they produce” (Payne 2014, p. 960).

In this study, attention has been paid to the terminology being used to ensure that it is non-hierarchical and does not prioritise Northern knowledge as inherent and given. Instead, this research seeks to critically examine and unpack discourses around terminology used in relation to girls’ (dis)empowerment in SDP. The language used throughout this thesis has also been carefully considered to examine Rwandan culture and tradition without denigration and evoking notions of imperialism or ‘backwardness’ (Mohanty 1988) when examining what constitutes ‘empowerment’.

Applying a rigid definition of ‘empowerment’ to the study for example, would limit our understanding of how empowerment might emerge differently in different people in different contexts (see Chapter Three for a full examination of empowerment).

It is not just down to Northern scholars to deconstruct dominant discourses in SDP, African scholars must also be part of the deconstruction. However, according to Lewis (2007), African scholars tend to focus on challenging the ‘practical’ and ‘material’ issues rather than theoretical and conceptual examinations and as such need greater involvement in deconstructing knowledge. Policy makers, organisations and agencies working in SDP must also be mindful of “the ways in which these decisions reflect certain understandings of feminism and gender and subsequently impacts participation for both girls and boys” (Chawansky 2011, p. 131). Previous studies have discussed how researchers have begun to collaborate with partners in the Global South in attempt to resist hegemonic power relations between the North and South. In their chapter, Lindsey et al (2015) analyse the logistical and practical challenges with North-South partnerships when creating and conducting research projects. They speak of the challenges with collaborative research, such as communication issues they experienced because of power cuts effecting access to the internet and differing time zones of the researchers who were based in different countries (Britain, Australia, Ghana and Tanzania). The authors suggest some practical ways of collaborating with partners during data collection. First, they describe how all partners were asked to feedback ideas regarding interview schedules and data collection approaches. Additionally, during the data analysis stage, the researchers recorded videos of them discussing the findings for the research partners to review and comment on, this ensured there were opportunities for everyone to interpret the data and contribute to the analysis (Lindsey et al. 2015). This chapter is useful for this research to reflect on because the authors openly acknowledge the potential limitations and challenges of Northern researchers researching in Africa. For example in Jeanes’ section of the chapter, she discusses her concern for privileging Northern voices and knowledges and overlooking Southern knowledges and voices. Lindsey et al’s (2015) experiences provide some key reflections for this research to consider, for example the challenges of working with international partners and the creative use of technology in attempt to overcome those challenges.

Like Lindsey et al (2015), this study is also mindful of knowledge discourses and attempts to challenge unconscious Eurocentric assumptions in the reproduction of knowledge. The researcher is at the centre of the research process and plays a pivotal role in creating, examining and reproducing knowledge. In this study, by engaging the researcher in reflexivity and reflective thinking, the researcher can begin to challenge and question their dominant ways of thinking (see section 4.2 for a full discussion of reflexivity). Further, the researcher in this study can attempt to mitigate the limitations of being an ‘outsider’ to the context of the research.

2.10 Accounting for intersectionality

Despite some recognition that the multiplicity of girls’ lives means that their experiences and inequalities differ across cultures and contexts, NGOs and development organisations have tended to adopt broad categorisations of ‘girls’ and ‘women’ when describing their programmes. SDGs for example, have categorised their goals based on ‘women’ and ‘girls’ but they have not discussed how different types of women and girls experience or overlap within the SDG goals. Depending on race, class, sexual orientation, religion, the SDG will be realised differently, for example girls’ lack of education, women’s empowerment, nutritional needs of adolescent girls and gender-based violence are experienced differently depending on the contexts and communities they are in. For example, early marriage and adolescent pregnancies may have significant implications on girls’ access to formal education. This could mean that girls are exposed to “higher rates of maternal mortality, domestic violence, and reduced decision-making within her new family” (Ferrant and Nowacka 2015, p. 328). Intersectional power relations are often overlooked, disregarding the ways categories and practices and ideologies all work to “articulate, reinforce, and create inequality within groups of women, these programs often only benefit the women who are the least marginalised” (Calvès 2009, p. 746). Therefore, this study retains the usage of CFT to reject the essentialism that has characterised some conceptualisations of girls’ participation in SDP programmes. Failure for NGOs to account for intersectionality could mean that only those girls with fewer intersections would benefit from participation in the SDP programme:

“Feminists argue that, because institutionalised programmes for empowerment often disregard the “intersectional” nature of power, particularly the ways in which racism, social class, and patriarchy all work to articulate, reinforce, and create inequality within groups of women, these programs often only benefit the women who are the least marginalised”.

(Calvès 2009, p. 746)

Gender inequality is not simply ‘added’ to other inequalities, rather gender inequality intersects with other inequalities and reinforces, or intensifies them (Kabeer 2015). This has resulted in an oversimplification about gender inequalities because of a lack of recognition that other forms of inequality or discrimination such as class, race, religion and sexual orientation and how they interact with gender to shape individual’s and group’s realities (Sweetman 2013). The view that gender inequality intersects with other inequalities remains absent from discussion, and instead, is treated in isolation to other issues. In the context of Rwanda, the marginalisation of girls who are living in poverty is intensified when combined with other types of exclusion such as disability, ethnicity, sexual orientation, geography or historical marginalisation by the genocide. It is therefore essential to recognise and account for intersectionality to understand the complex realities of girls’ lives and how participation in SDP programmes affects their lives. Intersectionality refers to the interaction between categories of difference, social practices and cultural ideologies in individuals’ lives such as gender, race, ethnicity, religion and sexual orientation (Collins and Bilge 2016; McDonald 2014; Davis 2008). Originally coined by Crenshaw (1989), intersectionality has formed a key role in feminist scholarship across disciplines including philosophy, social sciences, queer studies, law and humanities (Davis 2008). Intersectionality emerged from Black feminism which emphasised the intersections between gender, race and social class and since then other feminist scholars have contributed additional dimensions for analysis, such as sexual orientation (see McDonald and Shelby 2018; McDonald 2014; Veenstra 2011). Yet, in relation to the differing intersections and identities of girls globally, discussions of sexual orientation, or sexuality, often remain absent from discussion in SDP literature, policy and practice (Carney and Chawansky 2016). Carney and Chawansky (2016) provide a substantive analysis of existing SDP literature and the extent to which they account for sexuality or challenge heteronormativity, they conclude that there is a lack of

research into the relationship between sport and sexuality in the Global South and suggest existing, quantitative monitoring and evaluation approaches reproduce heteronormativity.

Considering the context of this research, it is also important to examine heteronormativity based on African feminist assumptions within CFT because an African feminist lens helps identify how sexuality is conceptualised in the African context. As a starting point, it is crucial to understand that sexuality is conceptualised differently in the West as it is in communities in Rwanda. Much of the literature about sexuality by African feminists has been limited to discussions surrounding disease and reproduction (Undie and Benaya 2007). First, in terms of disease, most of what is known about sexuality has come from literature examining HIV/AIDS (Undie and Benaya 2007). However, most research into sexuality is invested in examining relationships between men and women and how the transmission of HIV/AIDS can be alleviated and so there has been little room for researching the connection between same sex relationships and diseases. For instance, a heterosexual woman's health may be more at risk of HIV/AIDs than a lesbian woman and their access to health services may differ (Edwards 2010).

Second, the assumption has been that reproduction is the motivation for sexuality (Undie and Benaya 2007), yet this knowingly and unknowingly marginalises alternative sexualities which do not lead to procreation. Homosexual individuals in Rwanda are likely to experience discrimination and marginalisation differently to homosexual individuals in the West. In Rwanda, because of the social and religious pressure that exist to produce children, which become eligible heirs, individuals are compelled to conform to the conventional image of married life in the form of an opposite sex relationship (Murray and Roscoe 1998). Western conceptualisations of sexuality are more concerned with masculinity and femininity, sexual attraction and sexual desire, in contrast with heterosexual marriage and procreation which are considered universal expectations in most African contexts (Murray and Roscoe 1998).

While some of the above points might appear to be generalising the conceptualisation of sexuality across different countries, contexts and communities in Africa, this is an important first step to acknowledging that categories within intersectionality, such as sexual orientation, can be studied differently based on differing feminist perspectives.

This highlights a limitation in Carney and Chawansky's (2016) analysis in that they only observe Western conceptualisations of sexuality and heteronormativity, and African or other contextual conceptualisations are absent from their analysis. Evidently, it is necessary to think beyond the categories of simply 'gender' and instead to focus more on what *processes* are produced because of cultural differences (Babha 2004).

In addition to sexual orientation, intersectionality also observes issues of social class. Building on the above example related to HIV/AIDS, some girls might be further marginalised if they are lower class and are living in poverty because they may be malnourished, in violent relationships or have limited or no access to education and health services (Kabeer 2015; Burnett 2010; Romero 2006). For example, girls living in poverty, who experience poor nutrition and are constantly exposed to diseases makes them more prone to developing HIV/AIDS (Mwaanga 2013). So, attempting to empower girls' by educating them about HIV/AIDS prevention, there is a need for NGOs and organisations designing programmes to acknowledge that girls' needs are multifaceted and their choices may be constrained by their environment if they have limited access to the health services they need (Edwards 2010). HIV/AIDS programmes may benefit from integrating multiple perspectives about the transmission of diseases in their curriculum to acknowledge and discuss the experiences of heterosexual *and* homosexual women and girls.

For this study, intersectionality alone is not enough to help examine girls' experiences in the context of Rwanda because it doesn't provide a structural analysis of oppressions and does not acknowledge the role of power (Garry 2011). Rather, intersectionality serves as a framework for identifying intersecting factors of oppression and then suggesting theories for further examination of those factors. In response to this shortfall, this study draws upon postcolonial feminism within CFT to make sense of historical power relations and how they manifest as oppression of girls in the present day. Feminist scholars such as Alexander and Mohanty (1997) also adopted postcolonial theory and intersectionality to examine postcolonial and colonial realities with intersectionality (Collins and Bilge 2016). Intersectionality is used to counter monolithic representations of girls in the Global South that universalise and homogenise diversities to form the 'Third World Woman' (Engracia and Brown 2018; McEwan 2001; Mohanty 1988). Intersectionality is used to develop a holistic

understanding of girls' realities to understand what factors might affect some girls from developing their empowerment or leads to their disempowerment.

2.11 Locating NGOs in a neoliberal SDP context

The belief that participation in sport can benefit girls is not only held in the Global North at the conceptual or political level, but also held by local organisations, including NGOs and practitioners who believe that sport can genuinely make a difference in the lives of individuals and groups within their community. There has been a steady increase in the number of NGOs, many of whom operate in the Global South with headquarters in the North (Hayhurst and Frisby 2010). This increase is partly in response to the increasing attention to the SDGs where sport is viewed as a tool for contributing to the achievement of these goals. Yet, as the number of SDP programmes continues to grow, so do NGOs claims of sport's wide-ranging ability address a range of social, political, cultural and economic inequalities.

Despite the definition of 'NGO' altering over the past three decades, this study defines NGOs based on development literature where they are considered 'grassroots-based actors' operating in the third sector (Srinivas 2009), with a view to offer social services to individuals and groups in communities, particularly in rural areas (Bawa 2013). Many NGOs work independently to the government and rely on charity donations and external funding to function (Thorpe and Rinehart 2012). Although NGOs may claim autonomy within their beneficiary communities, their autonomy must be constructed in broader development discourses (Bawa 2013). NGOs have been criticised as being a form of Western imperialism because they are heavily influenced by their headquarters in the North (Petras and Veltmeyer 2001). At the same time as working to address issues of gender inequality, NGOs may contribute (unintentionally) to the marginalisation of girls. One reason for this is the presence of neoliberal ideologies which guide programme development and design. According to Coakley (2011, p. 3), "neoliberalism is a web of ideas and beliefs that identifies a combination of free markets, political deregulation and privatization, individual self-interest, and inequality as the foundation for progress and all forms of development". Terms such as democracy, empowerment, poverty and employment are common place in NGO mandates which can be associated with neoliberal ideas of development (Bebbington et al. 2008; Craig and Porter 2006). Neoliberal policies or approaches are not

necessarily dangerous for all women and girls and have led to greater control for some women in market liberalisation (Cornwall et al. 2008), however in SDP, empowerment has become synonymous with individual self-development and donor aid at the expense of culturally and contextually relevant versions of empowerment.

“Neoliberal empowerment narratives not only empty ‘empowerment’ of any contentious political content, they also make money – microcredit loans, conditional cash transfers, enhanced access to markets and livelihood assets – the magic bullet, as if that were somehow enough to effect wholesale transformations in women’s lives.”

(Cornwall et al. 2008, p. 4)

Consequently, NGOs get caught up with focusing on complex terms and translating them into realistic outcomes and as such fail to focus on root causes and systematic changes (Bebbington et al. 2008). Although empowerment is discussed in far greater depth in the following chapter, it is important to acknowledge early on the ramifications of NGOs and their development agendas especially those which imply neoliberal ideologies. Accordingly, Bawa asserts that until “the issue of recognition is addressed globally and locally, NGOs will remain a tool, perhaps unintentionally, for transmitting Western imperialism to the continent through so-called helpful poverty alleviation programmes” (2013, p. 535). Any claims that NGOs operate as neutral organisations are unfounded as they carry with them baggage from their conceptualisation through to the implementation of SDP programmes. Thus, it is important to acknowledge the ideologies which effect NGOs conceptualisation of SDP programmes and what effect that could have in the context of Rwanda.

As NGOs continue to increase in size, scope and influence within the global development landscape (Srinivas 2009), there is a requirement to look in greater detail into the efficacy of SDP programmes. This is required to counter the policy rhetoric on sport which, as Coalter states, “does not have causal powers” (2007, p. 36). It is assumed that by setting up a SDP programme and getting girls to participate in it, is enough to facilitate girls’ empowerment. Subsequently, the efficacy of programmes remains unexamined, and the current approaches are only assumed to be effective. Part of this problem is because of the heavy emphasis on proving *what* works, rather than *how* things work or do not work. As a result, little is known about the mechanisms

and processes employed by NGOs that lead to achieving desired objectives, especially those which relate to addressing gender development outcomes (Hancock et al. 2013). This also reflects the flaw in receiving external funding from organisations which emphasise measuring ‘impact’ when monitoring and evaluating programmes to ensure they have received ‘value’ for funding.

Exploring mechanisms is especially important in this study to achieve research objective three ‘To provide critical insight into the programme mechanisms that operate within SDP programmes to foster (dis)empowerment for girls in Rwanda’. The efficacy of SDP programmes is studied in greater detail in Chapter Three and deconstructs the claims that girls’ participation in sport programmes are ‘empowering’. Further examination is also necessary to understand how NGOs operate in the Global South and the unique context of Rwanda to foster girls’ (dis)empowerment.

2.11.1 The SDP workforce

The SDP workforce is becoming increasingly international with practitioners and volunteers working in NGOs and delivering SDP programmes globally. SDP has become an attractive setting to provide Northern students and young volunteers with exciting opportunities to participate in international development; predominantly in the Global South (Darnell 2011). Private organisations such as ‘Sporting Opportunities’, ‘African Impact’ and ‘Go Overseas’ send volunteers predominantly from the UK, Canada and USA to work with NGOs, many of whom are situated in East and Sub-Saharan Africa. Some public organisations and Northern based NGOs have begun using volunteers because “Investment in sport is relatively cheap, and it’s high dependence on both foreign and indigenous volunteer provides a substantial value-added return for relatively small sums of aid” (Coalter 2010, p. 305). For Northern students and young people, volunteering is an ideal opportunity to become a ‘global citizen’ who seeks to develop insight into development and the social conditions that foster inequalities (Darnell 2012, 2011).

“I define global citizenship as a way of understanding the world in which an individual’s attitudes and behaviours reflect a compassion and concern for the

marginalised and/or poor and for the relationship between poverty and wealth—within and between communities, countries and regions.”

(Tiessen 2011, p. 573)

Despite the positive intentions of volunteers' work with NGOs in the Global South, volunteers are often sent into socio-economically disadvantaged communities with the view that they are contributing to development and imparting knowledge to marginalised, at-risk and vulnerable individuals and groups. The main problem with this approach is that it reproduces the perception that power, knowledge and expertise are held in the North. Ideas about how the world is viewed are imposed on individuals whose indigenous and local knowledge is subjugated or viewed as anecdotal. Regardless of Northern volunteers' plans to educate and facilitate development for learners, this automatically puts the volunteer in a position of power as it is their role to educate and facilitate development.

It is often the case that a large majority of these volunteers have been poorly trained in relation to the objectives of many sport NGOs and programmes, especially those that focus on HIV/AIDS education. Searching for volunteers with experience and qualifications in sport coaching are often prioritised over volunteers' experience and qualifications in health education or knowledge around HIV/AIDS. This means that Northern volunteers are in a weak position to understand and support the complexities of issues that girls face both inside and outside of SDP programmes, especially in Rwanda where there are an estimated 2,500 AIDS-related deaths among adults each year (UNAIDS Global Report 2016). Further, given the context of Rwanda and the traumatic colonisation which led to the genocide, having the 'white man' return to work with NGOs could foster hostile relations from community members about the NGO. Therefore, the role of Northern volunteers in SDP poses some questions when examining girls' (dis)empowerment that this research aims to address, for example, how might Northern volunteer's involvement in SDP programmes effect girls' (dis)empowerment? And, are local coaches in SDP more equipped at facilitating girls' empowerment than foreign volunteers?

While the intentions of many volunteers are good, their privileged position emulates Northern forms of knowledge that leads to the systematic marginalizing of other forms (Mwaanga 2013; Tiessen and Heron 2012). The power of language is one that "is used

to protect our territory, our control, our sphere of influence, while seeming to mouth change. It makes it possible to talk about democracy and democratic practice without giving up power” (Arnold et al. 1991, p. 199). The literature prompts important observations and examinations about the practitioners who are delivering SDP programmes because they could reinforce dominant power relations which are detrimental to girls participating in programmes. Practitioners are therefore in a unique position in SDP programming because they bridge the gap between how programmes are designed and conceptualised by NGOs and are responsible for putting those ideas into practice at grassroots level. Indeed, as the field has begun to critically examine SDP provision, the importance of exploring those responsible for delivering activities at the grassroots level has been emphasised. In their book, Lindsey, Kay, Jeanes and Banda (2017) present a localized analysis of SDP in Zambia drawing on twelve studies which have been conducted since 2006. The studies have been concerned with researching SDP at the policy level, partnerships and stakeholders, young people’s participation in SDP provision and gender-based research. Lindsey et al (2017) agree that greater consideration must be given to the people delivering activities within SDP. This includes greater examination of who they are, how they deliver and the support and training they receive in their role. One aspect of their research explores peer educators and peer-led activities. Their findings signalled some advantages of peer leaders in SDP, this involved their possession of local knowledge about the community, ability to encourage critical pedagogies and offer support for programme participants (Lindsey et al. 2017). The insights provided by Lindsey et al (2017) prompt some relevant areas of inquiry for this research. This involves exploring the role of coaches and volunteers who might not be considered as ‘peers’ and who are likely to be in greater positions of power because of their role within programmes. Additionally, this research could broaden and diversify previous studies by studying whether the effect of practitioners is empowering or disempowering (or a combination of both) for girls participating in programmes.

NGOs play a crucial role in the recruitment and distribution of Northern volunteers because they provide the connection between the volunteers and the SDP programme. It could be argued then that some agencies and NGOs are taking advantage of communities and programmes in the Global South because they are promoting and selling the experience as an altruistic form of self-development to volunteers. This

approach embodies neoliberalism where the negative consequence is that programme participants are at high risk of being objectified and ‘othered’ by volunteers seeking to become ‘global citizens’. This study aims to extend previous research and prompt further questioning into whether NGOs are packaging and commodifying ‘disadvantage’ in Global South for volunteers in the Global North? And, what effect does the commodification of NGOs have on girls participating in the programmes and their (dis)empowerment?

2.12 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has begun to make sense of the role of gender in SDP in the context of Rwanda. It has been highlighted that sport is an institution which perpetuates and maintains dominant gender ideologies and values. Such gender ideologies have been reproduced within SDP programmes that focus largely on girls developing traits of hegemonic masculinity such as leadership, assertiveness and physical strength. So, in attempt to bridge the gap in knowledge of how masculinity and femininity operate within SDP programme, this chapter has begun to uncover the possibility for masculinity and femininity to be re-defined or negotiated by girls in SDP programmes. It also posed questions into whether femininity is compatible with SDP programming and what programmes would look like if they encouraged girls to develop traits, behaviours and skills associated with femininity instead of masculinity.

Like other countries in Sub-Saharan and East Africa, in Rwanda sport is viewed as a male domain and women and girl’s participation in sport is deemed as less acceptable by families and communities (Hayhurst et al. 2014). In this respect, any discussions about gender and sport must be situated historically, culturally, politically and socially to examine sport as a male dominated social institution and the implications it could have on girls’ participation in SDP. However, there currently exists limited academic research on how wider factors effect girls’ participation and ultimately their (dis)empowerment. Understanding the context of Rwanda is especially important considering the country’s unique history where the effects of the genocide are present today. Intersectionality was highlighted as a useful framework for examining the multiple aspects of girls’ realities in Rwanda and to counter monolithic representations of girls in the Global South that universalise and homogenise diversities to form the ‘Third World Woman’ (McEwan 2001; Mohanty 1988). Thus, the cultural social

processes, power relations and structures which effect gender require greater acknowledgment to understand these complex issues (Brady 1998).

Studying the role of NGOs in SDP has also posed further questions regarding the delivery of programmes including the staff they employ, the sport they select and the activities which are chosen. As emerged in the literature, there is a disconnect between NGOs who claim neutrality but are heavily influenced by dominant development discourses that require deconstruction. Hence, this research is concerned with unpacking the hidden discourses promoted by NGOs which could affect girls' (dis)empowerment.

With regards to conducting research, Northern based theorists have paved the way for contributing knowledge to SDP, providing the leading techniques and methodologies, especially when researching in the Global South (Lindsey et al. 2015). However, as has been examined during this chapter, SDP is not immune from imperialist or colonial notions, ideologies, practices and values. With the scale and wealth of higher education systems in Europe and the United States, most research on gender SDP has been completed in the Global North, yet the subjects of the research have often been situated in the Global South, especially in Sub-Saharan and East Africa. It is on that basis that critics have argued that a colonial research mandate in SDP may continue to propagate Western, Eurocentric, neoliberal knowledge that privileges Northern ways of being and knowing while discounting indigenous forms of knowledge (Darnell 2012; Darnell and Hayhurst 2011). Not only have Western voices been privileged, but other voices have been subjugated and some excluded from the field. Thus, as Hayhurst et al (2015) suggest, more extensive and critically based research on SDP is required, and this study should be one such attempt at studying the claims made about girls' participation in SDP in greater depth than has previously existed.

Additionally, given the lack of research on gender and sport in the Global South (Rauscher and Cooky 2015; Sikes and Bale 2014), this research adopted methodological approaches which are cognisant to include indigenous forms of knowledge and the unheard voices of those working in the field that are often viewed as anecdotal. To do this, the researcher has engaged in critical reflexivity and reflection in relation to being a researcher from a Northern institution conducting research in the Global South (see section 4.2).

This chapter has provided a critical insight into the relationship between gender and SDP. These examinations have been framed by CFT assumptions which have been applied to SDP throughout this chapter. A key strength in feminist theories is the ability to bridge the gap between social theories whilst discussing key concepts such as gender in greater depth. Feminism offers a powerful perspective in sociology whereby sociology will benefit from identification of “conceptual pieces into a web of ideas that transcend patriarchal theory building” (Ollenburger and Moore 1992, p. 36). This study emphasises the view that adopting solely Western feminist perspectives to explore girls’ (dis)empowerment in Rwanda would fail to illuminate the complex contextual realities girls experience and could result in constraining analysis to certain dichotomies which are too rigid. The advantage of adopting CFT in this study has ensured that emerging findings are not confined to one single framework or way of thinking. Pursuing only one feminist perspective would have limited our understanding of concepts such as sport, power, gender, and empowerment within SDP because empowerment takes multiple forms in different settings (see Chapter Three). By adopting CFT, this study may also provide a framework that can be utilised to develop new insights into other topics beyond empowerment within SDP.

Chapter Three: Examining Girls' (Dis)empowerment in SDP

3.1 Overview of the chapter

This chapter introduces the reader to the conceptual framework which is used to examine key concepts associated with this research including power, empowerment and disempowerment in relation to gender and SDP. Identification and exploration of the conceptual framework is essential for achieving the overall aim of this research to demystify the claims that girls' participation in SDP programmes automatically leads to their development of empowerment. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to provide a critical examination of the existing conceptualisations and practices of (dis)empowerment in SDP.

To achieve this, the chapter begins by providing an overview of empowerment, the origins of the concept and how it has been applied in other studies beyond SDP. The background of empowerment in SDP is then discussed before explaining the theoretical framework of individual empowerment which is adopted throughout this research. Next, the relationship between empowerment and power is examined and followed by a critical examination of the efficacy of girls' (dis)empowerment in SDP which interrogates *how* participation in SDP leads to girls' (dis)empowerment. The final sections apply the structure and agency debate before exploring the potential for SDP programmes to be disempowering.

3.2 Empowerment: An overview

For decades, the potential for empowerment to be transformative has been well documented within academia, policies and practice. In the literature, empowerment is presented as something that can change or alter dominant power relations in the hope of liberation, emancipation and freedom (Whiteside 2009). Hence, empowerment is often considered a relevant concept for transferring power to the powerless, targeted at groups which are labelled as 'disadvantaged' or 'vulnerable'. These categories often refer to excluded groups of people with disabilities, who are living in poverty and or

include those marginalised by their race, class, sexual orientation and gender (Marchand and Parpart 1995).

Although the first usage of the term 'empowerment' is difficult to find, it can be traced back as early as the 1940's through the works of Saul Alinsky. Alinsky's work involved understanding how neighbourhoods and community groups were organised through power coalitions (Alinsky 1969). Yet, as Whiteside (2009) notes, the roots of empowerment go further back than Alinsky's work, to the industrial revolution and growth of capitalism which was accompanied by the social upheaval of the time (Campfens 1997). It was this period that saw movements to increasingly challenge and change power relations to alleviate exclusions of social class and the exploitation of labour (Whiteside 2009). People of the lower class were joining together as a form of collective action towards liberation and greater social equality (Campfens 1997). Since then, empowerment can be seen in revolutionary movements across Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as "in movements for less radical social change, such as civil rights movements, women's movements, trade unionism, cooperatist movements and alternate communities such as Israeli *kibbutzism*, neighbourhood community activism and liberation theology" (Whiteside 2009, p. 164). The commonality between these movements is that the empowerment of individuals and groups was perceived as a form of resistance to dominant discourses. More recent work which has contributed to our theoretical understandings of empowerment, is that of Barbara Solomon in her publication titled *Black Empowerment: Social Work in Oppressed Communities*, who focused heavily on transforming those who experience oppression (Solomon 1976). Solomon's research largely focused on using empowerment in social work with oppressed Afro-Americans and sees the term 'empowerment' formally come into usage by social service practitioners and researchers (Calvès 2009). In a similar vein, Brazilian philosopher and educator Paulo Freire, was instrumental in advancing the concept of empowerment particularly in terms of facilitating a liberating pedagogy. This study draws on Freire's work and his focus on empowerment as a consciousness-raising exercise and a catalyst for cultural emancipation (Freire 1976, 1973, 1972). Early theories and frameworks of empowerment by writers such as Solomon and Freire emphasised listening to the voices of the oppressed for the first time and whose work was centred on transforming groups and individuals within society who were marginalised or excluded.

It wasn't until the 1980's when the term empowerment began to formally appear within the development field. The feminist movement in international development heralded empowerment as a way of transcending inequalities for women and girls in the Global South under the WID approach. Since then, more scholars have examined empowerment within the development field. The works of Julian Rappaport (1987, 1986), Robert Weissberg (1999) and Marc Zimmerman (1995, 1990) have been largely influential in progressing academic articulation of empowerment and are frequently referred to in this research.

Empowerment's history in the field of development is deeply rooted in the view that traditional, top-down, aid-giving development approaches do not work and instead, the voices of marginalised people must be heard. But, as Calvès argues, empowerment “has become perfectly integrated with the rhetoric of the most influential institutions in international development (2009, p. 748)”. The rhetoric of empowerment is exacerbated by the dominance of Western led research and theoretical development of empowerment which has left little room for alternative conceptualisations of empowerment. Unpacking the term in the context of this research is crucial because empowerment has been increasingly held hostage by development organisations. A relevant question to ask then is to what extent has ‘empowerment’ been lost to policy rhetoric and is it still a viable alternative approach to development?

3.3 Empowerment

The idea of “All Power to the People” has become a mainstream ambition (Weissberg 1999). ‘Empowerment’ is hailed as the ‘Messiah’ by NGOs, development agencies and international agendas such as the SDGs to cure social ills, but the intense usage, and misuse, means the concept of empowerment research requires greater analysis. Empowerment frameworks have enjoyed attention through inter-sectorial practice including community psychology (Becker et al. 2004; Zimmerman 1995; Rappaport 1987), public health (Newman 2014; Tengland 2009; Laverack and Wallerstein, 2001; Wallerstein and Bernstein, 1988), social work (Soloman 1976), organisational management (Peters and Pierre 2000; Conger and Kanugo 1988), education (Freire 1973, 1972) and gender studies (Kabeer 2005). However, the widespread usage of the term has meant that the concept is not clearly defined, and is used in different ways by different authors across disciplines (Tengland 2008). Therefore, as Cattaneo and

Chapman (2010) state, the literature on empowerment represents a pick-a-mix of information where certain concepts, ideas and definitions from various studies have been chosen and pieced together. This could be problematic for emerging fields such as SDP because there is an absence of understanding about the term empowerment and how it might be defined and applied in the field.

It has been argued that empowerment is easier to define in its absence (powerlessness, exclusion, alienation) rather than its manifestations (Zimmerman 1990; Rappaport 1987). Empowerment has been loosely defined (Perkins and Zimmerman 1995), with some scholars referring to empowerment as purely a psychological construct and others focusing more on interrelations of agency and structure. Many definitions of empowerment involve an interaction between individuals and their environment in processes for change and taking control (Whiteside 2009; Wallerstein 2006; Zimmerman 1995). Still, despite the variations in definitions in the literature, the consensus within the literature is that empowerment is about having control over what one deems as important in one's life.

Zimmerman (1990) labelled empowerment as an 'enigma' based on the difficulty to define empowerment in action as it takes on different forms in different people and contexts (Rappaport, 1987). It manifests in different ways for different people, and therefore is context dependent (Rappaport, 1987), across both space and time where intensity and emergence may vary in an individual's life. In this sense, empowerment should be viewed as a long-term process which may look differently during different stages of a person's life. Also, by extension, it is difficult to exactly say when and where empowerment 'happens' as there is no one start, finish or threshold that can be attained because it is so context dependent. This should be taken into consideration when examining SDP programmes because assuming girls have no prior empowerment before they joined the programme may lead to assumptions that the programme is the *sole* cause of the empowerment which they develop.

While Zimmerman (1984) has argued that asserting a single definition of empowerment would be too 'formulaic or prescription-like', contradicting the very concept of empowerment, to progress our academic and practical understanding of empowerment in SDP a definition or framework is essential. To this end, this research may contribute to the ongoing development of empowerment by shedding light on implementing definitions of empowerment into unique settings such as SDP.

3.4 Background and context of empowerment and gender in SDP

The broader focus on empowerment and gender within SDP has emerged from the GAD movement. Agencies have viewed empowerment as a means of developing equality between women and girls and men and boys by facilitating access to education and healthcare, promoting income generating activities, providing information on legal human rights, and enabling access to resources more generally (Romero et al. 2006). Development organisations, policy makers and feminist scholars have emphasised the importance of empowerment to enable women and girls to experience a better quality of life (Elendu and Orunaboka 2011), although what is deemed as ‘better quality’ should be contested.

Some of the early steps towards the empowerment of women were taken by feminist activists’ asserting their rights to gain equality of representation, treatment and opportunity which became reinforced by suffrage and equal rights legislation (O’Byrne 2011; Quinn and Davies 1999). Since the early 1990’s, empowerment gained traction within GAD, and by the early 2000’s had cemented its position in international GAD agendas (Calvès 2009). This is evident in recent UN policies such as the Millennium Development Goals and (MDG) number 3 titled ‘Promote gender equality and empower women’, and more recently in the form SDG number 5. To fulfil such ambitious claims, programmes and interventions are viewed as the main tools for facilitating empowerment for girls.

In recognition that gender inequality exists partly because of unequal power relations between men and women (Saavedra 2009), SDP has turned its attention towards alternative development approaches whereby empowerment has been labelled as one such approach. Within international development mandates such as the SDGs, sport has been advocated as an effective means of achieving these goals and particularly those relating to women’s and girls’ empowerment:

“There is evidence that sport can help to enhance girls’ and women’s health and well-being, foster self-esteem and empowerment, facilitate social inclusion and integration, challenge gender norms, and provide opportunities for leadership and achievement”.

(The Contribution of Sport to the Sustainable Development Goals and the post-2015 Development Agenda 2015, p. 8)

More recently the British Council and the UN Women have also targeted sport as a primary tool for the empowerment of women and girls. During the Commission on the Status of Women conference held by UN Women in 2016, the Executive Director of UN Women Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka remarked “Sport has given us an opportunity to form exciting partnerships. Together with the IOC, we empower young women and girls in Brazil through sport, which will leave an Olympic legacy”. Given the emphasis in policy and practice on ‘girls’, this research is focussed on examining girls’ empowerment but studies it within the broader context of gender. For clarity, the terms ‘girls’ (dis)empowerment’ and ‘gender (dis)empowerment’ are used. ‘Gender (dis)empowerment’ refers to the broader relationship between gender ideology and (dis)empowerment and includes men and boys whereas ‘girls’ (dis)empowerment’ is used when specifically talking about girls’ experiences.

3.4.1 Current approaches to addressing girls’ empowerment in SDP

Like GAD, the focus of gender empowerment in SDP has been exclusively on women and girls with the aim to rebalance gender relations that currently advantage men and boys over women and girls. In attempt to achieve this, NGOs have focused on key areas to make women and girls more equal to men and boys, such as, health education, life skills, physical strength and fitness, economic development and employability skills. In this sense, SDP programmes are viewed as a site to empower women and girls to acknowledge and take control of their lives (Hylton and Totten 2013; Campbell and Macphail 2002) based on the notion that in most cultures male roles are more valued than female roles (McPherson et al. 1989). Taking control implies resistance to the masculine hegemony, however because there is a lack of research that examines the gendered space of SDP (Schulenkorf et al. 2016; Chawansky 2015; Jeanes and Magee 2014), discussions about the efficacy of programmes and empowerment related phenomena remain largely absent from the literature. This is one such academic and practical issue that this research aims to contribute to the existing body of knowledge. As discussed in Chapter Two, this research attempts to examine the (dis)empowering potential of ‘sport’, a traditionally male dominated institution. The historically rooted perceptions of women and girl’s participation in sport exposes more questioning to whether sport as an institution has the capacity to empower girls. Given the historical baggage of the relationship between ‘sport’ and gender (see section 2.7), it has been argued that ‘physical activity’ may possess a greater capacity to facilitate

empowerment than sport because it does not carry the baggage of male privilege and hegemonic masculinity (Mayoh et al. 2018; Deem and Gilroy 1998). While there is some literature on women's and girls' empowerment and physical activity, in relation to embodiment (see Mayoh et al. 2018; Velija et al. 2013; Liimakka 2011; Holland 2010), in SDP, physical activity and empowerment have rarely been discussed independently from 'sport'. Within the broader development policy landscape, there has been some movement towards physical activity. At the recent UN Women's Commission on the Status of Women, 'physical activity and play' were discussed alongside sport when referring to achievement of the SDGs (Women Win 2016). Including forms of physical activity within the term 'sport' such as walking and dancing is not new, for decades, scholars such as Deem and Gilroy (1998), Theberge (1991) and Gilroy (1987) have argued that bridging the gap between physical activity *and* sport could mean increasing the range of possible benefits for women and girls to foster empowerment. This could mean a shift away from adopting sports in programmes that reproduce notions of hegemonic masculinity and towards physical activities which promote femininity and alternative notions of masculinity. However, it should also not be assumed that girls' participation in sports are always disempowering and non-sporting activities are empowering. Certain forms of physical activity such as aerobics have also been viewed as problematic due to the objectification and sexualisation of women's bodies (Theberge 1987). Despite this, in some cultures and communities, adopting non-sporting forms of physical activity may be more conducive for fostering empowerment. Activities such as walking, pole-dancing, body building or even gardening might shed light on different paths for fostering girl's empowerment. Some SDP programmes for example, have focussed on developing physiological changes of girls rather than the psychological components such as 'increased self-confidence' which appears as a frequent outcome in practice. For programmes such as UPAM in Tanzania and Action Breaks Silence in India and South Africa, self-defence is used to increase women and girl's physical strength so they can protect their bodies from violation through physical resistance (Liimakka 2011). The use of alternative activities for girls' empowerment might shed some light on different types of empowerment being developed such as physiological forms of empowerment (Elendu and Orunaboka 2011) or empowered embodiment (Mayoh et al. 2018). Developing girls' physical strength is reiterated in Hayhurst's seminal work into the 'Girl Effect' in Uganda (2014, 2013a, 2013b). Adopting a postcolonial

feminist perspective, Hayhurst highlighted that participation in martial arts increased girls' physical abilities to defend themselves against sexual advances (Hayhurst 2013b). Despite the attention paid to empowering girls by developing their physical strength, Hayhurst (2013b) argues that programmes tend to ignore, or are unable to tackle, the myriad structural constraints that operate in girls' lives which subsequently affect them benefiting from programmes. This assertion is an important point to carry forward in this study to ensure that the role of sport is framed within the broader context of girls' lives.

Considering the centrality of 'sport' within SDP programmes and the historical and cultural relationship between gender and sport, the type of sport or physical activity adopted within programming must be examined. Certain sports and physical activity might reinforce, reproduce or even challenge notions of hegemonic masculinity (Clark and Paechter 2007). During their research in Zambia, Lindsey et al (2017, p. 128) identified that some Zambian SDP organisations "deliver provision that conforms to traditional gender divisions – for example, parallel provision of activities in which girls and young women participate in netball alongside boys and young men participating in football". The research participants interviewed in their study suggested that sports traditionally associated with girls' participation such as netball were used as the hook to attract girls to participate in competitions. This insight highlights the potential difficulties for organisations when making decisions regarding which sport(s) to embed in SDP.

With previous studies in mind, failure to recognise the effects of certain sports in the context of Rwanda could mean girls are at risk of discrimination and exclusion for participating in male-dominated sports. This research attempts to contribute to the existing body of academic knowledge about the efficacy of 'sport' in SDP and the implications it has on girls' (dis)empowerment. Thus, it is crucial to look more closely at the relationship between sport and empowerment and build on previous studies to progress our academic and practical understanding of girls' (dis)empowerment.

3.5 Sport empowerment

Within SDP, empowerment has been a desirable goal for the past two decades, and even though it has been frequently discussed in policy and practice, it has rarely been explicitly defined. The claims that empowerment can transcend inequalities and provide an alternative approach to traditional 'aid giving' development has excited

sport practitioners, policy makers and researchers alike. Most sport based empowerment programmes have operated in the most disadvantaged communities globally (Levermore 2008). Often these programmes are targeted at improving the lives of individuals and communities through participation in sports and activities such as coaching, peer leadership training and workshops. The gap in knowledge between academic articulation of sport based empowerment and the popularity of 'empowerment' in practice has led Mwaanga (2012) to suggest that sport empowerment (SE) should be acknowledged as a unique and worthy policy and research focus within SDP. Yet, despite the growing popularity of SE in SDP there is paucity of academics attempting to develop or theorise SE to develop a greater understanding of the concept. According to Mwaanga (2012), who has championed the idea of SE within his work as an SDP practitioner and activist for the past 15 years in Zambia, SE is a sport-based social process and outcome where individuals or groups acquire new capabilities and resources to increase control over important life matters such as health and socio-economic status. SE may be seen as a culturally specific, multilevel social construct that builds on empowerment in other domains such as religion, education and family (Mwaanga 2012). Mwaanga's (2012) study focussed on examining individual and collective levels of SE where his study focussed on people living with HIV/AIDS in Zambia.

Within SDP research, SE is a fairly novel approach yet in disability sport, SE has been discussed for several years. Hutzler (1990) was the first to introduce an integrative, phenomenological model of SE which focussed on the individual level of SE. According to Hutzler's model, the disabled individual is empowered through the sport experience via the development of physical, intellectual, emotional and interpersonal capabilities which are often impaired because of specific physical disabilities. Hutzler's work is useful because it makes sense of the acquisition of these capabilities and how they lead to the increased control over important personal and environmental resources.

Lindsey and O'Gorman (2015) have also examined SE and focussed on students from universities in the UK and Ghana who were involved in a study about sports equipment. They applied Rowland's (1997) constructions of power (power over, power to, power with and power within) to help outline a set of topics to examine student's empowerment. The topics included: the relevance of student's backgrounds to the Sports Equipment Project; the individual and collective actions undertaken in

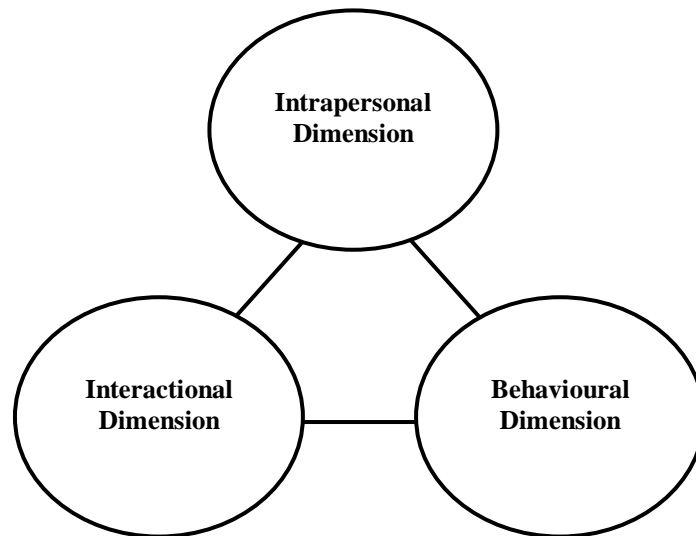
the project; how this involvement was shaped by the project's nature, conditions and relationships; the skills and experiences that students developed through the project and the perceived value of students' development within other and future contexts (Lindsey and O'Gorman 2015). The findings implied that although students developed leadership and team-working skills, Ghanaian students experienced some disempowerment because they were initially unclear about their involvement in the research (Lindsey and O'Gorman 2015). The challenge for communicating information about the study was exacerbated because some students living in rural areas had limited access to the internet. According to Lindsey and O'Gorman (2015), a barrier to UK and Ghanaian students' developing their empowerment was the lack of effective communication and collaboration in the study, thus they advocate more thoughtful approaches to designing projects and methods to ensure effective collaboration.

Both Lindsey and O'Gorman (2015) and Mwaanga (2012) distinguished two levels of SE 'individual sport empowerment' and 'collective sport empowerment' in their research, these are discussed and applied to this study in turn.

3.5.1 Individual sport empowerment

Individual sport empowerment "includes psychological conceptions but also takes into account contextual and political aspects of the empowerment process" (Mwaanga 2012, p. 108). To develop individual sport empowerment, Mwaanga drew on Zimmerman's (1995) framework and applied these to create a framework for SE. Zimmerman (1995) proposed three dimensions, or subtypes, of individual level empowerment: intrapersonal, interactional and behavioural (see Figure 1).

Figure 1 Dimensions of individual level empowerment



The intrapersonal dimension attends to how people think of themselves and includes perceptions of control, motivation, self-efficacy, perceived competence and mastery (Zimmerman et al. 1992; Ozer and Bandura 1990; Zimmerman 1990). In relation to SE, Mwaanga (2012) argued that the substantial amount of sport psychology research which examined that sport leads to the positive development of psychological concepts supported the inclusion of psychological components in the SE framework. In relation to girls, this dimension might be significant in the empowerment process because it focuses on psychological concepts that may increase their belief in their ability to act. For example, in Rwanda if girls develop certain psychological components they may be able to increase control over certain parts of their life. What is unclear however, is how this dimension can be developed in SDP programmes? And, do girls need to develop their intrapersonal dimension before they are able to develop the interactional and behavioural dimension or are they developed at the same time?

The interactional dimension is linked to achieving an in-depth understanding of the social and political environment while accessing participants' knowledge about how to succeed in the environment in which they find themselves (Mustakova-Possardt 2003). While psychological concepts are central to individuals gaining control over important life issues; alone they are insufficient as they do not account for the implications of structural or environmental factors such as poverty, health and income together with the necessary skills to overcome such barriers (Mwaanga 2012). Sole

focus on psychological concepts will also effect research methods to the extent that research will continue to be conducted with methods familiar with psychology which “may make it easy to overlook the theories and alternative research strategies offered by other disciplines (e.g., anthropology, education)” (Zimmerman 1990, p. 173). Critical awareness is vital in understanding this dimension as it refers to one’s understanding of the resources needed to achieve a desired goal, knowledge of how to acquire those resources and skills for managing resources once obtained (Kieffer 1984; Freire 1973, 1972). The work of Paulo Freire (1973, 1972) has largely informed this dimension of individual sport empowerment. Within SDP, Freire’s work has been used to examine the dominant pedagogical approaches in the field. Rossi and Jeanes (2018), Jeanes and Spaaij (2015), Spaaij and Jeanes (2013) and Mwaanga and Prince (2016) have drawn on Freire’s critical pedagogy to explore the transformative educational potential of SDP interventions. Jeanes and Spaaij’s (2015) study on education in SDP does important work in introducing the notion of a ‘critical pedagogy’ in SDP programming to the academic field. For Jeanes and Spaaij, a critical pedagogy “further encourages researchers and practitioners to identify alternative ways in which technical aspects of SDP education can be delivered without resorting to banking education” (2015, p.166). Jeanes and Spaaij conclude their work by calling for more rigorous research attention to the role of educators within SDP programmes. This research attempts to build on Jeanes and Spaaij’s work by exploring the role practitioners play in designing and delivering a pedagogy in programmes.

Arguably, the founder of contemporary critical pedagogy, Freire’s work is viewed as progressive, moving beyond education disciplines into health promotion (see Matthews 2014; Campbell and MacPhail 2002; Wallerstein and Bernstein 1988) and now into SDP. Freire’s critical consciousness is about raising awareness of the macro-level socio-political and cultural environment and how it may implicate in advantaging or disadvantaging an individual’s life that, as Stromquist (2014, p. 549) states, “translate into oppressing or oppressed classes”.

Mwaanga (2012) deduced two levels of critical awareness relating to the interactional dimension of SE. First, individuals require critical awareness, so they can apply sport to their on-going process of action and reflection. Second, individuals need to be aware of the social structures and relationships in sport which may affect their environment; “through the working out of certain social processes and relationships in the sporting

context, marginalised groups have been able to exert considerable impact on their wider social environment to increase control over their lives.” (Mwaanga 2012, p. 110). While Mwaanga’s deconstruction of critical consciousness into two levels is useful for shedding light on the application of sport to the interactional dimension, it is still unclear about how the levels manifest in practice. For example, how might SDP programmes support girls in this ongoing process of action and reflection? And, what are the mechanisms in SDP programmes which develop girls’ critical consciousness?

Like individual level empowerment, individual SE goes beyond consciousness-raising and extends to a third dimension called the ‘behavioural dimension’ (Zimmerman 1995). The behavioural dimension refers to the precise actions and behaviours one takes directly to exhibit social and political influence in an environment through participation in sport related programmes (Zimmerman 1995). In Mwaanga’s study, empowered behaviour of people living with HIV/AIDS involved them recruiting more people to participate in the SDP programme. According to Mwaanga (2012, p. 109), the three dimensions of individual level sport empowerment merge to form the following example:

“A person living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) participating in a sport programme who develops skills that increase her sense of control, psychological and physical functioning, all of which leads to an increase in control of issues important to her in the sporting context, this is the intrapersonal dimension. Through participating in specific programmes that facilitate consciousness raising, she develops critical awareness of how the political system works within her context. This is the interactional dimension. Finally, when a PLWHA volunteers to coach, he or she demonstrates the behavioural dimension of individual level sport empowerment.”

While Mwaanga’s (2012) research is significant in advancing SE, there are still some unanswered questions that arise from his work that this research aims to address. For example, what is the relationship between the intrapersonal, interactional and behavioural dimensions? What does SE look like when combined with issues of gender? And, how do NGOs negotiate the context in a way that is empowering?

It is also important to acknowledge the potential limitations of drawing on these frameworks for making sense of empowerment. These frameworks are concerned with ‘individual’ level empowerment and therefore might overlook contextual nuances related to the ‘self’. As discussed in section 2.2.3, in some rural communities across Rwanda and Sub-Saharan Africa, the cultural philosophy of Ubuntu is present, and a key tenet of Ubuntu is the reciprocal relationship between the ‘self’ and the collective. Previous studies discussed in Chapter Two highlighted the potential conflict between individuals developing their empowerment while negotiating the needs of the collective. For example, Louw (2006) argued that the needs of the individual might be overlooked in favour of the needs of the collective. Studies by Lindsey et al (2017) and Mwaanga and Mwansa (2014) have also shed light on collectivist cultures and their relationship with SDP programming. For example, Mwaanga and Mwansa (2014) examined collectivism and Ubuntu as key pillars for underpinning HIV/AIDS education through sport, the authors have also argued that collectivism radically differs to individualism which characterises Northern societies. In a similar vein, Lindsey et al’s (2017) study of Zambian SDP organisations explored the various ways collectivist values are embedded into practice and the challenges some young women experienced when negotiating their individual sense of empowerment.

When attempting to make sense of empowerment in this context, this study remains mindful that adopting a framework for examining individual empowerment may be limited for exploring collectivist philosophies and collective approaches to girls’ empowerment. However, despite the limitations, the framework adopted in this study still has some value for edging forward academic understanding of gender and empowerment in the context of SDP. African feminism within CFT and Ubuntu are drawn upon in attempt to mitigate some of the limitations of this framework by acknowledging that there is likely to be other ways of constructing empowerment based on collectivism rather than individualism. This might mean developing empowerment *through* the collective rather than as an individual separate from the collective. For Ubuntu, this could involve emphasising the perspective that “a person is a person through other persons” (Ramose 1999, p. 49). This study therefore needs to be cautious not to focus too much on separating the individual and the collective because, based on the tenets of Ubuntu, they are likely to be connected in complex and multiple ways which may facilitate, constrain or construct the ‘self’ and the individual.

Much of writing about empowerment neglects to connect theory with research and leaves empowerment-based programmes without a framework for organising knowledge (Perkins and Zimmerman 1995). Thus, most policies and programmes have only focused on certain types of empowerment such as girls' self-confidence which is only one component of the intrapersonal dimension of individual level empowerment. Because of the popularity and emphasis on developing girls' psychological components, this research is concerned with studying the individual level of girls' empowerment. This study draws on Mwaanga's (2012) 'individual sport empowerment' to examine girls' individual level empowerment and attempts to build on the existing body of knowledge to bridge the gaps between theory and practice in relation to girls' (dis)empowerment. To ensure clarity for the reader, the term 'individual empowerment' is used throughout this document to refer to the three dimensions of individual sport empowerment (intrapersonal dimension, interactional dimension, behavioural dimension). However, 'sport' has been removed from the term to ensure that no assumption is made about sport being the sole contributor to girls' (dis)empowerment.

3.5.2 Collective sport empowerment

Empowerment is a multi-level concept to involve both individual and collective level empowerment (Hur 2006). Although this research is only concerned with individual empowerment, a short overview of collective level empowerment is provided. This is because there has been some research to suggest that these two levels influence each other and as such cannot be viewed in isolation to each other (Soares et al. 2015; Zimmerman 1990). Collective level empowerment is a concept often linked to community development, such as developing social capital and capacity building. According to Staples (1990), collective empowerment is developed when people join to overcome barriers in attempt to facilitate social change, "An empowered sports group has the ability to influence decisions within the larger system of which it is a part" (Mwaanga 2012, p. 111-112). Collective sport empowerment involves processes which enable individuals to increase their control within the sporting context and influence decisions in the larger system of which the programme is part (Mwaanga 2012), for example, a sports team of people living with HIV/AIDS using a sports festival held in the centre of the community to promote HIV/AIDS awareness.

Several studies have identified the positive increase in shared emotions and social cohesion through participation in sport (Zumeta et al. 2016; Páez et al. 2015). Mwaanga and Banda (2014) argue that social cohesion and collective confidence are prerequisites for collective empowerment. In their study, Mwaanga and Banda (2014) highlight the complex relationship between collective empowerment and the cultural context of SDP programmes. They call attention to the role of team sports in reinforcing cultural values of social connectedness and Ubuntu. A relevant question emerging from these studies is whether collective empowerment and individual empowerment might be connected and to what extent does one inform the other?

3.6 Gender empowerment and power

Although CFT draws on multiple feminist perspectives to form its assumptions, a common theme between the perspectives has been examining the relationship between gender and power. Within feminism, power is a central concept which has been examined by several scholars (see Allen 2018; Orloff and Shiff 2016; Caputi 2013; McNay 2013 and earlier writers such as Yeatmann 1997; Hartsock 1996). However, few in-depth analyses of gender, power and SDP exist which presents a challenge for exploring power and girl's (dis)empowerment because theories of power have had to be drawn from discussions of other topics.

One of the reasons that empowerment is so difficult to define is that its root concept 'power' is itself disputed (Rowlands 1997). Within the field of social sciences, studies on the structure of power in society and the concept of power itself are central and contentious. Empowerment has been "taken hostage" by development organisations and stripped of its original emphasis on the notion of power (Calvès 2009). In international mandates such as the SDGs, empowerment is often reduced to mean giving girls power yet, the way power is defined inevitably informs power relations:

"...how we think about power may serve to reproduce and reinforce power structures and relations, or alternatively it may challenge and subvert them...conceptual and methodological questions are inescapably political and so what 'power' means is 'essentially contested'."

(Lukes 2005, p. 63)

This is of importance for conceptualising and researching girls' (dis)empowerment in SDP as those defining power can impose their own ideologies and values on what does, and doesn't, constitute empowerment (Hayhurst 2009).

Some definitions of power have involved a person or group's ability to get another person or group to do something against their will. This form of power can be labelled as 'zero-sum' where a person or group possesses power at the expense of others (Hur 2006; Rowlands 1997). Other definitions of power include power as a form of control or access to resources, a person or group's ability to act, or the ability to define a person's reality and convince them that is their reality. The following section discusses four different types of power including 'power over', 'power to', 'power with' and 'power within'.

3.6.1 'Power over'

'Power over' is the most common form of power discussed in practice where it has many negative associations for people such as oppression, corruption, abuse, inequality and active, passive resistance and domination (Anderson 1996). Domination refers to the "unjust or oppressive power over relations" described in the above terms (Allen 2014, p. 10). This is consistent with Mumby who states that 'power over' is often conceptualised as hegemony, a non-coercive form of control and domination where "subordinated groups actively consent to and support belief systems and structures of power relations that do not necessarily serve...those groups' interests" (Mumby 1997, p. 344 cited in Berger 2005, p. 15). The notion of hegemony is embodied within Gramsci's work to "explain how a ruling class establishes and maintains control of subordinate groups" (Pringle 2005, p. 259). According to Shehu (2015), hegemony in SDP serves legitimise the views of the status quo while reducing the construction and acceptance of alternative views.

Weber defined power as "the probability that an actor in a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests" (Weber 1978, p. 53). Simply put, Weber asserted that power is about a person getting their own way, regardless of whether he or she has the power, they can pretend they have it to carry out their own will despite the resistance of others. Considering Weber's assertion of 'pretend power' poses some relevant questions for girls' (dis)empowerment such as, how do we differentiate between 'real' and 'pretend' empowerment? And, if girls feel like they have power, are they

empowered? For Weber, a measure of a person's relative power can be assessed by their ability to overcome resistance in a conflicting situation. Weber's definition of power views power relations as 'zero-sum', thus the powerful have an advantage at the expense of the powerless. Similarly, Dahl postulates that "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do" (1957, p. 202-03). Likewise, Bachrach and Baratz (1962) typology of power embraces coercion, force, manipulation, authority and influence. According to Stephen Lukes, Dahl's one-dimensional power, Bachrach and Baratz's two-dimensional power and his own three-dimensional view of power share some commonality. For example, Lukes', Dahl and Bachrach and Baratz all conceptualise power as 'power over' by which "A exercises power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interests" (Lukes 1974, p. 30).

3.6.2 Foucault and 'power to'

Feminists have also been concerned with hidden or more difficult to observe power relations, such as power emerging from patriarchy and male domination (Allen 2014). To date, much of the literature on gender empowerment has focused largely on oppressive forms of power such as power over and domination, yet a significant strand of feminist literature has begun to focus more heavily on 'power to'. 'Power to' refers to individuals and groups having the ability to bring about change or transformation which may include forms of resistance that counter dominant models (Berger 2005). Scholars such as Thomas Hobbes (1985, p. 150) argue that 'power to' refers to a person's "present means to obtain some future apparent good" and can be divided into two types to involve a person's inborn abilities and acquired capabilities. Likewise, Talcott Parsons (1963) and Hannah Arendt viewed power as a resource that can be used collectively by agencies to meet agency goals (Scott 2001; Arendt 1970). In this vein, 'power to' might focus on controlling internal and external factors that are important to quality of life. The role of 'opportunities' are also linked to power to, because one needs opportunities to better his or her quality of life (Tengland 2009), and empowerment is seen as one such way to both develop and gain access to opportunities.

Adopting CFT helps to ask questions about power, gender and other forms of oppression related to power that are often left unchallenged (Payne 2014). However, because CFT is a combination of key assumptions across multiple feminist theories,

different theories have different perspectives of power. Michel Foucault's work is used as a framework to analyse and apply power consistently across this study. Even though Foucault's work was not concerned with 'sport' (Markula and Pringle 2006), there are some elements of his work which align closely with the phenomena being studied, including productive power, discourse and 'docile bodies'.

The work of Michel Foucault on subjects and power is widely referred to within the social sciences. Foucault's main disagreement with previous conceptualisations of power was that he argued that power isn't wielded by individuals, groups or structures but rather power is something that is everywhere "not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere" (1978, p. 93). Foucault's view of power suggests that power is productive and can be used as a mechanism for social behaviour change as opposed to constraining individuals. In this vein, power creates subjectivity wherein individuals are malleable and are able to mould their identities (Hearn 2012). Shehu (2015, p.13) has also drawn on Foucault to examine how power relations in sport can be both oppressive and productive which suggests "possibilities for context-specific counter discourses (linked to particular times, locations, histories and social relations) and the emergence of alternative power networks to mobilize against domination and engender equitable social structures". Shehu (2015) summarises by advocating how truths, norms and practices are formed, created and legitimised through SDP programmes. It is important to recognise in this study that gender norms may be reproduced and legitimised in SDP programmes, and given that sport is largely male dominated institution, this may result in reproducing harmful norms and practices towards girls. Indeed, Shehu concludes by posing questions regarding the intersections between sport, gender and development asking, "How do sport for development (SFD) participants and their cultures contribute to knowledge creation and diffusion across SFD sites" (2015, p. 24). Therefore, in edging this theme forward, this study can begin to seek alternative truths from people involved in SDP that diverge from dominant gender discourses.

While the alignment between Foucault and feminism has been critiqued because his work is written in an androcentric style (Pringle 2014), Foucault acknowledged the power relationship between men and women (Foucault 1982) and, like feminism, focussed on revealing power, knowledge and discourses which marginalise individuals and groups such as women and girls. Foucault's concept of discourse refers to the notion "power and knowledge are joined together" (1978, p. 100) and

emphasised the importance of understanding discourses for constraining and facilitating individuals' and group's perception on reality (Pringle 2014). For example, the way society thinks about and creates discourses around gender roles, masculinity and femininity are heavily influenced by power relations (Paechter 2003). Feminists have enjoyed Foucault's analysis of power because he provoked alternative theorisations about power relations between men and women rather than from the perspective of oppression or repression (Caldwell 2007; Mills 2003). Foucault articulated a 'repressive hypotheses' whereby "power needs to be seen as something which has to be constantly performed rather than being achieved" (Mills 2003, p. 35). Feminists have also adopted Foucault's work to examine the 'female sporting body' (see Markula and Pringle 2006; Markula 2003) and have applied the concept of 'docile bodies' which to explore the effect that power has on bodies. For this study, Foucault's concept of docile bodies is useful because it focuses on the processes which may lead to females' 'docile bodies' in SDP. For example, social institutions and policies at a macro level effect the way girls' bodies are regulated, disciplined and punished at a local level (Foucault 1997). Examining girls' (dis)empowerment using the concept of docile bodies is useful because it sheds light on the constraining and facilitating politics of the body.

Building on Foucault's acknowledgement of non-repressive notions of power (Caldwell 2007), this study also draws on 'power with' and 'power within' and discusses resistance in greater detail.

3.6.3 'Power with'

'Power with' recognises the ability to act in collaboration with other people (Rowlands 1997). It is the power of consensus and the power of people working together to solve a common problem. 'Power with' relations reflect "an empowerment model where dialogue, inclusion, negotiation, and shared power guide decision making" (Berger 2005, p. 6). Follett (1924), an early writer on 'power with', argued that it is a non-coercive, power sharing relationship between individuals and groups based on a state of mutual respect. Thus, one does not subjugate the other to their will; but the relationship is built on a reciprocal understanding leading to creative synthesis (Metcalf and Urwick 2004). In the context of Rwanda, conceptualising power as 'power with' might be well suited within SDP programmes because it is aligned with cultural philosophies such as Ubuntu which emphasises collectivism (see section

2.2.3). In practice, this could mean that SDP programmes place value on collaboration and sharing power which is somewhat reiterative of Freire's work that forms part of the interactional dimension of individual empowerment. In this vein, this research will shed light on the role of 'power with' and whether it has the potential to be embedded in SDP programmes to foster girls' empowerment.

3.6.4 'Power within'

'Power within' relates directly to an individual's sense of value and self-knowledge based on an individual or group's realisation that their knowledge is worth something (Hunjan and Pettit 2011). 'Power within' relates to conquering the condition of 'powerlessness' (Mowatt and Schmalz 2014; Tew 2006). Based on Foucauldian power, although no individual is powerless, some individuals and groups are defined as powerlessness because they are part of minority social groups (ethnic, disabled, gender, homosexual and others) (Mowatt and Schmalz 2014). Hence, 'power within' aims to shift the state or perception of powerlessness into a positive. Providing individuals and groups with a platform to develop their power within is crucial to develop a greater sense of belief in their ability to take action and fulfil power to and power with. Amplifying 'power within' increases individuals' the capability to hope, imagine and lift aspirations about change, leading to the recognition of their 'power with' and 'power to', (Mowatt and Schmalz 2014; VeneKlasen and Miller 2002). Considering that 'power within' refers to shifting perception of powerless, there might be some alignment with the intrapersonal dimension of individual empowerment which refers to the positive development of psychological components. Thus, a relevant question that follows this examination is whether developing the intrapersonal dimension of individual empowerment is connected to development of power within?

3.6.5 Resistance

Drawing on multiple feminist perspectives such as black feminism and postcolonial feminism and Foucault's work, resistance must be a key assumption in CFT. CFT advocates the point that even though girls may have little or no access to power, they can still express resistance to hegemony in different ways (Deepak 2011). This type of resistance can be defined as:

“...any mental or behavioural act through which a person attempts to expose, withstand, repel, stop, prevent, abstain from, strive against, impede, refuse to comply with, or oppose any form of violence or oppression (including any type of disrespect), or the conditions which make such acts possible. Any attempt to imagine or establish a life based on one’s self or others, including any effort to redress the harm caused by violence or other forms of oppression.”

(Wade 1997, p. 25)

Accordingly, resistance to power can be demonstrated through protests, campaigns, social activism and boycotts. As Deepak states, resistance “can also be manifested in indirect ways such as silence, withdrawal, and refusal to consent through music, poetry and alternative practices that envision a just world” (2011, p. 784). Calvès (2009, p. 748) argues that resistance must be local as well as global, “it must be part of a larger protest against the neoliberal, patriarchal and neocolonial development model that perpetuates and reinforces inequitable power relations”. According to Mwaanga and Prince (2016), resistance in SDP programmes might involve women and girls not conforming to the status quo. For example, if girls tend to the home and play football they are resisting the dominant discourses and gender ideologies which say they must choose between playing football and tending for the home (Mwaanga and Prince 2016). To make sense of resistance and empowerment of girls in SDP, research must focus on identifying different forms of oppression inside and outside of SDP programmes and how they can be resisted and possibly transformed. In particular, greater attention must be paid to the programme mechanisms and processes that might be able to educate and inform girls about resistance and how to achieve it in reality. In addition, examining the different types of power (power over, power to, power within and power with) is important because there is currently a lack of consensus regarding which type of power is closest associated with empowerment (Peterson 2010).

3.7 The role of men and boys in girls’ (dis)empowerment

Programmes focusing on gender have often been designed and implemented exclusively for women and girls based on the perception that men, boys and patriarchy are part of the problem for girls’ oppression (Connell 2012). Unlike women and girls who are represented as ‘agents of change’ in international policies and mandates, men

and boys are perceived as being lazy and irresponsible. This is reiterated by the ‘moralistic overtones’ of women’s ‘good’ spending on children, clothes food and essentials and men’s ‘bad’ spending on entertainment, sex, smoking and drinking (Wilson 2011). From this standpoint, men and boys are also homogenised during conceptualisations of SDP programmes. Rather than being seen as individuals who could facilitate or support the empowerment of women and girls (who may be their wives, daughter’s, sister’s etc.), they are viewed as individuals who would hinder the empowering process, or worse, foster disempowerment.

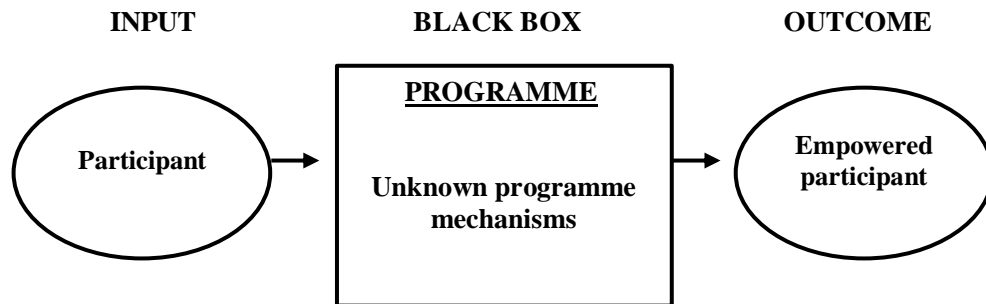
One defining feature of African feminism is the emphasis on involving men and boys in gender development (Mekgwe 2007). African feminism in CFT counters the assumption that men and boys only hinder development and instead advocates involving them in the process (Mekgwe 2007). Despite the limited research that examines mixed-gender SDP programmes, Chawansky (2011) and Hayhurst (2011) have argued that men and boys must be involved in strategies of change and engaged in the process of changing gender relations. With regards to facilitating girls’ empowerment in SDP, applying CFT provokes significant questions about *how* involving boys in programmes can facilitate girls’ development of empowerment. Although Chawansky (2011) asserts that boys should be enlightened and girls empowered, she argues that more in-depth research is required about mixed-gender programmes. Essentially, the question in this research is what mechanisms can be employed in programmes to meaningfully involve boys so that they facilitate the development of girls’ empowerment?

3.8 Moving beyond the ‘black box’: Examining the efficacy of empowerment and gender in SDP

While previous research has called for greater attention to understand programme theory and mechanisms in SDP (see Adams and Harris 2014; Coalter 2013; Schulenkorf 2012; Darnell 2010; Girginov 2008; Coalter 2007), these studies do not examine programme theory and mechanisms in relation to gender and empowerment. According to Zimmerman et al (1992), the mechanisms involved in the empowerment process must be studied in more detail, in addition to contextual characteristics that may inhibit or promote the development of empowerment for participants in programmes. In this setting, failure to identify and examine the mechanisms within

programmes meant little is known by academics, policy makers and practitioners about how girls' participation in sport leads to empowerment. Subsequently, a 'black box' has surfaced within SDP programmes meaning that there is a lack of research that explicitly examines *how* programmes foster girls' empowerment (see Figure 2).

Figure 2 The 'Black Box' of girls' empowerment in SDP



While the 'black box' is a useful starting point for identifying mechanisms within SDP programmes, the model is limited for understanding girls' (dis)empowerment in detail. The first limitation of the 'black box' is that it assumes that girls are not already empowered before they attended the SDP programme. However, girls may attend SDP programme having already developed certain dimensions of their empowerment. This poses some relevant questions for this study such as, how can NGOs establish what dimensions of empowerment girls have already developed before and while they are participating in the programme? And, how can practitioners manage and cater for participants with differing levels of empowerment, and disempowerment, within the same programme?

Another limitation of the 'black box' is that it only focusses on empowerment as an 'outcome' of girls' participation in the programme. This is evident in some SDP programmes which identify 'empowerment' as an end goal or accomplishment. Empowerment outcomes might include increased control over a certain situation or possessing the necessary skills to mobilise resources (Hur 2006; Perkins and Zimmerman 1995). However, labelling empowerment as an outcome can lead to assumptions being made; first, that outcomes will be the same and occur at the same time for all girls participating in programmes; second, that those outcomes are permanent, when in fact (dis)empowerment outcomes may fluctuate and emerge at

different times in different settings and circumstances (Laverack and Wallerstein 2001), and third, it assumes that all outcomes will be observable.

According to Hur (2006), most empowerment studies have focused on the outcomes with very few focusing on the processes. This has meant that we know very little about what, how and why programmes and interventions empower girls, and is one such gap this research hopes to address in the context of SDP. This study contends that empowerment is both a process and outcome at the same time. Empowering outcomes might occur from ‘empowering processes’ which evolve through interaction with a programme. This could mean that processes could be more “instructive than the outcome” (Hur 2006, p. 524). Some empowerment outcomes may not be seen for many years, but the person may still experience empowering processes when they participate in a programme or intervention. Thus, girls’ individual empowerment can also be considered as a process that assists in achieving certain goals or to facilitate outcomes. Although what is meant by the term ‘process’ is rarely clarified, it nonetheless describes, the method, tools, approach, ideology or philosophy to do something (Tengland 2007). As a process, empowerment centres on participation (i.e. participation in a SDP programme or intervention) (Perkins and Zimmerman 1995), choice, access to resources and the ability to take control over what one deems as important in one’s life. Empowerment therefore, is a process which is interactive and involves purposeful participation, so, in considering mechanisms within SDP programmes, there might be the potential for NGOs to create ‘empowering mechanisms’.

In Hayhurst’s study (2013a, 2013b), she examined the empowering potential of social entrepreneurship in SDP programmes for girls in Uganda. Although Hayhurst does not explicitly use the term ‘mechanisms’ when discussing social entrepreneurship activities, they can be considered mechanisms because they form the processes employed within programmes to effect girls’ development. The programme aims to empower girls’ by training them to become martial arts instructors. The money girls earned as martial arts trainers meant they could purchase menstrual products so they could continue taking part in the programme (Hayhurst 2013a). The mechanisms, as examined by Hayhurst, encourage girls to take control over their economic decisions without depending solely on the SDP programme for resources. This contrasts with other girl-focussed SDP programmes which have employed mechanisms that make

girls dependent on receiving resources from the programmes. For example, organisations such as the Netball Development Trust in Kenya regularly distribute sanitary pads to girls participating in netball events. As Hayhurst (2013a) observes, encouraging girls to work and earn their own money means they can acquire resources with minimal dependency on donor support from the SDP programme. The findings from Hayhurst's research in Uganda provide some interesting inquiries for this research to build upon. One area involves identifying and understanding the mechanisms embedded in programmes which encourage girls to seek opportunities in the free market (Hayhurst 2013a). This may involve examining the effect of neoliberal influences on programme design and the type of messages and activities which are embedded in programmes. The effect of neoliberal ideologies on other aspects of girls' lives could also be examined, for example, do girls experience resistance from their family, friends or school when acting on the messages they are receiving from the SDP programme?

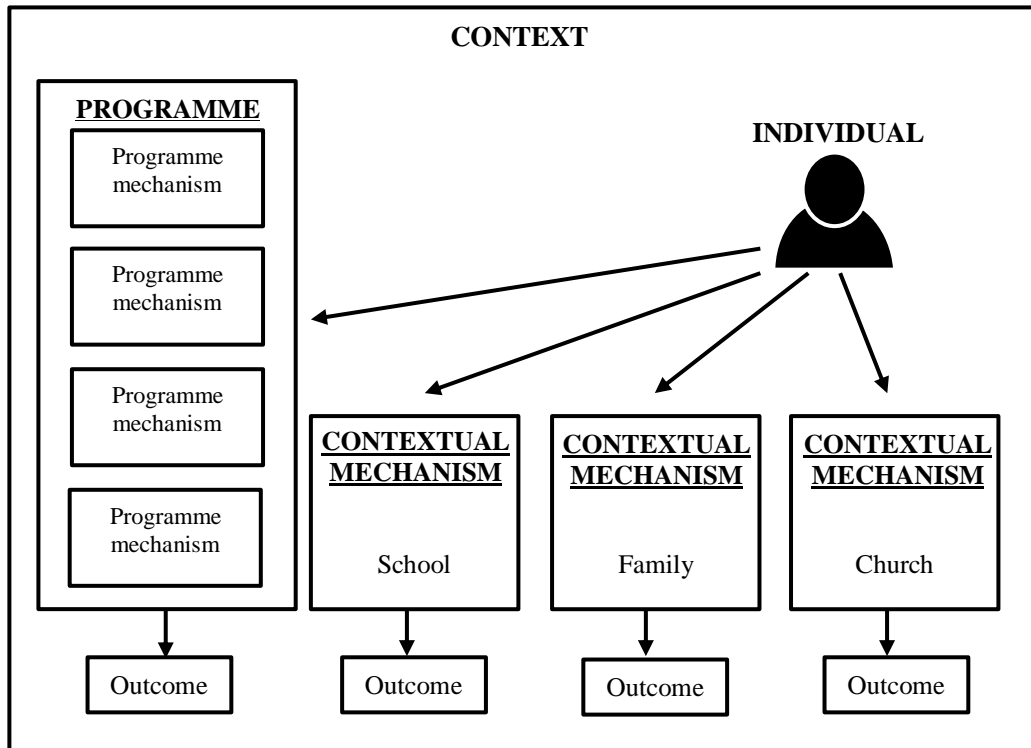
Even though there are few previous studies examining the mechanisms associated with gender and empowerment in SDP, it is possible to identify potential mechanisms by observing what is going on in practice. Fifteen NGOs were examined during a small mapping exercise to identify the common approaches and activities (mechanisms) which may be associated with facilitating girls' empowerment (see Appendix A for a full breakdown). Education, peer leadership, coaching and mentoring were popular approaches adopted by the majority of NGOs included in the mapping exercise. These approaches are often described under the broader umbrella term of 'life skills'. The focus on 'life skills' in practice has been met with criticism by some scholars who have argued that 'life skills' has emanated from a neoliberal ideology which assumes that if girls possess life skills they are empowered (see Mwaanga and Prince 2016; Spaaij and Jeanes 2013; Darnell and Black 2011). For policy makers especially, equating empowerment to life skills is an attractive proposition because life skills activities such as training, workshops and mentoring can be standardized, given clear objectives and are easier to measure (Calvès 2009).

However, the extent to which pedagogy, peer leadership, coaching and mentoring are 'empowering mechanisms' and facilitate developing girls' dimensions of empowerment is unclear. There has also been a lack of examination of these potential programme mechanisms in relation to gender and the gender ideologies embedded in

programmes remain unchallenged in SDP (Marin 2015; Chawansky 2011). This is concerning as certain gender ideologies and messaging could lead to mechanisms reproducing harmful gender norms which lead to girls' disempowerment.

It is important to acknowledge that there are likely to be *multiple* mechanisms that effect girls' developing their empowerment from within the SDP programme and outside the programme in their everyday life. This is an important assertion because the assumption that sport is solely responsible for girls' empowerment is wholly unrealistic and evangelical. Contextual factors of girls' realities such as their family, friends, school and religious practices are also made up of mechanisms which could foster girls' empowerment. Thus, it could be argued that there are multiple types of mechanisms operating in girls' lives including; programme mechanisms and contextual mechanisms. Programme mechanisms are mechanisms which occur within the SDP programme and contextual mechanisms are factors which exist as part of the wider context of girls' lives (outside of programmes). Identifying the different types of mechanisms is useful for examining (dis)empowerment in this research because it poses some relevant questions, such as, what are the contextual mechanisms at play which may implicate programme mechanisms and their ability to empower? And, what happens to girls' empowerment when programme mechanisms conflict with contextual mechanisms? Figure 3 adapts the 'black box' to account for the additional complexity of programme mechanisms and contextual mechanisms in relation to girls' empowerment. Some examples of possible contextual mechanisms have been put in place for clarity.

Figure 3 Locating programme mechanisms and contextual mechanisms



While sport may be the site for development and the context of positive experiences, the “social process of participation is the key to understanding what is happening” (Coalter 2013, p. 129). Because empowerment processes and outcomes vary in their emergence or manifestation, there is no one template to capture what empowerment means to all people across all contexts (Zimmerman 1992; Rappaport 1984). Since it is difficult to identify when empowerment starts and how long it takes to actualise, a relevant question for this study is whether SDP might be more effective when focussing on empowering *processes* rather than focussing on empowerment as an outcome. Uncovering the mechanisms within SDP programmes might also help to shed light on whether sport has some unique characteristics for fostering empowerment compared to other activities in girls’ lives.

To progress our academic and practical understanding of ‘empowering’ mechanisms, as detailed in research objective three, this research attempts to do two things. First, to identify the mechanisms which are present in SDP programmes, and second, to unpack those mechanisms and examine whether they can develop dimensions of girls’ individual empowerment.

3.9 Girls' disempowerment in SDP

SDP programmes have largely been conceptualised, implemented and evaluated with their empowering potential in mind and not on their disempowering potential on participants' lives. This view is consistent with Robinson and Bennett's (1995) observation that the attention of interventions is most often directed to the presence or absence of positive phenomena, rather than to the presence or absence of negative phenomena. As a result, disempowerment has received significantly less attention than empowerment in research and there currently exists no SDP literature that explores girls' experiences of disempowerment. The lack of understanding is problematic for the future of SDP because programmes could be causing more harm to girls' lives than good. Thus, this research attempts to identify and make sense of disempowering contextual mechanisms and programme mechanisms and examine whether they can be negotiated or managed to prevent girls' disempowerment. By applying a multiple theoretical analysis using CFT (i.e. postcolonial feminism, African feminism and black feminism) it is possible to deconstruct the ways girls may encounter experiences in SDP programming which may lead to their disempowerment.

In attempt to develop greater understanding of disempowerment, the term disempowerment must first be examined. Defining disempowerment is equally as difficult as defining empowerment. The most popular way of defining disempowerment has been to define it in opposite terms to empowerment, that is, if empowerment refers to having control then disempowerment refers to having no control and lack of agency (see Ganle et al. 2015; Mishra 2014), yet these definitions of disempowerment are far too simplistic because they fail to unpack the nuances or dimensions specifically related to disempowerment. Mishra's (2014) study, for example, focussed on measuring women's disempowerment using indexes of social deprivation across states in India. For Mishra, disempowerment relates to women's inability to make decisions. Quantitative methods were adopted to measure the extent to which women are excluded and denied from making decisions and the findings highlighted that the levels of women's disempowerment varied across different states across India. For example, she highlighted a multidimensional approach is required for examining women's disempowerment to acknowledge the multiple decisions they make such as fertility decisions, economic decisions, household decisions and personal decisions. Likewise, in the context of Rwanda, the disempowerment of girls

might be caused by contextual mechanisms outside of SDP programmes such as the long-lasting disempowering effects of the genocide, poverty particularly in rural Rwanda and lack of access to affordable health care and certain cultural ideologies which constrain behaviour and decision making. Even though Mishra's study is useful for emphasising a holistic and multidimensional approach to examining disempowerment, the study does not shed light onto the specific contextual mechanisms which lead to and reproduce women's disempowerment. Indeed, qualitative methods which examine one context in greater depth might be more appropriate for progressing academic understanding of disempowerment of women and girls.

Disempowerment has also been defined in binary opposite to 'soft power' to refer to those "occasions in which you may upset, offend or alienate others, leading to a loss of attractiveness or influence" (Brannagan and Giulianotti 2015, p. 705). While Brannagan and Giulianotti's (2015) definition is useful for locating the role of power with disempowerment, this definition of disempowerment is concerned with macro level disempowerment of large structures such as mega events whereas this research requires a micro level definition that refers to individual's negotiation of power.

This study adopts Mwaanga's (2003, p. 6) definition of disempowerment which refers to "a myriad of factors, which work against powerless people, leaving them with little or no choice over their circumstances". Mwaanga's definition is useful because it combines elements of Mishra's definition which focussed on decision making and Brannagan and Giulianotti's (2015) that highlighted the role of power and being powerless. Powerless individuals may experience disempowering circumstances such as structural inequalities, bureaucratic attitudes, lack of information and a lack of belief in their abilities which lead to a lack of control over important life matters (McArdle 1990).

Individuals may experience disempowering processes as well as empowering processes (Zimmerman 1995). Failure to identify and manage the mechanisms which lead to disempowerment could mean that programmes continue to be conceptualised and implemented in ways that continue to foster the same disempowering tendencies. The case of the Mathare Youth Sport Association (MYSA), a sport NGO in Kenya that aims to empower women and girls through sport, is one example where it has been alleged that there were considerable misuses of position, power and privilege by staff.

Some staff were accused of the misappropriation of funds, extortion and sexual harassment of programme participants. Rather than creating a safe place for developing empowerment in the community, the organisation and its programmes were polluted and consumed by corruption which ultimately meant that the participants experienced disempowerment. The staff (programme mechanism) allegedly sexually abused girls participating in the programme; this would have a significant effect on girls' control over their life and subsequently result in their disempowerment because they have become powerless to the staff who have exploited their position of power.

In addition to disempowering mechanisms and processes, as with empowerment, disempowerment can also be an outcome. As discussed, most SDP programmes are focused on behaviour change, yet, changing or attempting to change someone's behaviour could potentially be hazardous, leaving some girls with a series of new problems or outcomes (Sweetman 2013). According to Kabeer (2005), imbalances in girls' lives may be created, at least in the short term, when they develop their empowerment that bring about new different challenges and maybe unpredictable consequences. Several scholars have reported that some women experienced domestic violence from their male partners after participating in microfinance economic empowerment programmes, (Ganle et al. 2015; Hughes et al. 2015; Sweetman 2013; Kabeer 2005). The violence occurred because women began to earn more money than their male partners who felt their role as leaders and providers for families had been undermined (Ganle et al. 2015; Sweetman 2013). Thus, girls' development in relation to the SDP programme was empowering but their development in relation to their home life was disempowering. The relationship between empowering and disempowering outcomes highlights some relevant points for this research. It opens the potential for girls to be empowered and disempowered at the same time, for example, at school girls may experience increased levels of empowerment where they develop multiple dimensions (intrapersonal, interactional and behavioural) but, as with the allegations of MYSA, might also experience disempowerment because of participation in a SDP programme.

The relationship between empowerment and disempowerment builds on Zimmerman's (1995) work which argues that individuals may have a sense of empowerment at one time and disempowerment at another time. Thus, an individual

can be empowered and disempowered at the same time in different contexts, situations or spheres of life (Zimmerman, 1995). However, what is not clear is where the distinction comes between being empowered or disempowered. Figure 4 attempts to make sense of this distinction.

Figure 4 The relationship between empowerment and disempowerment

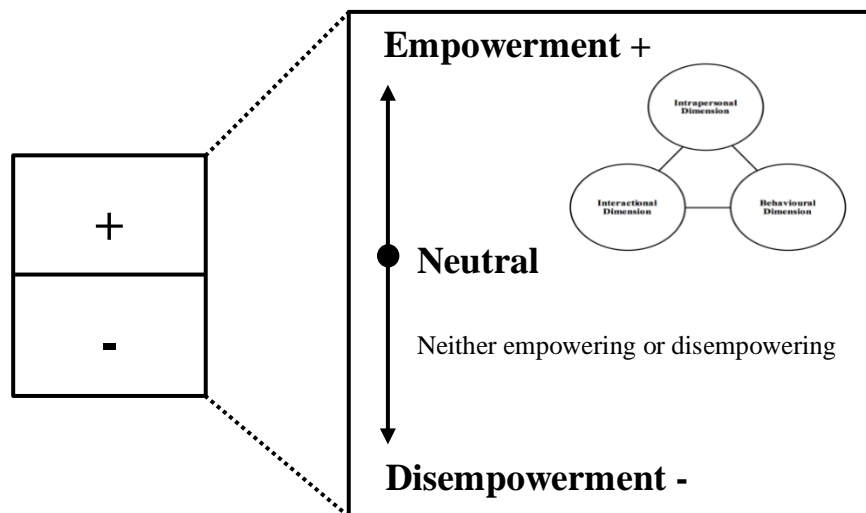


Figure 4 presents a ‘neutral’ stage in-between an individual’s empowerment and disempowerment. The ‘neutral’ stage gives indication that programme or contextual mechanisms might not lead to empowerment *or* disempowerment, that is, it doesn’t lead to an increase or decrease in girls’ control. There might be programme mechanism, such as a workshop on hygiene education, which does not develop dimensions of girls’ individual empowerment but also does not decrease girls’ control so therefore doesn’t lead to disempowerment because of that mechanism. In this vein, the diagram represents an individual’s overall (dis)empowerment, where several other factors could be plotted on the diagram to represent their (dis)empowering properties. For instance, some girls might develop empowerment at church and school which will contribute to their overall empowerment. However, the question still unaccounted for is how (dis)empowerment in SDP interacts with other types of (dis)empowerment such as ‘religious-empowerment’ ‘school-empowerment’ because they might conflict with the messages delivered in SDP programmes.

Whether by “omission or commission” (Black 2010, p. 123), programme mechanisms and their relationship with contextual mechanisms can be empowering,

disempowering and foster a neutral stage where they neither contribute to the increased or decreased control in girls' lives. This research aims to shed light on this relationship and identify the contextual and programme mechanisms which lead to (dis)empowering processes and outcomes for girls.

3.10 Issues of agency and social structure

There has been much discussion by social theorists about the relationship between agency and social structure (Hearn 2012; Elder-Vass 2010; Archer 1996; Mouzelis 1995). Agency and social structure are key sociological concepts which have a long history of discussion (see Giddens 1979; Baldamus, 1976; Durkheim, 1982 [1895]). More recently, Nicos Mouzelis (1995; 1991) and Margret Archer (1996) have both discussed the duality between social structure and agency. Mouzelis (1995; 1991) and Archer (1996) not only emphasise the significance of both agency and social structure but also assert that both should be studied and understood independently. Mouzelis examined the differing levels of constraint associated with social structures as opposed to previous scholars such as Giddens (1984) who had described structure more broadly as something which constrains and enables people. Whereas, for Archer (1996), structure and agents must be studied separately to explore the differences and how structural factors provide the context for agency or action, i.e. without people, social structures would not exist.

The structure and agency debate is of significance to this study because these forces affect social phenomena and an individual's capabilities for action. Social structure and agency both relate to the forces that affect girls' (dis)empowerment and girls' abilities to achieve their goals. This research discusses structure and agency in a way that is not binary. A binary view would argue that structural forces implicate social behaviour *or* social behaviour is subsequent to human free thinking (Elder-Vass 2010). A binary perspective on social structure and agency does not go far enough to further our understanding of girls' (dis)empowerment because it does not acknowledge that social phenomena is influenced by both social structure *and* agency. In Mwaanga and Prince's (2016) study of the Go Sisters, a SDP programme in Zambia, they highlight that the programme sponsored girls to attend school. In this vein, girls could exercise their agency by participating in the SDP programme and attending school while

conforming to the broader social structure where education is highly valued and viewed as a crucial component to becoming employable.

Previous studies are useful for prompting questions which are relevant for examining (dis)empowerment that this study hopes to address, for example, if programmes are designed to focus on increasing girls' agency, do they have any influence on changing the structure? What structures effect girls' (dis)empowerment and do structures that are perceived as being disempowering also have the potential to be empowering? And, if these programmes do effect change in agency or structure, what are the processes which led to such change?

3.10.1 Agency

Agency is another way of explaining social behaviour, that is, the ability of individuals to perform, or not perform, their own actions towards achieving their own goal (Hearn 2012; Elder-Vass 2010). In essence, agency views social behaviour as something which is not determined by contextual factors (Houlihan 2008), but agency is also a contested concept. According to Hitlin and Long (2009, p. 138), there are two parts to agency, "a person's objective opportunities to exert control over their life and their subjective belief about their ability to exert control". Breaking down agency into two parts is useful because it identifies the difference between perceived control and actual control. While girls may have a personal sense that they can change or influence their surroundings, it may not match their reality. Lindsey et al (2017) discuss the sense of girls 'being/feeling' empowered to take action. To build on and extend this idea further, this opens questions about the differences between *feeling* empowered and actually exhibiting dimensions of individual empowerment to exert control (i.e. intrapersonal, interactional or behavioural dimension). For example, is having girls' developing feelings of empowerment enough to exhibit control over their lives?

Perceived and actual control is also related to power. As discussed earlier in the chapter, 'power within' refers to countering the perception of powerlessness and increasing self-worth, these psychological concepts might encourage the feeling of empowerment (intrapersonal dimension), but they do not include the development of other dimensions of individual empowerment (interactional and behavioural dimensions). In contrast, 'power to' refers to increasing controlling internal and external factors that are important to quality of life. In this vein, emphasising 'power

to' may enhance more 'authentic' empowerment because it focuses on 'objective opportunities' in the internal and external environment which can increase girls' quality of life (Hitlin and Long 2009; TEngland 2009). By acknowledging the multiple aspects included in 'agency', this study aims to shed light on whether SDP programmes are enabling girls to *feel* empowered, or if the programmes are contributing to the development of 'authentic' empowerment, that is, an empowerment where dimensions of individual empowerment are developed, and girls participate in objective opportunities to exert control.

The level of agency an individual has will also depend on the circumstances and context (Hitlin and Long 2009). When girls are participating in the SDP programme they may experience higher levels of agency because they can take control over their participation and resist dominant discourses which advocate that sport is a domain for boys. When girls are not able to participate, they may experience less agency because they are restricted to certain gender roles and performing certain tasks traditionally reserved for girls. This example also highlights how girls' agency is shaped by cultural beliefs (Hitlin and Long 2009). Rwandan cultural beliefs relating to gender ideology may affect girls' ability to exercise agency and take advantage of opportunities. An example in relation to this study might be that girls in rural Rwanda are expected to care for younger siblings which may mean they are unable to attend school.

In attempt to develop girls' agency, there has been a shift in the representation of girls in policies and by development agencies in the last decade (Jeanes 2011). Girls have been re-conceptualised by policy makers, development agencies and NGOs as 'agents' with the potential to be resources for social change in their communities rather than the powerless, passive victims they have previously been represented as (Calkin 2017; Hayhurst et al. 2014).

"The stereotypical woman that these discourses evoke is always heterosexual, usually either with an abusive or useless husband or a victim of abandonment struggling to survive as a female-headed household. She is portrayed as abject and at the same time as eager to improve herself and her situation if only she could be 'empowered'."

(Cornwall et al. 2008, p. 5)

Empowering girls to become agents is viewed as one way of increasing girls' agency where, armed with the necessary information and life skills, girls become agents of change and 'save' their communities (Calkin 2017; McDonald 2015; Sensoy and Marshall 2010). The Nike 'Girl Effect' campaign is one example where SDP policies have shifted to centralise girls' agency (Hayhurst 2011; Wilson 2011). Yet, despite a renewed representation of girls and a shift in focus for SDP organisations and NGOs, there has been a propensity to put emphasis on the individual changing their behaviour, attitudes and beliefs rather than critiquing the social structure around them. Further, the claim that an empowered girl will change her community is unsubstantiated. While individual empowerment refers to development at an individual level, it should not be interpreted to mean that the individual is solely responsible for their own development (Zimmerman et al. 1992) and the development of others. The basis of many programmes is about changing girls' psychological behaviour to enable them to access more opportunities, yet this approach relies heavily on the person to change and act on their changed behaviour (Saavedra 2009). Discussing empowerment in terms of a solely psychological process and outcome is problematic because it places onus on the individual to be responsible for changing their behaviour. Therefore, if no change is made, the girl participating in the programme would be to blame (Houlihan 2008; Caplan and Nelson 1973) and she is left to suffer alone with the disempowering social structures that lead to her powerlessness remaining unchallenged. Likewise, the emphasis on individuality, self-reliance and self-improvement was examined in Hayhurst's (2013a) study into social entrepreneurship. The findings of her study indicate that placing responsibility of change solely on girls meant that structural inequalities such as power imbalances and gendered divisions of labour which effect girls' agency were overlooked (Hayhurst 2013a). Additionally, Hayhurst (2013b), argues that failure to address the structural inequalities could lead to reproducing the same inequalities which result in the marginalisation of girls. Despite this, in a context with multiple structural issues and challenges, focussing on agency is one way to justify impact of a programme. Arguably, it is easier and more convenient for donors and policy makers to measure one person's change rather than trying to measure a reduction of poverty in a community or an increase in HIV/AIDS awareness.

Romanticising notions of agency in SDP is potentially dangerous for girls who participate in programmes because it reduces and simplifies the concept of

empowerment to involve ‘action’ or ‘choice’ without acknowledgement of the larger structures and systems at play (Darnell and Hayhurst 2012, p. 118). The result of this is that some SDP programmes emphasise individuals to take responsibility for their own behaviour and well-being regardless of their circumstances (Forde and Frisby 2015). The obsession with agency as a form of empowerment has meant that the material structures of power and gender ideology have been largely overlooked (Wilson 2007), yet these are significant influential factors in facilitating (dis)empowerment because structures will enable and constrain the behaviours of actors (Hayward 2000). As discussed, girls may have the sense of empowerment and therefore agency but are ultimately effected by social structures which constrain and enable their agency. Thus, based on the key assumptions of CFT, the role of structure and its effect on girls’ agency must be acknowledged and understood (Leberman and Burton 2017).

3.10.2 Social structure

Critically examining the context of SDP is crucial in this study for understanding the social structures and contextual mechanisms at play. The term ‘social structure’ refers to the factors which influence individual’s and group’s behaviours and patterns of social relations (Hearn 2012; Elder-Vass 2010), such as gender ideology and participation in sport. As discussed in the previous section on agency, placing the moral responsibility to change primarily on an individual discounts the role of wider external factors and how they implicate a person’s development (Zimmerman 1990). Relying on the development of empowerment as solely achieved through and by the agent does little to progress our understanding of empowerment because it assumes that SDP programmes operate in a vacuum to the rest of society. Equally, it is just as limiting to assume that agency operates in a space without structure.

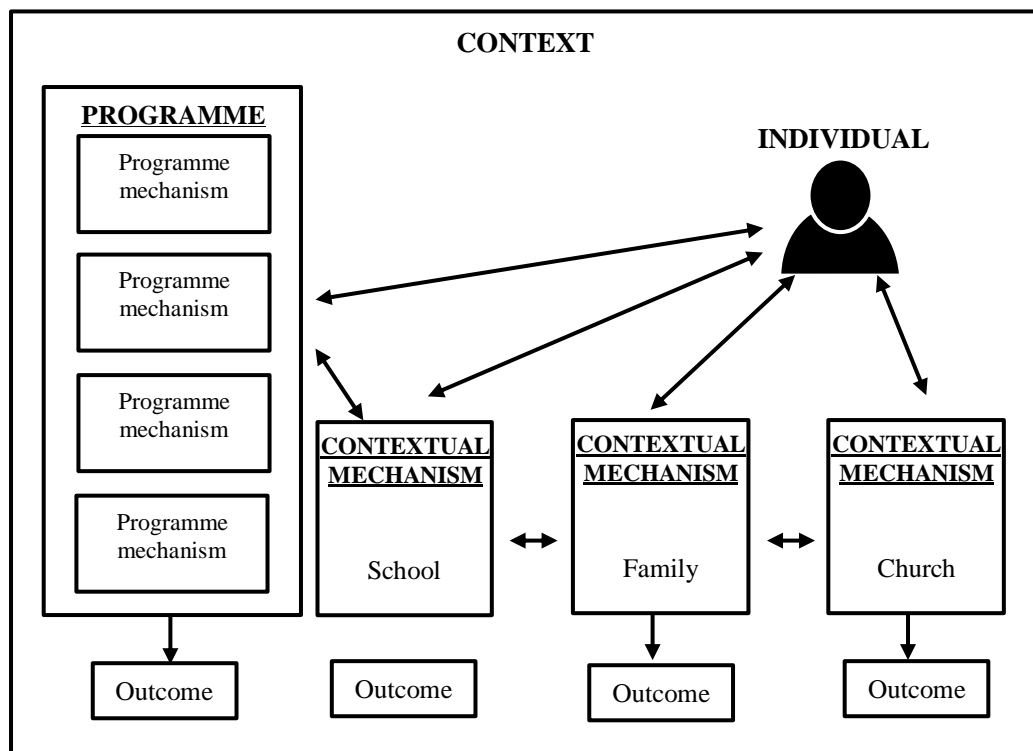
Archer’s (1995) perspective that society is made up of the intended and unintended consequences of agents may illuminate how individuals experience empowerment and structure. For example, if programmes encourage girls to develop their interactional dimension of individual empowerment (critical consciousness raising), participants may begin to challenge and even resist dominant structures and the way they experience them in their everyday lives. This was evident in Mwaanga and Prince’s study (2016) which showed the conflict some girls experienced when playing football but also wanting to conform to traditional gender roles such as cooking and tending

the home. Rather than choosing one activity over the other, the programme encouraged girls to continue playing football and use their newly developed critical consciousness skills (agency) to define new gender roles (social structure) within their families that allowed them to play football *and* tend the home (Mwaanga and Prince 2016). Similarly, Chawansky and Mitra (2015) examined the role of family and girls' empowerment when participating in a SDP project based in Delhi India. Chawansky and Mitra (2015) emphasise the importance of understanding context-specific factors related to families such as dowries, pressures on matchmaking and arranged marriages which can become sources of inequality. To gather the data, focus groups were organised and fourteen interviews were conducted with girls participating in the programme. The findings suggested that families tended to restrict girls' movement when travelling to and from the SDP programme. Safety in public spaces was a key concern for girls' parents and the school, where the SDP programme was delivered, was a safe space because it was gated and employed guards. Subsequently, girls' agency was constrained to certain spaces which limited their ability to foster empowerment because of contextual factors. Thus, with the findings from previous studies in mind, it is crucial for this research to acknowledge the historical, cultural and social factors which occur in non-Western settings (Giulianotti 2012; Hayhurst 2011; Kay 2009; Burnett 2002; Weber 1998) and how they affect girls' fostering their empowerment in different spaces.

By examining girl's (dis)empowerment from a structure and agency perspective two questions emerge which are relevant for this study, 1) how does the environment implicate programme participants and their involvement in SDP programmes; and 2) how do participants live within and manage the changing structures in their lives (Houlihan 2008)? Thus, this research will attempt to examine contextual mechanisms and whether they facilitate or hinder the empowerment process for girls building on the findings of previous studies such as Chawansky and Mitra (2015).

Figure 5 builds on the previous diagram which shows the relationship between programme mechanisms and contextual mechanisms which may influence girls' (dis)empowerment. The diagram also adds arrows to demonstrate the potential conflict between different contextual mechanism to avoid assuming different spheres of girls lives work together in harmony.

Figure 5 Examining the relationship between contextual mechanisms and programme mechanisms



Further research is also needed to make sense of whether these contextual mechanisms have their own (dis)empowering propensities i.e. school-based (dis)empowerment, faith-based empowerment or family-based empowerment, and whether they complement or conflict with developing a sport-based empowerment for girls. Other types of empowerment are often absent from SDP discussions in favour of a celestial sport based empowerment. Therefore, the extent to which sport is the *only* contributing factor towards girls' (dis)empowerment is challenged in this research.

Second, the failure to examine gender historically means that the way gender norms and inequalities are formed have not been challenged. As a result, the same gender issues and inequalities tend to be reproduced and maintained in SDP programming (Forde and Frisby 2015). This has resulted in poor policy decisions about addressing gender issues which focus predominantly on removing structural barriers and emphasise the funding and resources of programmes (Houlihan 2008). Programmes have focused on removing physical barriers to women and girl's participation in sport including coaching, travelling to and from sessions and the lack of resources like equipment or access to suitable facilities to play sport. Acquiring tangible resources

within SDP programmes are viewed as key mechanisms within programmes by policy makers and practitioners, but the focus on acquiring physical resources has often come at the expense of focusing on the ideological and intangible barriers preventing girls' development (Chawansky 2011). As Chawansky argues, "a focus on providing girls opportunities that are equal to boys does little to challenge the existing gender order in sport or outside it. This is especially relevant for a movement that seeks to utilise sport for social change" (2011, p.133). This has resulted in limited knowledge on how to confront gender related issues and other ideological challenges that may inhibit or promote the development of empowerment (Zimmerman et al. 1992). Thus, to deconstruct gender issues and how they affect girls' (dis)empowerment in the present, using CFT, this study recognises the historical context of gender and how certain gender ideologies were constructed.

As with empowerment, social structure and agency should be viewed as dynamic entities that operate in different timescales and at any moment to constrain or enable agents (Archer 1996). In this vein, when researching SDP programmes, empowerment is a construct which is a dynamic process and outcome, whereby levels of empowerment can change over time, space and situation. It is more complex than saying someone is, or isn't, empowered because intensities of empowerment may change and evolve over time (peaks and troughs) and can occur during different stages. At one time, a person may be more empowered in certain parts of their life than in others, this could mean that a person's degree of agency may also change during their life time. Similarly, for structure, depending on a person's situation the structures that influence their lives may also change. As people's needs change over time, what once may have been a desirable outcome for a person at one time might not be relevant at another time. Therefore, it is difficult to assume that agency and structure is static across space and time because it is tentative and unpredictable. Given the complexities of social structure and agency in practice, NGOs designing and delivering SDP programmes have a challenging task to try and negotiate these multiple and dynamic structures in a way that is empowering for girls. Thus, this study will identify the areas of constraint within the social structure which effect girls' (dis)empowerment and make sense of whether SDP programmes are reproducing or resisting such issues.

3.11 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has explained the conceptual framework of individual empowerment, building on the previous work on sport empowerment (Mwaanga 2012; 2003) and individual level empowerment (Zimmerman 1995; 1990) to study girls' (dis)empowerment in SDP. It is the popularity of the 'empowerment' coupled with its casual usage in practice that provides the impetus for this research. Sporting organisations, NGOs and policies globally have emphasised the claim that SDP is a viable site for empowering girls, yet little academic attention has been given as to how programmes are conceptualised and implemented. Part of the appeal for sport NGOs and policy makers to adopt the term empowerment is that it is perceived to offer a development approach which works from the bottom-up (Calvès 2009) and moves away from other traditional top-down forms of development such as aid giving and towards ameliorating problems and providing "opportunities for participants to develop knowledge and skills, and engage professionals as collaborators instead of authoritative experts" (Perkins and Zimmerman 1995, p. 570).

The dominant development discourse has been that women and girls in the Global South need to become less submissive and more assertive for them to transform their lives (Forde and Frisby 2015; Wilson 2011). However, this depiction of women and girls in the Global South as being submissive, powerless victims is too monolithic and a misrepresentation of the strength of women and girls globally. An African woman's power of being silent in the home towards her husband could be misrepresented as being passive to Western policy makers and researchers, yet her silence is an indication of her strength and womanhood (Clark 2011). This view is consistent with Hayhurst who advocates that "scholars of sport for development would do well to reject the dangerous dichotomies that tend to frame young women participating in such interventions as either 'passive victims' or precipitously industrious, empowered individuals" (2014, p. 165).

There is also a danger that when girls in the Global South are constructed in one way, i.e. powerless, submissive and passive, it makes assumptions that girls in the Global North are empowered, experience liberation and have control over their own lives. This is of concern because SDP programmes could be considered as developing girls in the Global South to be like girls in the Global North postulating the Global North as the epitome of 'empowerment' and 'development'. Programmes produced in the

Global North for delivery in the Global South could result in the reproduction of Western ideologies and cultural imperialism (Frisby and Forde 2015). Therefore, the needs and interests of girls have been predetermined and ideas about how an empowered woman or girl should look are imposed from above or as Halfon (2007, p. 71) puts it, “women do not take power, it is given to them”. This could result in overlooking or discounting non-Western conceptualisations of girls’ (dis)empowerment. Edwin argues, “African realities are animated by a different social and cultural logic” with a different set of contextual issues pertaining to the lives of girls in Africa (2006, p. 141). Whereas Western conceptualisations of empowerment in practice have often emphasised agency and autonomy, African feminists have advocated “culturally linked forms of public participation” (Mikell 1997, p. 4). Such alternative conceptualisations of empowerment are useful for opening further questioning into how Zimmerman’s three dimensions of individual empowerment manifest when applied to SDP programmes in Rwanda. For example, what does (dis)empowerment look like for girls in an environment that advocates collectivism and public participation over autonomy and individual agency?

Clearly, empowerment is far more complex than envisaged in research, policy and practice and more work is needed to critically explore girls’ (dis)empowerment. This chapter has begun to make sense of the complexity of girls’ (dis)empowerment in SDP by adopting CFT and examining concepts such as feminism, gender, power, empowerment and disempowerment and how they relate to each other. Such analyses provided a starting point for achieving research objectives one and two where new questions emerged from the literature which also begin to address research objectives three and four.

The efficacy of SDP programmes were examined where it emerged that there are two different types of mechanisms; programme mechanisms and contextual mechanisms which may affect girls’ development of empowerment or could lead to their disempowerment. It cannot be assumed that girls’ participation in SDP is inherently empowering, accordingly “My fear in using the expression ‘empowerment’ is that people may think that such a practice simply empowers the students, and then everything is finished, our work is done, over!” (Shor and Freire 1987, p. 99). What remains unexamined in the literature and in practice is identifying and understanding

these mechanisms in greater depth to which this study attempts to address the limitations to achieve research objectives three and four.

The challenge for NGOs, policy makers and researchers alike is to remain mindful that empowerment is about making a difference in the real world, it deals with real people, real things at grassroots as well as being paraded at the higher level in politics and the media. A focus on both empowerment conceptually and practically for girls in SDP is essential “to understand and strengthen processes and context where individuals gain mastery over decisions that affect their lives” (Zimmerman et al. 1992, p. 725). As a social process, empowerment may be perceived as something which develops over time and requires engagement: a unique journey and yet similar to others (Mwaanga 2003). Simply stated, empowerment as a social process is context specific; however, certain aspects can be similar across contexts. While this study acknowledges that different contexts will have different systems and structures at play, there are likely to be some systems and structures which are transferable beyond the context of this study. Therefore, although this research attempts to examine (dis)empowerment in the context of Rwanda, this study also aims to identify potential transferable contextual mechanisms and systems which are universal and can be considered in other contexts. It is because empowerment has the ability to effect ordinary people that makes empowerment relatable to so many people, regardless of their context and despite the difficulty in conceptualising and practicing such a complex concept. To this end, this chapter has made a starting point within SDP research to examine the existing conceptualisations and limitations of girls’ (dis)empowerment in practice.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the methodological approach used in the study. It is important to reiterate the research aim and objectives at this stage because they underpin the choice of methodological approaches, philosophical stance, strategies and instruments adopted in the research. The aim of this research is to provide an in-depth and critical understanding of (dis)empowerment for girls participating in SDP programmes in Rwanda. The objectives that follow from the aim are:

1. To investigate the ramifications of Global North and Global South politics on gender in SDP.
2. To explore the role of NGOs in fostering girls' (dis)empowerment in SDP in Rwanda.
3. To provide critical insight into the programme mechanisms that operate within SDP programmes to foster (dis)empowerment for girls in Rwanda.
4. To identify and explore the contextual factors external to SDP programmes and how they implicate girls' (dis)empowerment.

These objectives have implications on the way in which key concepts within the study are researched such as the ontological and epistemological positions, theoretical perspectives and the instruments used. The philosophical and practical considerations of exploring girls' (dis)empowerment in SDP are central to the methodological framework. This involved the identification of meta-theoretical concepts such as ontology and epistemology (Rudestam and Newton 2007). The research questions directed the study towards qualitative approaches to inquiry and data collection. Although the methodology allowed for individual experiences, stories and opinions to emerge it was structured enough to make meaningful sense of the phenomena in the given context of Rwanda. This allowed the researcher to uncover and make sense of in-depth information about girls' (dis)empowerment in SDP whilst creating an environment where rapport is built between the researcher and the research

participants. Clearly then, the researcher has a pivotal role in the study, or as Ortlipp (2008) puts it, the researcher is the main ‘instrument’ in the research process. To further emphasise the role of the researcher within this qualitative study, this chapter is written in first person. The usage of first person in qualitative research is agreed by several academics (Jones et al. 2013; Holloway and Brown 2012; Holloway and Wheeler 2010; Wolcott 2009) who advocate that the researcher is not devoid of personal bias or full detachment to the research. Rather, there is acceptance that the researcher is an active component involved in every stage of the research process and therefore must demonstrate a presence in the thesis. However, as Jones et al (2013, p. 178) point out, first person should not be overused otherwise work could “descend into anecdotal or unsubstantiated musings”, thus, in some instances a passive voice is used in this chapter.

4.2 Critical reflexivity

The challenge for researchers is to manage bias or preconceptions when conducting research (Silverman 2013; Denzin and Lincoln 2011; Ortlipp 2008; Gomm 2008). Contemporary social research calls on researchers to engage with critical reflexivity frameworks; helping us to expose our social position as researchers and consider to what extent this influences our research. In SDP, there has been a call for reflexivity to be examined in greater-depth (see Darnell et al. 2018; Schulenkorf et al. 2016), however there has been limited discussion of how reflexivity is achieved in practice. As the sole researcher in this study, I have engaged in critical reflexivity. This process involves questioning my assumptions and premises to suspend the dominant views that may be taken for granted. This can pave way to alternative framings of reality and to grapple with the comparative outcomes of multiple standpoints (Gergen 2009). Likewise, Lincoln and Guba argue that engagement in reflexivity assists in highlighting the multiple identities that demand researchers to examine themselves to observe how research is “shaped and staged around contradictions and paradoxes of our own lives” (2003, p. 214). This section focuses on three components which contributed to my ongoing development of critical reflexivity during the research process. This includes a discussion on reflexivity, emic and etic perspectives and positioning.

4.2.1 Reflexivity

According to Ferguson (1998, p. 95) there is a danger that feminists conducting research, especially those from the Global North, are at risk of “colluding with knowledge production that valorises the status quo of economic, gender, racial and cultural inequalities”. This is because the large majority of feminist researchers are located in a place with the very global relations that they aspire to change. Reflexivity allows the researcher to analyse the aspects of their social identity which may have implications on the research process including the production of knowledge, “This does not mean generalizations cannot be made, but it puts the emphasis back on *how* they are made” (McEwan 2001, p. 106, emphasis added).

Reflexivity provides the researcher with an opportunity to reflect and assess how their own experiences and understandings of phenomena affect the research process (Jootun et al. 2009; Ortlipp 2008; Morrow 2005; Mays and Pope 1995). As Mason (2002) suggests, researchers should be invited to reflect on the conditions of the research and to participate in a reflexive process to assess how the research is conducted. In this regard, my position as the researcher in the research must be acknowledged because I am one of the actors in the construction of research text or data (Jootun et al. 2009; Walter 2009). As a white, British, female, there is a danger that I, as the researcher, will be distorted from the research by my own personal experiences, beliefs, interests or values that result from socialisation and living in a Western democratic society. Accordingly, my ‘whiteness’, as Törngren (2012) notes, will challenge my ability to interact and communicate the racial and ethnic differences that may or may not exist between the researcher and the researched. This prompted me to ask questions early in the research process about my role such as, how does my positionality as a white Western woman influence my interactions with research participants? As a white woman, what does it mean to critically examine issues of (dis)empowerment for black girls living in Rwanda? And, how will I manage or mitigate these issues during the entire research process? From the formulation of my research aim and objectives through to writing interview guides, analysing data and writing up the results and discussion my reflexivity has been at the forefront of my mind.

To manage my potential bias and non-evidenced assumptions about the context of the cases and research participant’s lives and experiences, I began by examining how my geographical location may shape my ideology “and even influence the choice of data

used” (Holloway and Biley 2011, p. 971). The West has largely been characterised as individualistic which refers to individuals seeing themselves as autonomous and self-governing. In contrast, Africa is often characterised as emphasising collectivism to involve individuals’ reciprocal relationship with their community (Agulanna 2010). Typically, rural areas in African countries follow the historical tradition of collectivism whereas urban areas tend to exhibit more individualistic characteristics, this is partly because “Urbanisation and industrialisation have uprooted people from their close-knit traditional village relationships. They have, for example, abandoned their communal way of life in favour of the individualised way of life in order to survive in towns and cities” (Dolamo 2013, p.9). This is also not to say that Britain is entirely individualistic as there also exists collectivism amongst communities across the country. Nevertheless, it is important to recognise that a predominantly individualistic culture is what surrounds me and something which affects my social, political and personal cultural viewpoints. Equally, my social, political and cultural sensitivity must extend historically to recognise that my worldview has been moulded from colonial domination (Ganga and Scott 2006; Smith 1999). Therefore, the social, cultural and economic division between me and the research participants is important to identify because it could influence interpretations of power which have been formed historically (Ganga and Scott 2006). Failure to engage in reflexivity when researching could lead to drawing conclusions based on knowledge which has been created in the West (Schedneck 2014; Mwaanga 2012). This was a key concern for this research because of the short length of time (21 days) which was spent in the field working with the case studies and collecting data.

4.2.2 Emic and etic perspectives

In addition to examining my macro level geographical location and how that might influence the research, I also engaged in micro level reflection to examine the distinction between ‘outsider’ and ‘insider’ perspectives. “Just as the participants’ experiences are framed in social-cultural contexts, so too are those of the researcher” (Bourke 2014, p. 2), so, as a white woman from the West completing a PhD, the perception is that I conform to some of the most privileged and dominant norms of society in terms of geographical location, race and education level. Whilst these characteristics may hold true, there are other factors in addition to location, race and education that must also be considered such as gender and social class. As a woman

who has worked in the sport industry, I have felt excluded from certain domains including football coaching and refereeing and have experienced conflict as a player regarding gender expectations and the type of activities I should, and should not, be doing. With regards to social class, I am from a working-class background in a family where I am the first person to study at university and even though I might be considered as having a middle class education; my higher education has been entirely funded by scholarships and bursaries and not through family means.

The above admissions are relevant to this study because the research is centred on girls' (dis)empowerment in SDP programmes, many of whom live in a patriarchal society, experience conflict when playing sport and are of a low socio-economic status, living in poverty with limited access to basic amenities such as food, water and health care. Whilst I acknowledge that my circumstances can in no way be compared or likened to the complex experiences of girls participating in SDP programmes in rural Rwanda, some factors that contribute to my worldview are similar, although to a significantly lesser extent, but highlight some common factors which enabled me to become an 'insider' on certain topics. When speaking to Rwandan female research participants I would maximise my 'womanness' by asking about their family, discussing cooking and their home to align with cultural gender norms and the expectations of women. I drew on my experiences as a sports practitioner when speaking to Rwandan male participants and I discussed current affairs in the UK with British research participants to build rapport (see section 4.7.2).

In this vein, I did possess *some* emic perspectives but was still largely considered as an 'outsider' with an etic perspective. To 'compensate for being an outsider' (Bourke 2014, p. 4), I learned key words and phrases in the local language of Kinyarwanda so I could say 'hello', 'how are you', 'I am fine' and 'good afternoon'. This meant I could greet every person each time I saw them, usually followed by some small talk about the family such as 'how is your daughter?'. The verbal greeting was accompanied by a handshake that would be undertaken with men, women, boys and girls. Employing CFT, particularly thinking about postcolonial approaches (Blanche et al. 2006), was key to dismiss what I had previously considered as the way to conduct a handshake. Western societies tend to favour a firm handshake to make a good first impression that exudes confidence, strength and sociability whereas a poor handshake communicates shyness and social introversion (Chaplin et al. 2000). Acknowledging and learning the

Rwandan way of greeting meant pushing aside any preconceptions or assumptions on how to greet research participants and as such interrupted colonial research approaches. Instead, I was able to begin bridging the gap between being an ‘outsider’ and an ‘insider’ to acknowledge “a handshake is part of the context with a method and an interpretation of the world” (Blanche et al. 2006, p. 550).

In addition to reflexivity, issues of positionality also remained active throughout the data collection and data analysis process. Whilst researchers can strive to be objective in the research process we must be mindful of our subjectivities as it would be naïve to suggest that we can *only* be objective (Bourke 2014), “We have to acknowledge who we are as individuals, and as members of groups, and as resting in and moving within social positions” (2014, p. 3). Prior to data collection, my concerns were that I would struggle empathising with the experiences of Rwandan research participants and although that was true to some extent, my positionality was also important when interviewing research participants from the UK. This was something I reflected on during informal discussions with research participants prior to the interview process where at times I shared more similar ideologies and beliefs with Rwandan research participants rather than the British research participants. The main reason for this could have been that the research participants from the UK consisted of white, middle class men and women, some of whom were older than me. Clearly, the initial assumption that I would be more appropriately positioned to understand the experiences of white, British research participants and less positioned to Rwandan research participants was not entirely the case. This was an important experience to reflect upon during the research process to highlight that despite the researcher and research participants being of the same race and geographical location, reflexivity still needed to occur because there were other characteristics of difference such as age and social class. Based on these reflections, during the interviews and data analysis I ensured I engaged differently with each participant and their transcript by taking into account multiple aspects of their life including gender, age, race, social class and geographical location.

These reflections highlight the tendency for researchers to focus solely on the differences between the researcher, the research participants and the context being studied in terms race and geographical location. Instead, in qualitative research which centralises the richness and uniqueness of individuals’ experiences, similarities should also be emphasised to include gender, social class and age which can contribute to

empathising with research participants. Continuing to look solely at the differences between the researcher and the research participants, especially those located in the Global South, serves to reproduce notions of ‘othering’ because similarities between groups and individuals are ignored. Holloway and Biley expand this point and argue that “There is also the common humanity which researchers and participants share. That means in simple terms that researchers can have empathy with the participant, although they can never fully understand the participants or, as Gadamer states somewhere, that a person cannot wholly grasp the mind of another.” (2011, p. 971).

4.3 Research philosophy

Research philosophy broadly describes the belief about the way in which information about a concept should be gathered and analysed. The philosophy of the research is employed in the ontology, the nature of being, and epistemology which refers to what can be known to be true. A research philosophy goes further beyond the practicalities of ‘how’ research is conducted and necessitates a philosophical solution to ‘why’ research (Holden and Lynch 2004). However, in most research, philosophy is treated as a way of justifying research approaches rather than being a means of practical guidance within research (Hughes and Sharrock 1990).

Broadly speaking then, the purpose of research is to discover something new that is not already known about (Hughes and Sharrock 1990). Yet, the nature of philosophy and its relationship with other forms of knowledge in research has meant that several philosophical stances exist. Therefore, anyone studying the important, but under-researched, concept of girls’ (dis)empowerment within SDP is faced with multiple layers of methodological challenges related to world views and ways of knowing.

4.3.1 Philosophical positions

Arguably, the three main philosophical positions frequently discussed in literature are Positivism, Interpretivism and Constructivism (Mertens 2010; Marriam 2009; Creswell 2007). Positivism is usually associated with the physical and natural sciences where it has enjoyed a long and rich historical tradition. According to Hirschheim, “It is so embedded in our society that knowledge claims not grounded in positivist thought are simply dismissed as a scientific and therefore invalid” (1985, p. 33). Within positivism, reality is constituted as observable and measurable by researchers who emphasise the objective measurement of social issues (Hennick et al. 2011). In the

context of this study, attempting to measure girls' (dis)empowerment numerically would have been too simplistic because it overlooks the depth required to understand the complexity of (dis)empowerment and the interactions and meanings that occur within SDP programmes. Additionally, the focus on regularity, validity and duplication of results by positivists tends to result in generalised findings (Easton 2010). Whilst generalising data can be advantageous for representing entire populations, in this research the social, cultural, economic and physical context of which activities take place is crucial for examining (dis)empowerment because it is a context dependent phenomenon.

In contrast, interpretivists argue that it is only through subjective interpretation that reality can be fully understood (Atkinson 2012). Interpretivism was formed from critiques of positivism in the social sciences. Although interpretivists acknowledge the role of the researcher within the research and their effect on the phenomena they are studying, the data generated from interpretivist research is criticized because its subjectivity may undermine the reliability and validity of data.

Constructivists also have an alternative view of reality (Merriam 2009), according to Creswell "In this worldview, individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work. They develop subjective meanings of their experiences... These meanings are varied and multiple leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views" (2007, p. 20-21). The complexity of constructivism however, has led to criticism by positivists and critical theorists who argue that constructivist approaches are too abstract, esoteric and unconnected to day to day realities (Merterns 2010; Merriam 2009). Thus, adopting a constructivist position when studying (dis)empowerment may ignore how empowerment intersects with the everyday realities of girls' lives and their participation in the SDP programme.

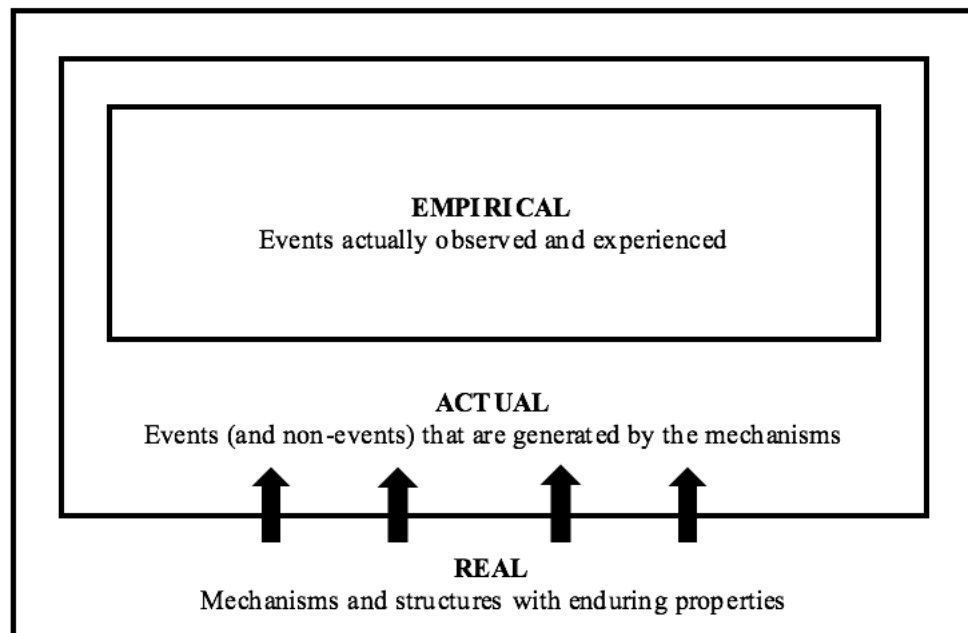
Based on acknowledgement of the limitations of the above philosophical stances in relation to the context and topics in this study, critical realism is the philosophical stance which has been adopted to guide the methodology. The next section examines the ontological and epistemological stances in more detail together with a justification for their relevance and the usage of critical realism within this research. Following this, feminist influences on the research are critically discussed along with the effect of the chosen philosophical position on the theoretical perspectives and subsequent methods.

4.3.2 Critical realism

Realism has arguably been the most dominant approach for over 30 years in social sciences and the philosophy of science (Hammersley 2013), as well as other areas of philosophy. Realism refers to the belief that there is an external reality which exists independently of human perception (Porter et al. 2017). To make sense of reality then, an understanding of what reality consists of is crucial and it is these differing interpretations of reality which have led to multiple schools of realism (Porter et al. 2017). Critical realism is one form of realism and is usually associated with the work of philosopher Roy Bhaskar (Maxwell 2012; Bhaskar 1975). However, in more recent years, Bhaskar's (2008; 1993) work on 'dialectical critical realism' has departed from the traditional perspective which has been criticised by other critical realists (Maxwell 2012). Therefore, this research draws on multiple critical realist works including Porter et al (2017), Pearce and Frauley (2007), Lopez and Potter (2005) and Sayer (1992). Nonetheless, Bhaskar's work is useful for this study because he emphasises the importance of separating the ontology from the epistemology which is discussed below.

Ontologically, critical realism refers to the existence of a world that is independent of human cognition, yet, acknowledges that the world shapes knowledge and experience through humans' cognitive abilities (Maxwell 2012). The real world is made up of several structures termed 'generative mechanisms' that facilitate or inhibit events (the domain of the actual), we know about these events because of our experiences (the domain of the empirical). Therefore, the real world is ontologically stratified. Simply put, ontological stratification in critical realism are mechanisms, events and experiences that take place in the real world. This position accepts that "Real structures exist independently of and are often out of phase with the actual patterns of events." (Bhaskar 1975, p. 13) and so, researchers need to examine events to make sense of individuals' and groups' interactions with those structures. The relationship between the three domains of the real represent a stratified ontology of critical realism which is illustrated in Figure 6 (adapted from Mingers 2004, p. 94).

Figure 6 The three domains of the real (stratified ontology of critical realism)



According to a critical realist standpoint, the concept of empowerment and SDP programmes would be considered real because they have an effect which subsequently makes a difference to girls' lives (Ackroyd and Fleetwood 2004). This is because human beings are influenced by both physical *and* discursive entities which "act in ways they would not in the absence of these entities" and are therefore considered as 'real' (Ackroyd and Fleetwood 2004, p. 29).

Epistemology is concerned with assessing the claims about the way in which the world can be understood and "involves issues as to what it is to know anything" (Hughes and Sharrock 1990, p. 5). The nature of reality advocates that natural order and discourses create the social world (Groff 2000; Guba and Lincoln 1994). This is formed by the history of the relationship between social structures and human agency (Bhaskar 2008; 2002; 1989), suggesting that actors "draw on social structures in order to act and in acting they either reproduce or transform those structures" (Lewis 2002, p. 19). For that reason, social structures not only shape social activity and facilitate agency but also constrain it (Lewis 2002). When exploring girls' (dis)empowerment, adoption of a critical realist perspective is crucial because it facilitates an understanding of how actors act reflexively on those social structures which are continuously under critique and reproduced or transformed (Scott 2006). This might include the relationship between gender and the structure of sport to examine how actors interact and transform

the social structure related to SDP. According to Bhaskar (1975), critical realists assume the existence of social structures which tend to constrain individuals and groups (agents) to operate and to act in certain ways. Critical realism might help to make sense of how girls (agents) interact with, or may be constrained by, SDP programmes and the context of that programme (social structure). Subsequently, critical realism recognises that being able to understand reality is a complex process and recognises that entities, or mechanisms, influence individuals' and groups' abilities to act (Porter et al. 2017).

“The effects of these structural mechanisms can be seen in empirically observable patterns...However, unlike natural mechanisms, with their wider range of influence, social mechanisms act specifically on human beings.”

(Porter et al. 2017, p. 3)

This is significant because it reinforces a departure from realist evaluation which rejects the claim that agents and social structures are separate (Porter et al. 2017; Porter 2015). Rather, critical realists argue from the position which acknowledges that human beings have causal powers of their own separate from structures as well as with structures. Critical realists like Porter (2015) argue that the realist formula of ‘context + mechanism = outcome’ is devoid of the role of agency in the process and subsequently overlooks the dualism between social structure and agency. A key assumption of critical realist thought is that “objects – whether natural or social – necessarily have particular powers or ways of acting and particular susceptibilities.” (Sayer 1992, p. 120). Individuals and groups have “the power to choose how to act on the basis of their interpretations of what is the best course for them to take” (Porter et al. 2017, p. 3). For example, when examining the association of gender ideology with sport, both social structures and human agents must be studied as two distinct sources of causation.

One part of this process involves the uncovering of causal mechanisms by critical realists. Mingers (2004) notes that mechanisms are physical, social and conceptual and may not be observable - they also have “powers or tendencies to act in particular ways” (p. 93). Critical realism, therefore, “seeks to identify these generative mechanisms occurring at the social level that are produced and continually changed by people, but are distinguished from individualised myth, illusion and ignorance” (Danermark et al.

2002, p. 201). Accordingly, for critical realists, “the concept of ‘mechanism’ (in the social sciences, ‘process’ is the usual term) is central to explanation, and these mechanisms and processes are seen as real phenomena, rather than simply as abstract models” (Maxwell 2012, p. 9). It is also fundamental to recognise that there are often multiple mechanisms in operation that may lead to an observable outcome (Porter 2015) and so, examination of the context in which the SDP programme is being delivered is crucial. This is an important point that has been carried through when analysing the data to prevent assumptions being made as to the mechanisms associated with girls’ (dis)empowerment.

Critical realists also take into account the role of ‘context’. Drawing on Pawson and Tilley’s conceptualisation, context refers to not only the geographical space or location in which the programme is embedded, but also includes “the prior set of social rules, norms, values and interrelationships gathered in these places which sets limits on the efficacy of program mechanisms” (1997, p. 70). This research subscribes to Porter’s work where he argues that Pawson and Tilley’s conceptualisation of ‘context’ is something that is made up of pre-existing mechanisms which Porter refers to as ‘contextual mechanisms’ (Porter 2015). Acknowledging that the context of an SDP programme is a combination of multiple mechanisms if useful for this study because it highlights that it is not just the SDP programme which contains mechanisms but also the multiple and various social relations at play within the context (Porter 2015). To reiterate the discussion in Chapter Three (section 3.8), it can be argued that there are two types of mechanisms at play, one which is pre-existing to the introduction of the SDP programme (contextual mechanisms) and one which is ‘fired’ within the programme (programme mechanisms) (Porter 2015; Pawson and Tilley 1997).

There are also some points of divergence between critical realism and a Foucauldian analysis of power (Cruickshank 2003). According to Bhaskar, critical realism analyses power in two ways, first, as a “transformative capacity analytic to the concept of agency” and second, as the ability, or inability, to take action dependent on “structures of domination, exploitation, subjugation and control” (1991, p. 60). The distinction between the types of power is something which departs from Foucauldian analysis. This is a possible limitation to Foucauldian approaches because power is viewed in only one way and overlooks the perspective that some forms of power can be abolished (e.g. structures, institutions) and others cannot (e.g. emancipation and agency)

(Cruikshank 2003). Therefore, as discussed in Chapter Three, this study only draws on certain aspects of Foucault's work which focus in knowledge production and discourse to examine girls' (dis)empowerment.

To this end, this research adopts critical realism as the underpinning philosophical approach but does not apply the formula of realist evaluation. Critical realism is an appropriate philosophical approach because SDP programmes take place in a social context where participants act reflexively and can assist with understanding social phenomena that is context dependent (Easton 2010; Sayer 2004). Critical realism therefore enables thoughtful, in-depth analysis that helps to understand why things are as they are and the relationship between structure and agency (Easton 2010; Carlsson 2006).

4.3.3 Sensitising the methodology with feminism

During the last decade, there have been significant debates surrounding the dialogue between critical realism and feminism where the strengths and limitations of critical realism as a philosophical foundation for feminist research have been widely discussed (see Harding 2003; Peter 2003; Lawson 1999). Despite the dialogue that has existed about the adoption of a critical realist position for undertaking feminist focused research, the discussion has been largely left unfinished with few clear arguments about the potential conflicts between critical realism and feminist research (Parr 2013; Poutanen 2006). The point of contention and the dilemma between critical realism and feminist research is one which needs further unpacking in line with this study to develop an in-depth understanding of girls' (dis)empowerment. To be clear, this research maintains a critical realist position but is influenced ontologically and epistemologically by feminist ideologies based on CFT. The study was sensitised by CFT in the following three ways.

First, generally, the critique held by feminist researchers concerning a critical realist perspective centres on the representation of reality (Harding 2003). To understand reality, critical realism privileges reasoning over emotion and as such may lack depth to understand the everyday realities of women (Nelson 2003). So, by adopting CFT, greater emphasis was placed on examining the complexities of girls' realities and brought to the fore how issues of power, gender and intersectionality may shape their reality.

Second, while critical realists argue that structures and actions exist *regardless* of how they are interpreted and how agents experience them, there is little acknowledgement about how systems of social relations or structures, such as gender or race, shape and constrain agents' social practices (Sprague 2005). Critical realism argues that "something is real if it has an effect or makes a difference", this includes physical phenomena and structures such as SDP programmes, as well as the discourses that reflect "ideas, beliefs, concepts" such as gender ideology, norms and beliefs (Ackroyd and Fleetwood 2004, p. 29). Because the "social world is both socially constructed and real" (Parr 2013, p. 7), CFT helps to understand the entities, social systems and structures within and outside of sport programmes that shape girls' (dis)empowerment. Examining social systems and structures through the gendered lens of CFT is useful for examining the mechanisms which operate within SDP programmes to produce outcomes (Clegg 2006 cited in Parr 2013).

Third, it is important for researchers not to assume that research participants' accounts automatically constitute evidence, rather, it is through theorization that girls' experiences can be reconstituted (Parr 2013). Research participants may not be able to fully account for their actions or experiences, some of which may be tacit, because they are constrained by social structures that only allow them to think and act in certain ways (Parr 2013). For example, this study recognizes that a person can be both empowered and disempowered at the same time. It should not be taken at face value that if someone says that they have witnessed the programme foster girls' empowerment that the girls are not also disempowered at the same time. The researcher therefore combines feminist theorising (CFT) to analyse the research participants' perspectives about (dis)empowerment in SDP with prior analysis of literature and theoretical frameworks to guide the research and data analysis (Layder, 1998).

Despite some divergence between critical realism and feminism in the way reality is viewed, there are multiple instances where some of the characteristics of feminist ideologies align with some of the central components of this study. The emphasis on social change, transformation and social good (Doucet and Mauthner 2006), the acknowledgement of power relations, the focus on advocating more gender-based research and reflexivity are all approaches that are employed in this research consistent with critical realist and feminist positions. Such approaches are enhanced by adoption

of CFT which is used to make sense of girls' (dis)empowerment in the historically and culturally male-dominated context of sport.

4.4 Qualitative approach

According to Miles and Huberman, 'Knowing what you want to find out leads inexorably to the question of how you will get that information' (1984, p. 42). There are two main paradigms in social, behavioural and natural sciences which are based on different sets of assumptions, concepts and values that are held by researchers or a community and provide a basis for subsequent choices regarding methods and research design (Greetham 2009; Mackenzie and Knipe 2006; Johnson and Christensen 2005). The terms qualitative and quantitative are more significant than simply ways of gathering information, but signify divergent assumptions about the nature and purpose of research (Bryman 1988).

Empowerment has been studied using quantitative and qualitative approaches. Quantitative and positivist stances have often been adopted with the view that reality and facts are knowable and measurable. Many of these studies have used surveys and questionnaires to examine women's empowerment and HIV prevention (Greig and Koopman 2003), NGOs' microcredit programmes (Malhotra et al. 2002; Ruhai et al. 1998), microfinance empowerment and the reduction of violence (Kim et al. 2007). Numerical indicators have been employed to measure empowerment levels based on average age of marriage, political participation, employment and mortality rates (Nithyanandhan and Mansor 2017). In this vein, quantitative approaches have been useful for studying empowerment in some settings, but as Zimmerman argued over two decades ago, "as long as we continue to use primarily quantitative methods we will have a limited understanding of the construct" (1990, p. 170). In attempt to advance academic understanding of individual empowerment theoretically and conceptually, alternative research methods are necessary. This includes methods from disciplines beyond psychology that enable qualitative research strategies and allow voices of research participants to be heard (Zimmerman 1990). Attempts to study girls' (dis)empowerment quantitatively and with a positivist paradigm would perpetuate the current limitations of SDP research that focuses more on breadth of data and numerical information rather than the in-depth and unique experiences within SDP programmes. Darnell et al (2018, p. 143) have also argued that given the complexity of SDP

programmes, developing an understanding of phenomena “are unlikely to be achieved through questionnaires, surveys, or statistical modelling”.

On this basis, qualitative methodologies are used to examine girls’ (dis)empowerment within SDP because they study phenomena holistically “without losing sight of gaining a deeper sense of understanding of the same phenomena” (Mwaanga 2003, p. 48). Qualitative research involves an assortment of approaches and strategies for conducting inquiry targeted at discovering how human beings understand, interpret, experience and produce the social world (Hammersley 2013; Sandelowski 2004) and, because it centralises the social world, lends itself to a critical realist position (Sasantakos 2013). Similar studies have also highlighted the advantages of qualitative approaches when studying empowerment. Mwaanga’s (2011) study on sport empowerment in Zambia adopted qualitative methods to draw out the in-depth experiences of people living with HIV/AIDS. Likewise, Samie et al’s study (2015) of women’s empowerment in sport illuminated the benefits of qualitative methods using semi-structured interviews to counter Eurocentric discourses and allow voices from the research participants in the Global South to be heard. Darnell et al have also discussed more broadly the benefits of qualitative research in SDP:

“participant narratives and qualitative data are understood to drive theorization, to seek explanations of how SDP interventions work or do not work and build towards conceptualizations of culture both within and outside of SDP. We suggest that such approaches may help to fill some gaps in the current literature”

(Darnell et al. 2018, p. 143)

Thus, a qualitative paradigm assumes that the nature of reality is subjective, multiple and is primarily interested in how people make sense of the world they live in (Gomm 2008, Flick et al. 2004). The qualitative methods employed in this study involved understanding the in-depth meanings girls attach to their participation in SDP through their social interactions inside and outside of the programmes (Flick et al. 2004; Sandelowski 2004).

4.5 Case study strategy

Critical realism is well suited to case study strategies in research because “it justifies the study of any situation regardless of the numbers of research units involved” (Easton 2010, p. 119). Even though case studies have operated in quantitative research involving surveys, census data and tabular evidence (Damon et al. 2011), in qualitative research they have been used to answer ‘how and why’ questions and untangle complex concepts, factors and relationships (Easton 2010). Likewise, key scholars such as Lindsey (2011) have highlighted the opportunities for case study research in SDP and advocate engaging multiple organisations in research.

Yin (2003), Stake (1995) and Merriam (1998) are three main scholars who have attempted to bridge the gap in knowledge about the usage of case studies in research. Each have their own ways of approaching case studies, i.e. Yin’s work is often associated with positivist epistemologies and quantitative research and emphasises a heavily structured case study design, and Stake maintains a flexible approach to case studies that allows “researchers to make major changes even after they proceed from design to research” (Yazan 2015, p. 140). In this research, Merriam’s (1998) case study approach has been adopted because the defining characteristics of her work assist the researcher in seeking the depth, richness and relevance of phenomena that case studies can provide.

Case studies facilitate the development of a holistic description through an iterative research process (Easton 2010). The term ‘holistic’ is used frequently when describing case studies in that they promote an analysis of the environment and context in which the phenomenon or activity occurs (Thomas et al. 2015; Grattan and Jones 2010). Likewise, Merriam’s definition of case study includes the term ‘holistic’ but goes further to assert that a case study is something that has boundaries:

“...an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a bounded phenomenon such as a program, an institution, a person, a process, or a social unit”

(Merriam 1998, p. xiii)

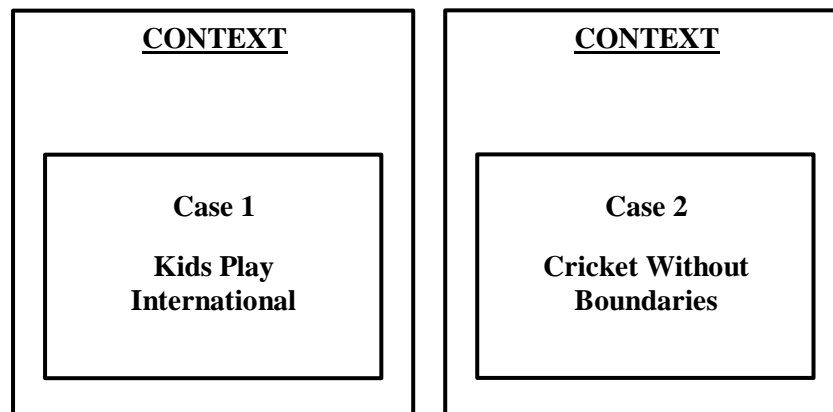
Building on this, Yin (2003) asserts that case studies can be exploratory, explanatory or descriptive. Unlike exploratory or descriptive types which are used for evaluating

interventions with no clear single set of outcomes for describing a phenomenon, this study adopted an explanatory type of case study that sought to explain “real-life interventions that are too complex for the survey or experimental strategies” (Yin 2003, p. 15). The case study approach reinforces the need for a critical realist underpinning that attempts to illuminate causal links and the ‘how and why’ of programme effects (Yin 2003).

4.5.1 Selecting the cases

A key element that must be discussed when selecting an appropriate case study design is deciding on the number of cases included in the research (Gustafsson 2017). Generally, it is advantageous to include multiple cases to make research more generalisable and arguably more valid, yet some studies have focused on singular cases to test existing theories. This is not to say however that the role of case studies is to make generalisations about data (Thomas et al. 2015) but it does mean that certain findings and variables may be transferable across contexts. In this research, two cases have been chosen, Kids Play International (KPI) and Cricket without Boundaries (CWB) (see Figure 7).

Figure 7 Multiple-case design



The advantage of using multiple cases is to increase the number of perspectives when exploring phenomena applied to researching girls’ (dis)empowerment in SDP, the same phenomena can be examined within two different, but similar, settings. The choice in cases is reiterative of the nature of the research questions being asked (Thomas et al. 2015). To ensure the research objectives were being met, each case was

chosen using two types of criteria. The first criterion was broad and involved selecting cases that were:

- a national governing body (NGO),
- using sport as the primary tool to address development objectives such as gender equality, health education or poverty alleviation,
- attempting to achieve NGO objectives in a programme setting (i.e. more than one session),
- encouraging girls to participate in the programme,
- using a curriculum to assist in the delivering of the programme,
- established for more than 3 years and
- located in the East or Sub-Saharan Africa.

The rationale for cases in East or Sub-Saharan Africa was for two reasons, first because geographically this is where most SDP programmes fitting this criterion are located and delivered (Schulenkorf et al. 2016) and second, there remain gaps in SDP research when studying similar NGOs as discussed in the literature review. Even though there were no criteria for selecting a specific country, preferences were given to countries where fewer SDP studies had been conducted such as Rwanda, Tanzania and Mozambique.

Once the first case had been selected and checked it adhered to the broad selection criteria, the second case was selected in the same country. It was also essential to acknowledge the similarities and differences when selecting cases to ensure that the phenomena could be studied in different settings (Gustafsson 2017; Stake 1995). Table 1 shows the differences between the two cases and highlights their alignment with questions which emerged during the literature review and were discussed in Chapter Two and Three.

Table 1 Multiple-case design and alignment to the research questions

Case properties	Kids Play International (KPI)	Cricket Without Boundaries (CWB)	Alignment to research questions
Development objectives	Gender equality and education	Health education	Is girls' empowerment a by-product of participation in programmes or does it require a gender-based education? What are the intentional and unintentional gender messages being promoted in programmes? What programme mechanisms are employed in programmes and do they lead to girls' empowerment or disempowerment or both? See section 3.8.
Sport	Multi-sports	Cricket	Sports carry cultural and historical baggage so do some sports have the capacity to be more (dis)empowering than others? See section 2.7.
Workforce	Mainly local Rwandan coaches and volunteers	Mainly foreign British volunteers	Previous SDP research highlights the effect of Western volunteers on programmes (see Darnell 2012; 2011), but how does this effect (dis)empowerment for girls? Who is responsible for conceptualising the programme curriculum and how is it (dis)empowering? Who is responsible for the delivery of the programme and what do they do in programmes that lead to girls' (dis)empowerment? See section 2.11.1.
Length of programme	42 weeks a year	2 weeks a year	There are claims that empowerment is only developed over time but is it the same in the SDP context and for girls? Do shorter programmes have the capacity for fostering empowerment or certain dimensions of empowerment? Can shorter programmes be disempowering? See section 3.10.2.
Location of NGO headquarters	Rwanda	United Kingdom	How are key concepts such as gender and empowerment being conceptualised and what extent do they implicate girls' (dis)empowerment? See section 2.11.

To be clear, this research is focussed on studying (dis)empowerment in SDP in-depth across cases and *not* comparing or contrasting the programmes (Matthews and Ross 2010). Data is analysed to examine phenomena within each case and setting that can

then be used to clarify and augur the findings (Yin 2003). To this end, the cases in this research were chosen strategically because of their alignment with the research aim and objectives, and not based on convenience (Saldaña 2011).

The case study approach permits in-depth exploration (Saldaña 2011), and while the advantages of case study strategies in this research and research in general are clear, case studies have also received criticism based on the high risk of researcher bias (Yin 1994; Bailey, 1992). To address this potential limitation, reflexivity is adopted to manage research bias, exaggeration or simplification of characteristics and situations of the case study (Guba and Lincoln 1981). Exaggeration and oversimplification of cases can also be managed by collecting multiple types of data that is necessary for case study research (Creswell 2013; Merriam 1998), to ensure trustworthiness and rigour (see section 4.11).

4.6 Research sites and sampling

4.6.1 Research sites

Rwanda is one of the smallest countries in Africa, but one of the most densely populated with approximately 11.2 million inhabitants. The local language is Kinyarwanda (a universal Bantu vernacular), French and English are also spoken but English is more popularly spoken by younger people because pupils are taught in English at school. The government is currently embarking on their Vision 2020 objectives towards sustainable economic growth through privatisation and liberalisation (UNDP 2016). The government seek to transform the economy wherein 90% of the country rely on subsistence agriculture to feed themselves and their families where 44.9% of the population living under the poverty line (Vision 2020 Strategy 2012). The vision is to transform Rwanda into a middle-income country by the year 2020 by focusing on privatising sectors and moving the economy into secondary and tertiary sectors (Vision 2020 Strategy 2012). However, there are natural barriers to the country's trading ability. Rwanda is a landlocked country located in Central Africa bordered by Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo which brings additional costs for importing and exporting goods. Rwanda's main exports are coffee, which contributes to one quarter of the total export value, tea and some minerals such as tin, cassiterite and wolframite (UNDP 2016). However, the

fluctuating prices of the international market have meant that the import costs have not been covered (Vision 2020 Strategy 2012).

Kigali is the capital of Rwanda and is the largest urban area in the country with a population of approximately 859,332 people (UN Data 2012). In Kigali, 76% of the population live in urban areas compared to 16% in Huye, a large town two hours outside of Kigali, and an even lower 8% in Nyanza the town closest to Gatagara where one of the cases is located (Population size, structure and distribution 2012). Urban areas such as Kigali tend to attract younger people to live there for employment and studying (Population size, structure and distribution 2012). Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that there are significant differences between urban and rural Rwanda including standards of living, transport, education and infrastructure (Bomkamm 2012), for example, the government offices and the international airport are located in Kigali. Providing a contemporary overview of Rwanda is essential because it provides an important backdrop for locating both case studies helping the understanding of the context in which the programmes are delivered.

4.6.2 Background: Kids Play International

The organisation Kids Play International (KPI) was formed to address gender equity in rural Rwanda. KPI's mission is to use sport and the Olympic Values to promote gender equity in communities which have been affected by genocide (Document D, KPI). The Olympic Values are adapted to create Fair Play Values in the programme which include Community, Respect, Conversation, Opportunity and Moral Courage. The NGO was founded in 2008 by three-time United States Olympian Tracy Evans who was inspired to create the organisation by her own volunteer trip to Africa. KPI's gender equity programme is called Let's Play Fair and is a community-based programme targeted at 7-18-year-old boys and girls. Accordingly, LPF is "based on an understanding that to empower girls, boys must play a meaningful role in the process so both genders understand how each contribute to a healthy community" (Document D, KPI). KPI outlines their long-term objectives as the following:

For Women:

- Higher levels of education
- Holding more leadership roles
- Increased employment levels

For All:

- Gender roles shift in the home
- Decreased gender-based violence
- Increased value of sport in the community
- Participants actively connected to KPI into adulthood

(Document A, KPI)

Sessions are delivered by a team of thirteen Rwandan coaches (eight females and five males) who live in the same village where the programme is delivered and nine of the coaches also work as school teachers. Coaches receive training approximately once a month, by the programme coordinators Eugene and partnership manager Marie, to learn the content that will be delivered in the subsequent weeks. The programme curriculum focusses on the historical relationship between gender equity and genocide education and prevention (Document D, KPI). A variety of sports are used within the programme to achieve programme objectives such as football, volleyball, baseball, rugby, athletics and cricket. The programme is delivered four times a week with two sessions a week for 7-13-year-olds and the other two sessions for children aged 13-18. Each week covers a different topic under a broader theme which is identified during each six-week season. For example, week two is focused on conflict transformation under the umbrella theme of ‘conflict’.

To cover the topic, each session is split into five parts: (1) opening circle involves all players standing in a circle and the topic of the week followed by a whole group warmup lead by coaches, (2) in smaller groups of about seven players with their assigned coach, discuss last week’s homework and everyone is given a snack (usually a banana) to eat before the main activity, (3) main sports activity is delivered during which ‘freeze times’ are implemented to break up game play and discuss elements of the game, (4) once the game has ended players return back to their small groups and discuss the game with the coaches, (5) the final part of the session is closing circle where all players come back together and share what they discussed in their groups. Sessions and activities are designed for girls and boys to participate together and the programme has approximately 200 children participate in total per week. The sessions are delivered in six week blocks throughout the year with a three week break over Christmas.

The NGO has two headquarters, one in the USA and one in Gatagara, Rwanda. The programme is delivered in the rural village of Gatagara in the Southern Province of Rwanda on a local community playing field. Gatagara is located approximately 90 minutes from Kigali the capital and urban area in Rwanda. Many people living in Gatagara rely on subsistence agriculture with many people living below the poverty line. Children living in Gatagara suffer from undernutrition and stunting (short height for age) and some come from single parent families. Despite the number of people living in poverty dropping by 5.8%, 44% of people have poor nutrition and access to health care (United Nations Development Programme 2016).

4.6.3 Background: Cricket Without Boundaries

Cricket Without Boundaries (CWB) is a sport for development and peace NGO based in the UK which uses cricket to promote health education across Sub-Saharan Africa. Since inception in 2005, CWB has delivered programmes in Kenya, Botswana, Cameroon, Uganda and Rwanda, however for the purposes of this research the programme in Rwanda is studied.

The CWB programme in Rwanda began in 2007 and has delivered at least one programme per year since then. The programme is delivered over a two-week period across multiple sites including schools, orphanages and community centres. CWB programmes focus on HIV/AIDS and sexual health education for young people using three primary messages of 'Prevention', 'Testing and Treatment' and 'Reducing Stigma'. Under 'Prevention' CWB adopt the United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) and President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) 'ABC' approach in their sessions. 'ABC' stands for 'Abstain from sex', 'Be faithful to your partner' and 'use a condom/protect yourself' (Document A; Document B; Document G, CWB). The sessions include five principles to promote the ABC messages throughout:

1. Introduction, explanation of skill or activity
2. Demonstration, practical example of the skill or activity
3. Activity, participants try the skill or take part in the activity
4. Feedback and praise, coaches provide feedback to participants
5. Test, coaches test the participants to see if their skill has improved or their knowledge has improved on ABC

(Document A; Document B; Document G, CWB)

The messages converge to achieve the overall aim “To bring together and empower local communities through cricket” (Document E, CWB).

The messages and ABC approach is delivered through cricket games and competitions over the course of two weeks and is linked to the all year-round programme delivered by ambassadors in partnership with the Rwandan Cricket Association (RCA). CWB works closely with the RCA to organise the programme and liaise with schools and community groups about participating in the programme. The RCA also provides CWB with Rwandan Ambassadors to help deliver the programme during the two weeks. Such ambassadors are players or coaches from the Rwandan Men’s and Women’s National cricket teams. Some ambassadors continue to deliver the programme after the two-week programme has ended, where they deliver an additional ten two hour sessions in schools. CWB is made entirely from volunteer staff, with the exception of the Head of Delivery who is paid part-time based in the UK. Many of the volunteers who deliver the two-week programme live and work in the UK and some work as cricket coaches or play cricket for local teams in their free time.

4.6.4 Sampling criteria

This qualitative study places emphasis on research participants’ unique experiences and personal stories to attain the depth required to examine (dis)empowerment in SDP. To achieve this, purposive sampling was used and research participants were chosen based on their involvement in the cases. The research participants were targeted because of the information they could provide on the phenomena in this study to meet the research objectives (Robson 2011). This study is concerned with whether girls’ participation in SDP programmes are (dis)empowering. To achieve this aim, practitioners working in SDP were identified as being able to provide a rich understanding of the phenomena. Practitioners working with KPI and CWB were in a unique position to shed light on programme mechanisms and discuss girls’ interactions with the programme. Practitioners play a crucial role in SDP programming because they bridge the gap between how programmes are conceptualised by NGOs, whose headquarters are located in the Global North, and how they are delivered in practice at the grassroots level in the Global South. As such, practitioners are influenced by broader policy discourses about gender, empowerment and SDP as well as micro level community discourses and belief systems. Additionally, practitioners provide an intimate insight into how girls interact with programme mechanisms and the presence

of contextual mechanisms and how they affect girls' (dis)empowerment. While some studies have identified the important role of practitioners for examining SDP programmes (see Darnell 2012; Nicholls et al. 2011) the perspectives of grassroots practitioners, especially those working in the Global South, are often overlooked because they are assumed to be anecdotal (Nicholls et al. 2011; Nicholls 2009). To address this gap, there is a growing number of studies in SDP which have examined the perspectives of people working in SDP that this research draws upon. For example, Nicholls et al (2011) privileged the voices of young black female African grassroots practitioners, Hayhurst (2013a, 2013b) interviewed staff working for NGOs in Uganda and Lindsey et al (2017) studied female peer leaders' perspectives of empowerment in Zambia.

To ensure the relevant research participants were chosen, a sampling criteria was created and used. The sampling criteria for the research participants included; women and men who had worked as a practitioner in a management or delivery position, been working within each case for at least six months and be over the age of eighteen. The total sample (n=14) included a mixture of men and women with various nationalities and who were between the ages of 23 and 63. Table 2 provides a breakdown of the research participant's information. Pseudonyms and additional years have been added to participants' ages so they cannot be identified.

Table 2 Research participant information

	Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Case	Position	Length of time working	Nationality	Ethnicity
1	Michelle	24	F	CWB	Coach	4 years	Rwanda	Black
2	Annet	32	F	KPI	Coach	1 year and 9 months	Rwanda	Black
3	Gervais	29	M	KPI	Coach and former participant	6 years	Rwanda	Black
4	Wellars	27	M	KPI	Coach and former participant	6 years	Rwanda	Black
5	Marie	33	F	KPI	Programme and Partnership Manager	8 months	Canadian living in Rwanda	White
6	Eugene	34	M	KPI	Programme Coordinator	5 years	Rwanda	Black
7	Vestine	31	F	KPI	Coach	5 years	Rwanda	Black
8	Sophia	30	F	KPI	Programme Coordinator	1 year and 7 months	American but lived in Rwanda	White
9	Tim	48	M	CWB	Country Manager	3 years	British	White
10	Louis	44	M	CWB	Head of Delivery	1 year and 6 months	British	White
11	Stephanie	63	F	CWB	Coach	1 year	British	White
12	Derick	DNS	M	CWB	Coordinator and coach	7 years	British	White
13	Jack	36	M	CWB	Coach and social media manager	1 year	British	White
14	Hannah	23	F	CWB	Coach	1 year	British	White

Working closely with the gatekeeper in each case provided access to research participants and recruit individuals who met the sample criteria to take part in the study. More information about gatekeepers can be found in the section on ethical considerations (see section 4.9.2). The sample total is representative of many qualitative studies which are often much smaller in comparison to quantitative studies. The sample size is justified by the uniqueness of the research participant's experiences. The frequency of data is not a major concern for this study and large samples tend to

be time consuming and impractical given the nature of the research with practitioners who are currently involved in delivering these programmes 4-5 days a week (Mason 2010; Crouch and McKenzie 2006; Richie et al. 2003). Hence, the richness of each account of personal experiences, beliefs and attitudes, which would usually be lost in frequency focused investigations, are retained (Golafshani 2003; Patton 2002). While the ideal number of interviews conducted in qualitative research continues to be contested (Mason 2010), this study has used data saturation to guide the sample size and the decision of when to end the data collection process. For this study data saturation occurred during the fourteenth interview. Data saturation refers to the point where data becomes repetitive and no new data or themes emerge to make sense of the phenomena being studied (Fusch and Ness 2015; Mason 2010). As Bowen (2008) points out, it can be difficult to recognize when data saturation occurs and so the decision to stop collecting data should be supported by evidence. With that in mind, the decision to support data saturation was supported by two pieces of evidence. First, during the open coding stage of data analysis (see section 4.8.2) it became apparent that no new codes were being generated from interview numbers thirteen and fourteen. While no new codes meant no new information or findings were being generated to address the research questions, there was still enough data collected to be able to replicate the research which Fusch and Ness (2015) advocate as an important consideration to ensure data saturation. Second, data triangulation was used in this study to ensure data saturation (see section 4.11).

To learn about the structure of these programmes and to answer questions about how they lead to developing (dis)empowerment (mechanisms), in-depth research is required to unpack these programmes. Thus, girls' experiences of (dis)empowerment are interpreted through the practitioners working in the programme. The practitioners, or research participants, are in a unique position to discuss the programmes they work for at a conceptual level as well as a practical level where they can observe the experiences of girls' participation in SDP. Emphasis in this study is therefore placed on a specific and limited number of cases and group of research participants, drawing on different perspectives of people working in SDP to learn about empowerment. This focused and thorough approach is necessary to understand the mechanisms and relationships between key concepts associated with the phenomena being researched.

4.7 Methods

This section provides an in-depth account of the methods that have been chosen and how they have been used in this research (Silverman 2013). Research methods are the tools and techniques that are used for conducting research (Denzin and Lincoln 2013). They are the tools of the trade for collating and analysing data shaped by the research philosophy and methodology (Walliman 2011; Gomm 2009).

4.7.1 Interviews

Lincoln and Guba (1985) describe an interview as a conversation with a purpose and, in the form of in-depth qualitative interviews, is advantageous to enquire about situational meanings, experiences, personal journeys and can aid discursive understandings (Walliman 2011; Kvale and Brinkmann 2009; Hopf 2004). Fundamental to this approach is the recognition “that the perspective of the others is meaningful, knowable, and able to be made explicit” (Patton 1990, p. 218). In-depth enquiry also means understanding phenomena (empowerment) within the contexts and situation(s) in which it emerges (SDP) (Boyce and Neale 2006; Dionigi 2004; Grant 2001; Miller and Glassner 1997).

To acquire the richness of the phenomena, important decisions were made about the format, location, and language used in the interviews. The first decision was to identify the approach to conducting qualitative interviewing. As Patton (1987) points out, there are multiple ways of interviewing in qualitative research including informal conversational interviews, general interview guide approach and standardized open-ended interviews. This study employed in-depth semi-structured interviews with interview guides to elicit information in line with the research objectives (see Appendix B for a copy of the interview guide). Interview guides provided a structure for all research participants to answer the same questions as well as spaces for additional questions to follow up on their individual responses if something relevant or interesting was discussed (Fusch and Ness 2015; Partridge 2011). The interview guide included three descriptive, demographic based questions to relax the interviewee and the rest were open-ended to allow for rich detail where participants could respond how they liked and for as long as they wished (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009; Boyce and Neale 2006; Lee 2000). Open-ended questions were biographically designed to reconstruct events, behaviours and experiences about the practitioners’ experiences in

KPI and CWB (Ruspini 2002; Keats 2000). Likewise, asking new questions based on participants' responses also helped create a conversational atmosphere that enabled the research participants to speak freely about their experiences during the interviews (Mwaanga 2012). Asking the research participants the same questions in the semi-structured interviews was essential to provide a source of consistency for studying phenomena and identifying data saturation.

The second decision involved the location and time of the interviews. Of the fourteen interviews conducted; nine were conducted face-to-face; four using Skype and one over the telephone. Most interviews lasted between 50 and 90 minutes, the shortest interview lasted 42 minutes and the longer just over 2 hours. Almost all of the interviews were scheduled at one per day, giving me time to reflect on each interview and makes notes concerning my initial thoughts about points that stood out in my journal (see Appendix D for more information about the interviews). This time also provided an opportunity to make any changes to questions before the next interview. Face-to-face interviews were conducted on KPI premises in Gatagara and in local coffee shops which were familiar places to the research participants to make the research participant feel comfortable. Skype interviews were conducted with practitioners who were not in Rwanda or the UK during the time of data collection. These participants had agreed to an interview over Skype. Although Skype was a useful tool for conducting interviews, its use can have some potential limitations. There was a danger that non-verbal cues such as body gestures, facial expressions and emotional cues might be lost during the interview. Two strategies were employed to overcome these issues, first, I asked the research participant in advance to use their camera during the interview so we could see each other and second, to listen more carefully to the participants' voices and observing their facial expressions and gestures, using time after each interview to make relevant notes (Lo Iacono et al. 2016).

When conducting the interviews with Rwandan research participants I took into consideration that I did not speak the national language of Kinyarwanda or French, the second language spoken in Rwanda. The gatekeepers were invited to review the interview guide to see if the language and terminology could be understood. For example, one gatekeeper suggested that I should avoid using the term 'empowerment' in the interview guide because it is an unfamiliar term for the Rwandan research

participants. This was an interesting assertion early in the research process which caused me to reflect on this comment more deeply in my research journal (see Appendix C).

During the interviews, the questions were read slowly and clearly in English and research participants were given a paper copy of the questions to refer to throughout the interview. Two interviews were conducted in the native language of Kinyarwanda where I would ask the question in English to be translated by the translator to into Kinyarwanda. The response in Kinyarwanda was then translated into English by the translator and digitally recorded for transcription later. The translator was one of the KPI coaches who spoke fluent English. Initially I was concerned the translator would romanticize the interviewees' responses or try to summarise the points during translation into English. Using a translator who was so close to the programme also required some analysis because it could have questioned the study's rigour. These challenges were overcome by choosing someone socially equal to the research participant, i.e. a coach who was not an authority figure and was of a similar age. This reduced the chance the translator would romanticise the experiences of their colleagues' because they were of an equal standing within the programme. Further, this could also result in losing cultural phrasings or meanings when translated into English because culture and communication are inextricably linked (Melinte 2012). The translator was briefed before the interviews to translate as closely to what the participant is saying and to reduce the loss of cultural meanings and phrases. When looking at both research participants' answers they were different which indicates that the translator did not simply regurgitate their own experiences. There were also some advantages to having a translator present in the interviews. The translator was familiar with the context and possessed the same rites and symbols as some of the research participants that I as an 'external' researcher would not have (Kacen and Chaitin 2006). Additionally, by having a translator who also worked for KPI meant that they had a closer connection and capacity for empathy of the participants which might mitigate in unexpected ways compared to if they were interviewed by someone they feel a lesser connection to (Kacen and Chaitin 2006).

To summarise, regardless of how the interview was conducted or the length in duration, the fundamental acknowledgement was that acquiring research participants' perspectives was a meaningful process and fundamentally their perspective was "able

to be made explicit” (Patton 2002, p. 218). This level of depth during the interviews revealed understanding of phenomena through the research participants’ unique accounts and offered insights into the cultural structures they used to make sense of these experiences (Boyce and Neale 2006; Dionigi 2004).

4.7.2 Rapport

Building rapport was crucial to establish an atmosphere where research participants felt comfortable to speak freely about their experiences of working in their particular programme (Saldaña 2011). Although there are many definitions of rapport, rapport broadly refers to “the exchange of meaningful dialogue that captures how respondents interpret their social world” (Ryan and Dundon 2008, p. 443). Ryan and Dundon’s definition is particularly relevant to this study because it aligns neatly with a critical realist position which suggests that each person interprets their realities differently.

As discussed in the section on reflexivity, additional steps were taken to manage and compensate for being an outsider to the Rwandan research participants. Learning common phrases in Kinyarwanda and how to greet each other also facilitated this process when meeting each other informally. The handshake offered an opportunity to build rapport because it was part of the first impression the research participants formed about me (Chaplin et al. 2000). I also used the handshake at the end of each interview as I said ‘Murakoze’ which means thank you.

Conducting an interview using Skype may have also affected the rapport between the research participant and me. My strategy for building rapport with the research participants I interviewed over Skype was different to those I had interviewed face-to-face. Drawing on Seitz’s (2016) study, I spent more time exchanging emails to form a connection and build a rapport with each participant prior to interviews so they learnt more about the study and my role as a researcher. Furthermore, Seitz (2016) points out that Skype interviews may encourage research participants to open up more easily because they are in their own environment and facing a screen rather than a person. Likewise, Hanna (2012, p. 241) agrees that “both the researcher and the researched are able to remain in a safe location without imposing on each other's personal space”.

An important part in building rapport was also about gaining trust. For the first six days of the field trip no interviews were conducted, instead I attended each day of the KPI programme as an observer and had informal conversations with the practitioners

before and after sessions and helped to carry equipment and set up games. As discussed earlier in this chapter, my role as a white, female, Western researcher made me an ‘outsider’ to the programmes and to the broader context of Rwanda. However, as Desai and Potter (2006) point out, sometimes the differences between the researcher and the researcher respondent can be used to have discussions because both parties are curious about how the other lives. I experienced this multiple times, for example, during an informal conversation with one of the KPI coaches who asked me about the Queen and where she lives. One reason for this interest could have been that Rwanda no longer has a monarchy because it was abolished in the early 1960’s as a result of the Hutu uprising.

It took approximately eight months to build relationships with KPI and CWB before I conducted any interviews with practitioners where we exchanged lots of emails and had multiple Skype conversations about the research prior to the field trip in October 2016. Both organisations also sent documents and reports to assist in my understanding of their organisation and the programme they deliver. It was evident that I built rapport with most research participants because they said that I could contact them again if I needed any more information. Some requested me as a friend on social media where we still message today. Despite the different ways of conducting the interviews and building rapport, the purpose was the same to establish a “safe and comfortable environment for sharing the interviewee's personal experiences” (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006, p. 316).

4.7.3 Keeping a journal

A journal was kept during the data collection and data analysis process of this study. The journal had two main purposes: the first was to create a space for reflecting on my personal experiences as a researcher in Rwanda and second, as a tool for jotting down initial ideas and notes from the interviews and data analysis. While the advantages of using a research journal are well documented in the literature (see Jones et al. 2013; Guthrie 2010; Ortlipp 2008), there is a lack of literature which explained how journals can be used to aid reflexivity and guide written reflections. Roller and Lavrakas’ (2015, p. 42) example of journal formatting was the most useful and appropriate guidance for my research journal. In their example, each journal entry is formed of two phases of reflection from interviews, group discussions and observations. First, the ‘broad takeaways’ involve questions such as ‘What do I think I ‘know’ about these

participants?’ and ‘how do I think I ‘know’ it?’. The second phase involves the ‘specific reflections’ about the assumptions made by researchers in the interview, their values and personal beliefs, the effect of the physical environment and their emotional connection with the research participants. Using Roller and Lavrakas’ (2015) work, I adapted their example journal entry into a flow chart and a set of questions that I could apply when writing in the research journal and throughout the entire research process to assist in my reflexivity (see Figure 8).

Figure 8 Flow chart for research journal reflection and reflexivity

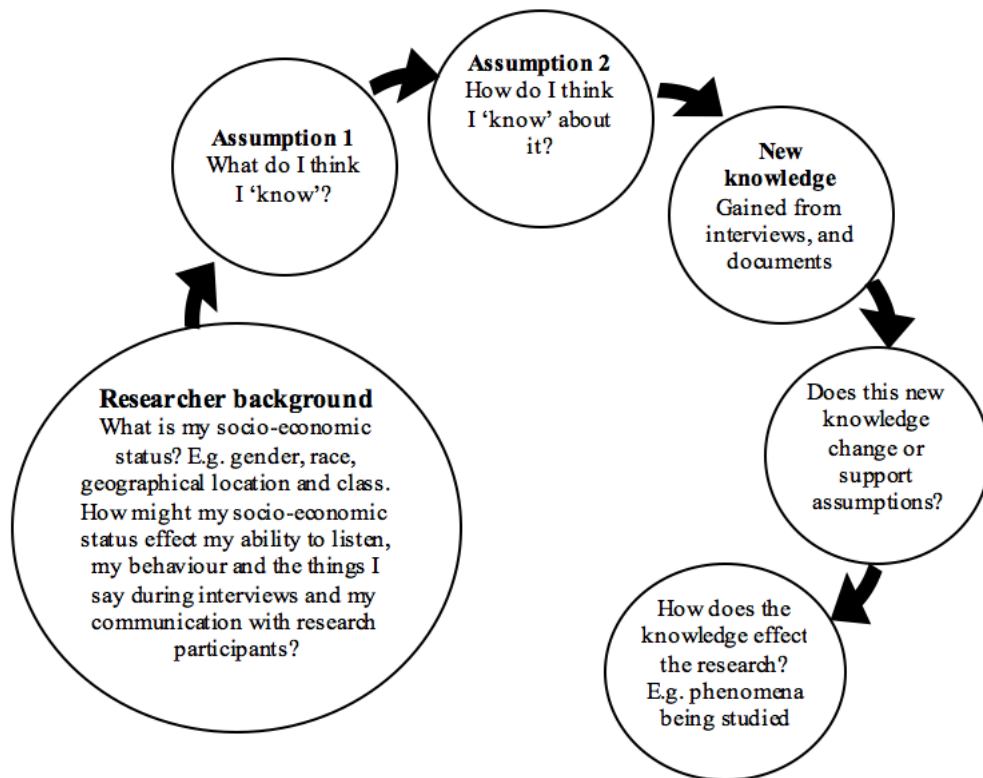


Figure 8 enabled me to write reflective pieces in the journal recording my personal feelings, impressions and thoughts about specific events and my general experience as a researcher in Rwanda (Merriam and Tisdell 2015). This included reflecting on my interaction with the environment, with people and what I learnt, saw and felt. As recommended by Jones et al (2013) and Guthrie (2010), it was important to write in the journal while memories were fresh so at the end of each day in the field, I allocated a couple of hours in the evening as my reflective writing time. One journal entry, for example, was written after a visit to the Kigali Genocide Museum where I reflected

on my experience at the museum and the new knowledge I had gained (see Appendix E).

The process of writing reflective pieces in the journal was also an invaluable tool for being reflexive (Ortlipp 2008). It provided a space where I could have critical inner monologues to question my assumptions and thoughts on what I experienced and saw in the field. One excerpt from the journal details my experience of seeing one of the male research participants carrying his baby on his front in public and thinking about what this means in relation to his culture and for him as a Rwandan man in a rural community. Reflecting in this way aided my reflexivity to ensure I was consciously acknowledging my personal values, beliefs, bias and assumptions. I unpacked these thoughts to form new knowledge and subsequently assert how that knowledge may implicate different stages of the research process (Ortlipp 2008).

The second purpose of the journal was as a tool for recording initial ideas and concepts that emerged from the data collection. The purpose of keeping a journal to record notes was to make observations which can then be used to generate and build theory and identify key concepts during the data analysis process (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002). For instance, while analysing the data I continued using the journal to keep track of initial interpretations and ideas as I read the transcripts and completed the phases of analysis (Taylor et al. 2016). Hence, the journal was there to support my continuous theorising and my thoughts as I tried to make sense of the data.

Notes were also made on each interview to describe the emotional tone of the interview (happiness, sadness, anxiety etc) and as a prompt to record other questions that were asked during the interview that were not included in the interview guide. Additionally, I noted down any questions that did not work so well in the interviews so that they could be improved for the next interview. This also formed a useful audit trail for written recollections and reconstructions of what was said and done at the time to assist in my continued reflexivity as the researcher (Saldaña 2011).

The recording of reflective pieces and notes in one journal enhanced the criticality of the entries. Rather than being purely descriptive when reflecting on cultural practices that were observed and experienced in the field, the entries went into greater detail to examine how these cultural practices gave meaning to the phenomena being researched (Merriam and Tisdell 2015), that is, to examine what happens in SDP programmes to (dis)empower girls.

4.7.4 Document analysis

A document analysis was conducted to review documents which were sent to me by KPI and CWB facilitating an understanding of the context and history of each NGO and their programmes. Establishing the background for both NGOs (cases) was crucial for understanding the setting in which the research participants and programme participants operate (Bowen 2009). For example, I was sent a strategy document by KPI that was intended for ‘partners’ which gave me an insight into the long-term vision of the programme over the next five to ten years.

Following the critical realist paradigm which acknowledges that multiple versions of reality exist, the document analysis was useful for reinforcing the point that each research participant has a different perspective of reality. The research participants responsible for creating and disseminating these documents (programme managers and coordinators) offered different perspectives to the research participants who were involved in delivering the promises held in the documents (coaches and volunteers). Additionally, sensitising the methodology with CFT assists with identifying how terms are used and defined in the context of each programme, as well as helping to examine who the documents were created by.

Each programme’s website also became a source for the document analysis to examine the origin of each programme including a short analysis into who the founders were and why they decided to form their programme. Details of the documents from KPI and CWB are listed in the Table 3.

Table 3 Document details

Case	Document name	Year created	Summary of contents	Document reference
Kids Play International	Partnership Overview	2016	Summary of KPI's aim and short and long-term objectives for potential partners and funders	A
	Logic Model	2016	KPI's logic model which details inputs, activities, outputs, short-term and long-term outcomes	B
	Player Success Stories	2016	Examples of programme participants' experiences and behaviour during and after leaving KPI.	C
	Website	Updated 2017	Kids Play International website	D
Cricket Without Boundaries	Cricket Coaching Cards: Introduction to Cricket	2016	Coaching guidance and 16 cricket games and activities	A
	Level A – Basics of Cricket Coaching Cards	2016	Advanced coaching guidance and 22 cricket games and activities	B
	Report	2017	Monitoring and Evaluation Spring 2017	C
	Trustee Specification	2017	Overview of the roles and responsibilities of a trustee	D
	Website	Updated 2018	Cricket Without Boundaries website	E
	Fundraising Guide	2016	Volunteer's advice guide for fundraising their trip to Rwanda 2017	F
	HIV – Rwanda: Background, statistics and key knowledge	2016	Overview into key terminology in relation to HIV/AIDS and statistics about the population in Rwanda	G

The document analysis included tracking patterns of words and phrases including 'empowerment', 'gender' and 'development'. Common words and phrases were then interpreted to explore how key concepts were understood in the culture and context of the programmes, and the broader discursive framing of empowerment and gender. As Merriam (1988, p. 118) emphasised, "Documents of all types can help the researcher

uncover meaning, develop understanding, and discover insights relevant to the research problem”. The document analysis provided a unique perspective for examining how NGOs conceptualise their programmes, adopt and apply terminology and whether the contents of the document are consistent with research participants’ responses from the semi-structured interviews (see Appendix F for an example analysis of a document).

The document analysis was also used for triangulation to corroborate the information provided in the interviews and to shed light on phenomena from more than one angle (Jones et al. 2013; Bowen 2009). By adopting multiple methods of enquiry and multiple cases, girls’ (dis)empowerment in SDP could be studied from different perspectives. To this end, multiple methods helped explore the same phenomena because it is understood that no single method or observer can fully capture everything that is important or relevant to the research (Denzin 2017).

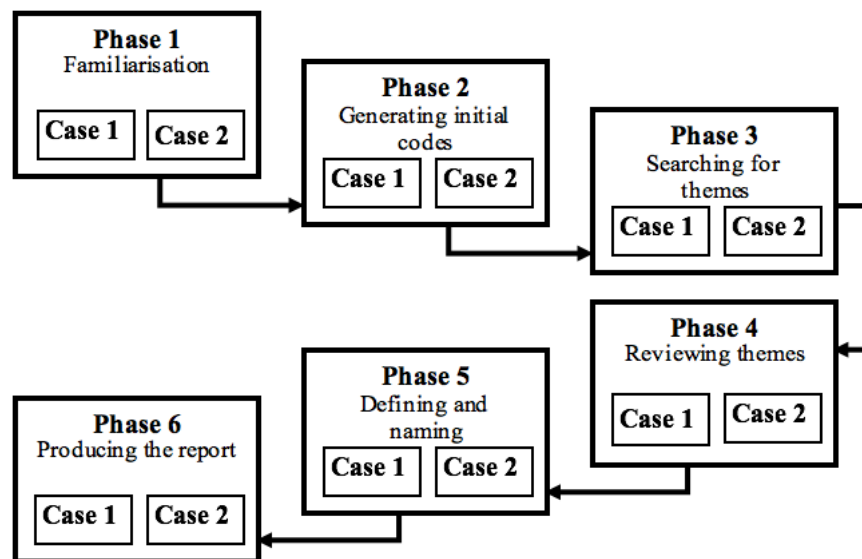
4.8 Data analysis

To make sense of the data, Braun and Clarke’s (2006) six phase thematic analysis was adopted and adapted. Braun and Clarke’s analysis provided useful guidelines to ensure that the data analysis would be structured into iterative phases but also flexible to retain the richness and detailed data extracts. Participants’ responses were not put in pre-defined categories or arranged by their answers to each question and both cases were analysed at the same time using CFT and the individual empowerment framework (intrapersonal, interactional and behavioural dimensions of empowerment) to focus on examining the phenomena together rather than a comparison. Participants’ responses lead the analysis, keeping in mind the cultural world of participants and acknowledging how my own perspective as a researcher may implicate the way the data is interpreted (Denzin 2009). Hence, reflexivity at this stage was crucial to ensure that “it becomes imperative that the interpretation of the phenomena represent that of participants and not of the researcher” (Fusch and Ness 2015, p. 1411). Furthermore, it was a consistent analysis that was required for the data to become saturated (Fusch and Ness 2015).

NVivo, a computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS), was used to organise the data and embed Braun and Clarke’s (2006) six phases. CAQDAS has become common place in qualitative research as a tool for the organisation and

repository of data ready for coding (Taylor et al. 2016; Saldaña 2011; Guthrie 2010). Although there are multiple CAQDAS available, NVivo was selected because it has a strong track record appropriate for tasks within this study and the university owned the latest software and offered training courses and guidance for using it. This meant that the time taken to learn the software was significantly reduced (Merriam and Tisdell 2015). In addition, NVivo provided an audit of coding decisions from open codes to refined themes. This facilitated a transparent process to data analysis which meant a comprehensive trail was kept about each change in coding that would otherwise be difficult to keep if analysing data using Word documents. Braun and Clarke’s thematic analysis is broken down into six phases which involves multiple separate cycles of coding for data management, reduction and to organise raw data into conceptual categories and create themes or concepts (Neuman 2006). Each case in the study was analysed separately as shown in Figure 9.

Figure 9 Adapted from Braun and Clarke’s six phase thematic analysis



4.8.1 Phase 1: Familiarisation

Phase 1 refers to the researcher immersing themselves in the data so they become familiar with the data (Braun and Clarke 2006). To familiarise myself with the data, I transcribed the interviews myself and read over them twice whilst listening to the audio recordings before importing the transcripts into NVivo. Risseman (1993) agrees that researchers transcribing the data themselves is helpful in terms of familiarisation of the data. Listening to the audio recordings multiple times also ensured that the

transcriptions accurately represented what was said during the interviews, and during this process, I continued to note down any initial ideas into my journal.

4.8.2 Phase 2: Generating initial codes

Phase 2 began once I had read and familiarised myself with the data. This phase involved generating an initial list of data driven codes for each case (Braun and Clarke 2006) and was focused on a semantic and conceptual reading of the data (Clarke and Braun 2013). According to Jones et al (2013, p. 157) the term ‘codes’ is used “to represent a phenomenon the researcher notices in the text”. Open codes were created by identifying interesting features or elements of the data which could be linked to arguments about girls’ (dis)empowerment by going systematically through each data set in each case. During this phase, it was important to ensure that data extracts were not coded exclusively so that the context of the data would be lost so, as recommend by Bryman (2001), some surrounding text was also coded with each data extract. Additionally, using NVivo meant it only took one click on the data extract to view its origin in the transcript. Every data item was coded, with some data coded into multiple codes, which resulted in forty-one open codes in Case 1 (KPI) and forty-one open codes in Case 2 (CWB) collating the data extracts. As suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006) it was also important to “retain accounts that depart from the dominant story in the analysis” as this may have become more relevant in the later phases of analysis.

4.8.3 Phase 3: Searching for themes

Using the codes that were identified across the data set during open coding, Phase 3 included collating those codes to form potential overarching themes in both cases which Braun and Clarke refer to as ‘candidate themes’. Throughout this phase, it was crucial to think about the relationship between the different levels of data such as codes and themes to identify potential themes and sub themes which were meaningfully related to answering the research objectives. To achieve this, I adapted Braun and Clarke’s work to include both data driven analysis and theory driven analysis which was broken down into three stages. First, the open codes were grouped into themes driven by data wherein six themes emerged in Case 1 and five themes in Case 2. Second, a duplicate folder of the original list of open codes was created and codes were grouped into themes driven by theory. This meant drawing on CFT assumptions and the dimensions within individual empowerment to collate the open codes to

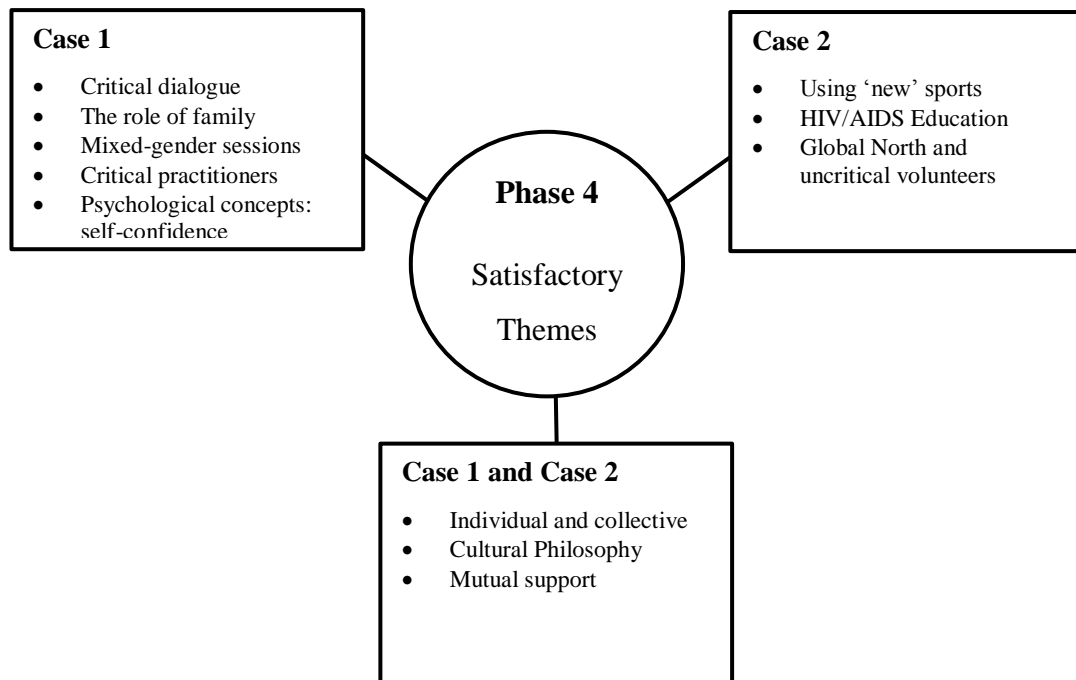
components of the theories. To guide this analysis, Gibbs' (2007) list adapted by Jones et al (2013) was used to code phenomena such as behaviours, events, meanings, relationships and conditions and consequences. This list helped to break down the codes so they could form candidate themes by adding depth through observing attitudes, beliefs and negative views. This ultimately meant the codes could offer clearer insights into the meaning embedded therein and four theory driven themes from Case 1 and four theory driven themes from Case 2 were formed at this stage. The third stage involved merging the data driven and theory driven themes to map similarities and relationships between the categories to form 'candidate themes' and subthemes. Further, as Schwandt (1997) explains, an error to avoid when coding is being too descriptive, so by adopting a theory driven approach also ensured the data analysis was being truly analytical across both cases. This phase concluded with sixteen candidate themes and twenty-seven sub themes, seven candidate themes were formed in Case 1 and six candidate themes were formed in Case 2. During this phase, three more themes were formed which merged data from both cases to examine phenomena and were labelled broadly as 'merged cases'. An additional theme was also created in Nvivo during this phase labelled 'miscellaneous'. In this folder were codes which were not contributing to the understanding of the phenomena but were organised so they were still easily accessible if needed later in the process (Braun and Clarke 2006).

4.8.4 Phase 4: Reviewing themes

Phase 4 involved refining the candidate themes by merging themes together or removing if there was not enough evidence from the data extracts to form 'satisfactory themes'. This process was completed in two levels as outlined by Braun and Clarke. The first level focused on reviewing all the data extracts within each theme to ensure that the overall theme formed a coherent pattern. Once the themes had been reviewed and were coherent, level two could begin. Level two involved checking that the themes work in relation to the entire data set to "consider the validity of individual themes in relation to the data set, but also whether your candidate thematic map 'accurately' reflects the meanings evident in the data set as a whole" (Braun and Clarke 2006, p. 91). In this research, 'accuracy' was dependent on the theories that were drawn on such as the dimensions of individual empowerment and CFT. A thematic map of the satisfactory themes was created using NVivo for this phase to see

if the themes ‘worked’ and to make sure no data was missed in earlier coding phases. During this phase, a ‘cross case’ of satisfactory themes emerged outside of the two cases. The ‘cross case’ included data extracts from both cases. This phase ended with five satisfactory themes in Case 1, three satisfactory themes in Case 2 and three satisfactory themes in ‘merged cases’. This phase concluded with eleven candidate themes and twenty-four sub themes (see Figure 10).

Figure 10 Satisfactory themes map



4.8.5 Phase 5: Defining and naming themes

Phase 5 was dedicated to further refining and defining themes to identify the key elements of each theme and why it was significant within the research (Clarke and Braun 2013). This involved refining the “specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.” (Braun and Clarke 2006, p. 87). To begin, each theme was re-read and accompanied with a narrative that discussed what was significant about the theme, being careful not to be descriptive and simply paraphrase the data extracts. The purpose of writing a narrative for each theme was to identify how the individual ‘story’ of the theme was situated in the broader story of the data in relation to the overall research aim and objectives. Braun and Clarke suggest that it is “necessary to consider the themes themselves, and each theme in relation to the others” (2006, p. 93). At the end of this phase, four

‘refined themes’ were formed in Case 1, three refined themes in Case 2 and three refined themes in ‘merged cases’. To add structure to each theme, the sub themes were given a hierarchy which highlighted the order in which they would be discussed in Phase 6. This phase concluded with ten refined themes and eleven sub themes (see Figure 11).

Figure 11 Refined themes from Phase 5

Case 1	Case 2	Case 1 and Case 2
Chapter Five	Chapter Six	Chapter Seven
<p>Refined Themes</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. “I want players to have that confidence...”: Unpacking the conceptualisation of self-confidence 2. “you may get pregnant”, negotiating the complex role of parents in girls’ empowerment 3. Critical Pedagogy 4. “can men really tell when you are on your period?”: Menstruation and girls’ empowerment 	<p>Refined Themes</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. “maybe you need to do something more.’ Embedding HIV/AIDS education with cricket coaching 2. Using ‘new’ sports to transform gender relations 3. “Making a difference”: global citizens and their effect girls’ empowerment 	<p>Refined Themes</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Creating a setting for peer support in SDP 2. Developing relationships, bonding and Ubuntu 3. Realising her own needs: self-realisation and the collective

4.8.6 Phase 6: Producing the report

The final phase of the data analysis involved the final analysis and write up for the thesis. In this research, the discussion of findings is located across three chapters (see Chapters Five, Six and Seven. As Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 93) point out, the “write-up must provide sufficient evidence of the themes within the data – i.e. enough data extracts to demonstrate the prevalence of the theme”. The extracts were used frequently when writing the narrative to capture the significance of the point being made to “tell the reader a coherent and persuasive story about the data, and contextualising it in relation to existing literature.” (Clarke and Braun 2013, p. 122). To aid the story telling, vivid data extracts were embedded throughout the chapters to illustrate points. These points were then related back to the research questions and research objectives which led to the production of a scholarly analysis.

4.9 Ethical considerations

While the ethical considerations for some researchers is considered as a formality or a process to satisfy the needs of ethics reviews boards (Holloway and Brown 2012; Guillemin and Gillam 2004), in this study, ethical considerations went beyond the university's standard requirement towards an examination into the moral and ethical ramifications during the research process and after the study has finished. This section is split into two sections, a philosophical discussion of the ethical and moral implications of the research, and a practical discussion about the procedures employed to ensure standard ethical practices.

4.9.1 The dilemma of 'the self' and 'the other'

Ethics is the term used by researchers to describe morality and a set of principles that provide moral guidance towards achieving a goal (Price et al. 2014). With a commitment to reflexivity in this study, I have regularly engaged in critical monologues and posed complex questions about my ethics as a researcher, especially regarding the legitimacy of interpreting and speaking on behalf of the marginalised 'other'. This involves questions such as, can I as the researcher legitimately allow research participants' voices to be heard? And, am I as a qualitative researcher qualified and best placed to speak on behalf of the 'other'? In qualitative research, a common approach is to promote the 'voice' of the research participants (Samie et al. 2015; Bourke 2001). This often involves centralising the voices of individuals and groups who belong to marginalised groups in terms of their race, gender, religion, sexual orientation or socio-economic status whose voices go unheard. As discussed by Holloway and Biley (2011), the term 'voice' can refer to the spoken or written words of research participants. I began to also question the type of voice and whether I should be advocating more, or less, voice to certain research participants. Should the voices of the black, Rwandan, female research participants working in SDP take precedence over the voices of white, British, middle-class men? The assumptions in CFT argued that the experiences of marginalised groups should be brought to the fore in this study because of the acknowledgement of Western androcentric structures (see section 2.6). However, providing a platform for marginalised groups to be heard in the research could also be problematic because it centres on their differences which could result in their further marginalisation (hooks, 1990). Researchers have significantly

greater power over the research data because they can look at documents and hear or read interview transcripts multiple times to interpret and unpack them. In contrast, research participants only have one opportunity for their voice to be heard during an in-depth interview. Their interview is then deconstructed into data extracts and interpreted with some sections of their interview remaining unused because it is deemed 'irrelevant' for the study. In Freire's (2000) terms, this position puts the researcher in a position where they could become the oppressor because efforts are 'counter-liberatory' (Bourke 2001, p. 3). Therefore, this study focuses on the quality of the voices put forth within the research to ensure they accurately reflect the meanings and experiences of the research participants. As Jones et al (2013) state, researchers must "strive to create an accurate portrayal of the research setting and participants to tell their story in a way that would ring true to them and which carries resonance" (p.18). Priority was given to the voices of the research participants and their perspectives by including data driven approaches in the data analysis (Grattan and Jones 2010). The interpretations of in-depth, complex meanings and interactions in the data benefited from my engagement in reflexivity to ensure my biases as a researcher were managed and reflect the authentic voices of the participants in the research (Bourke 2001).

Additional questions were also posed regarding what happens to the relationship with cases and research participants once the data has been collected and the research has ended, such as, how do I balance the perspective that I, as a researcher completing a PhD, may be receiving a greater benefit out of the research than the research participants? Although there were no direct benefits for the research participants taking part in the study, both cases will be given from a special report using the findings from the study. Because this research is trying to understand a 'problem' in greater detail than has previously been explored, the outcomes of this study can contribute to the further development and improvement of the programmes in understanding phenomena. Also, as research papers are published, both NGOs will receive some exposure for the work in the field and, given the nature of SDP research, the exposure may be at an international level.

Jones et al (2013) also refer to planning an 'exit strategy' from the research. This research discussed rapport as a key component for building relationships with research participants, but what happens to that relationship after the research has

‘ended’? Ethical procedures are often concerned with issues before and during data collection but discussions and planning for what happens *after* the data collection, or as the research draws to an end, is lacking in research literature (Morrison et al. 2012). Acknowledgement is needed to consider the emotional impact of the research on the research participants, especially where participants have shared intimate information and personal experiences with the researcher. In light of this, equal attention was paid to closing or ‘ending’ the relationship with research participants as it was to the beginning of the relationship.

Campesino (2007) suggests being clear on the closure of the research so that the research participants can prepare for the transition to the researcher’s disengagement. An email was sent to all research participants to say thank you for their participation in the study with an open invitation to add me on social media if they wished to keep in contact. I also attached a copy of the participant information sheet to remind the participants about what happens to their data once the research has ended (publications and case report). Emailing the research participants to say thank you not only signalled the end of their involvement in the research but also provided an opportunity to recognise their contribution to the study such as their “words and behaviours in the form of data” (Morrison et al. 2012, p. 420). I continue to keep in touch using Skype with the gatekeepers of both the cases to see how their programme is going and to update them about the progress of the research or any publications and I am also still in touch with some of the research participants based in Rwanda.

This qualitative research considers reflexivity as an ethical notion to contribute to the broader ethical procedures and considerations. Reflexivity is not often considered in the ethics section of qualitative research, it usually discussed with ensuring rigour and trustworthiness (Guillemin and Gillam 2004). Adopting reflexivity in this section of the research, ethical decisions and concerns were managed in a way that reflexivity became a *moral* principle for governing researcher’s behaviour which is ultimately the process of maintaining ethics.

4.9.2 Ethics procedures

Ethical approval for this research was received from Bournemouth University four months prior to the beginning of data collection. Ensuring the research participants were fully informed and to understand the nature of the research was integral to this

research (Tisdall et al. 2008). Multiple steps were taken to ensure the research was ethically sound and safe for everyone involved in the study. This included recruiting participants, gaining informed consent, data protection and confidentiality.

Gatekeepers provided the first level of consent for the research participants. Gatekeepers were the programme managers of KPI and CWB who had authority to decide whether they wanted their organisation and staff to be involved in the study. It was important at this stage to provide KPI and CWB with as much information about the research process as possible. This included information about why they have been chosen, how data would be collected, what would happen to the data collected and how their programme might benefit from involvement in the research. Although this information, and more, was covered in the participant information sheet sent to KPI and CWB via email, we had multiple phone and Skype calls to answer questions and clarify information.

Once agreement had been made that KPI and CWB would like to be involved in the programme, the next step was to recruit research participants who were staff working for KPI and CWB. Participant information sheets were issued to all prospective research participants prior to their involvement in the interviews in English and the local language to ensure full understanding (see Appendix G.). The research participants were also issued with a consent form to sign to confirm their involvement in the research (see Appendix H.). Although informed consent was largely gained prior to data collection it was important to continually gain consent throughout the research process, making participants aware they can remove their consent at any time up until the interview commenced (Markula and Silk 2011). Even after the interview, the research participants could still remove their data up until the point of transcription where it was anonymised ready for the data analysis.

All data collected from the interviews was anonymised to protect the identities of participants. Pseudonyms were used and years added to participants' ages because numerical ordering can be impersonal (Holloway and Brown 2012). In instances that participants described a unique experience, the final thesis does not show the original quote, instead the quote is summarised so it cannot be attributed to the participant. All files with research participant's names and details were password protected and stored on the university computer which required my login to access. Audio files from the interviews were only used for transcribing data from the one-to-one interviews. USB sticks were not used to transfer any of the research participants' information and each

audio file and corresponding transcript was given an ID number. The original list of participants' details is held in a password protected file which can only be accessed by myself as the primary researcher. Any additional hand written notes or printed data were locked in a secure cabinet in an office on the university campus.

For interviews which were conducted using Skype, additional data protection and confidentiality measures were put into place. Unlike the interviews which were conducted in person, the Skype interviews required additional measures because they represented an uncontrolled environment (Lo Iacono et al. 2016). The first consideration was to make clear when the recording had begun and stopped so the participants were aware of when they were being recorded. Second, the physical environment of the participant during the interview was important because they might have something private in the background of the video that they did not want me to see. To manage this, I told participants when the video was on and said I could see them. Lastly, as Lo Iacono et al (2016) point out, Skype has the right to review any videos over Skype to ensure anything illegal or inappropriate is being shared. I also reminded the participants of this information prior to the interview, as recommended by Lo Iacono et al (2016). To mitigate this issue, I created a separate Skype account for the research participants to use which was deleted once the interviews were completed. This meant research participants did not need share their private account details with me.

4.10 Limitations of the research

While effort was made to examine each case study in great depth, I was more immersed in KPI's activities which could be considered a possible limitation to this study. I was staying in KPI's guest house in Gatagara, living in the community that was a 15 minute walk from the programme and having informal conversations with local people and coaches who lived nearby every day. In contrast, although I visited Huye, where CWB is delivered I did not spend as long in the area as Gatagara. I also regularly travelled with KPI staff to the nearby town to buy from local shops and the market and use the Wi-Fi from a hotel where the management staff would work from most days. I would also discuss my observations and ask questions to KPI staff who would offer background information and bounce ideas off each other to assist in contextualising my ideas. While my lack of programme observation with CWB might

be considered a limitation to this study, it did enable me to fully immerse myself in the KPI programme and focus on girls' (dis)empowerment in an extremely rural setting. Nevertheless, observation of the programmes was not a method employed in this study because more could be learned about the phenomena by interviewing practitioners. Any shortfall in understanding the CWB programme was addressed by the document analysis where I acquired a greater number of documents from CWB than KPI.

Another factor which could be considered as a limitation was the length of the field visit to Rwanda which lasted twenty-one days and may have been too short a time to understand the context of each case given the complex history and culture of Rwanda. To manage this potential limitation, I was in contact with both NGOs for eight months before the field visit where we would regularly email, message and Skype to discuss the research. Before the Skype calls I would prepare questions I had about the context of the programmes about culture, traditions and gender norms.

It is also worthwhile to note that the quality of the time spent in the field visit and during Skype conversations was more important than the length of time spent in the field. Some of the most valuable conversations for understanding the context of Rwanda happened in the months leading up to data collection over Skype with gatekeepers. Using technology was crucial for building relationships with the gatekeepers and, as far as possible, the research participants. Thus, technology has enabled this study to transcend some of the potential limitations of the field visit and instead focus more on building quality relationships. The usefulness of technology is advocated in other SDP studies such as Lindsey and O'Gorman (2015) who used a short term longitudinal approach to examine students' experiences of empowerment through video diaries, emails and text messages. Similarly, Lindsey et al (2015, p. 207) discuss "Being able to create opportunities to meet in person is vital but utilising technologies, such as Skype, text messaging and videos, may also be helpful in enabling regular communication".

Other limitations involved using Skype and a translator to help conduct some interviews which may have had implications on data quality. As discussed previously, greater effort to build rapport with research participants before the Skype interview was made and the translator was briefed in advance to minimise the effects on the

quality of the data. The information from the interviews conducted with translators were also cross checked using triangulation.

Another limitation is the small sample size (n=14). Although qualitative studies tend to be focussed on the richness and uniqueness of information rather than the quantity, it is important to recognise the sample size as a limiting factor when analysing and drawing conclusions from the data. To minimise this limitation, multiple methods of data collection were employed including the researcher's reflective journal and the document analysis. The research journal was beneficial for processing and recording the researcher's reflexivity by adapting Roller and Lavrakas' (2015) reflective questions. Likewise, the document analysis was useful for corroborating information from the interviews and shedding light on phenomena from more than one perspective. Nevertheless, even though multiple steps were taken to manage and mitigate the limitations of this research, the research is limited in scale with regards to the sample size, duration in the field and the focus on only two cases within one country (Rwanda).

4.11 Trustworthiness and rigour

Unlike the majority of quantitative research which tends to determine validity and reliability by replication, frequency, reproduction, objectivity and a 'purpose of explaining' (Cramer 2003; Fielding and Schreier 2001), this qualitative study emphasises trustworthiness and rigour as a view to assess the quality of research. Rigour is one such component that researchers view as ensuring research is trustworthy (Jones et al. 2013). Rigour refers to the soundness or appropriateness of methodological choices and approaches in qualitative research (Golafshani 2003 cited by Jones et al. 2013). To ensure trustworthiness, and therefore rigour, this study employed the following three strategies. First, triangulation within and between methods was conducted and managed. As discussed during this chapter, this research utilised three sources of evidence: interviews, a research journal and document analysis. It was important to use at least two sources of evidence to corroborate analyses using different data sources and methods (Bowen 2009). Drawing on multiple sources means that findings can be converged across data sets from both cases and "findings across data sets and thus reduce the impact of potential biases that can exist in a single study" (Bowen 2009, p. 28).

Second, by engaging with reflexivity, dominant views, values and ideologies (which would usually be taken for granted) were suspended and questioned. As a researcher, I am considerate of the qualitative approach and its ability to contribute to understanding the attitudes, feelings, opinions, customs and beliefs held by the research participants also reinforced by my own reflexivity (Silverman 2013; LaBanca 2011). Because I am the primary instrument of data collection in research (Merriam 1998), I pose concerns about my influence on the research process. As LaBanca (2011) suggests, trustworthiness increases when researchers delineate how findings reflect their own personal milieu, and so, reflexivity is one such approach that provides rigour by making the data collection more transparent (Jootun et al. 2009; Walter 2009). Also, by adapting and applying Roller and Lavrakas' (2015) work to aid my reflection process, I was more equipped to pose critical questions about my effect on the research at every stage of the research.

Finally, transferability was important in this research to ensure that the research contributions could be shared beyond this setting (Rwanda) and applied in other contexts (Malterud 2001). Transferability in qualitative research is a mark of rigour for checking "whether or not particular findings can be transferred to another similar context or situation" (Houghton 2013, p. 13). To determine transferability, providing rich and detailed descriptions is central for readers to decide whether they can apply the findings to their context (Lincoln and Guba 1985). While it is accepted that no study can produce universal findings that are transferable to all settings (Malterud 2001), there are some aspects of this study which are transferable to different contexts in line with the research objectives. Chapter Eight discusses the contributions and transferability of this research in full to highlight how the key findings about girls' (dis)empowerment in SDP can be transferred across multiple settings.

4.12 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has set out the methodological approach and methods used in this study and posed critical questions about the philosophical and ethical components of the questions. Critical realism is the philosophical stance used in this research and is sensitised by critical feminist theory (CFT) to account for aspects of the phenomena which may be affected by gender-based issues.

This study is attempting to provide an understanding of girls' (dis)empowerment through the experiences of practitioners who work for NGOs and the particular details about their experiences working in SDP. A critical realist position underpins the qualitative approach and emphasises the depth and richness of data drawn from a unique sample whose experiences are used to make sense of phenomena. Research participants have been purposively sampled from two cases; Kids Play International (KPI) and Cricket Without Boundaries (CWB), who are NGOs which use sport as a tool to facilitate development outcomes. Thus, it is because of their work in SDP that they provide the cases for this qualitative case study approach to understand girls' (dis)empowerment within SDP.

Critical reflexivity was discussed early in the chapter to address questions about how my race, gender, social class and geographical location might influence the research. These questions helped to unearth potential struggles within the research and appropriate ways to manage or overcome them. Reflexivity was adopted throughout the entire research process and certain questioning remained at the forefront of my mind such as 'what do I think I know?' and 'how do I think I know what I know?'. These questions helped to interpret the findings and the assumptions I made when interpreting such findings.

Drawing on reflexivity in this research went beyond examining the production of knowledge (epistemology) to focus on multiple components throughout the research including selecting methods, interpreting data, ethics and the relationship between the research participants and the context of the research (Guillemin and Gillam 2004). When discussing ethical considerations, reflexivity was used to examine ethical considerations and the discussion highlighted two components of ethics. This included demonstrating the difference between the morality of ethics during and after the research and identifying the procedural elements of ethics. This section concluded by asserting that reflexivity in research is a key contributor for ensuring the research is ethical.

Another important reflection for the researcher when adopting reflexivity was the realisation that regardless of the length of time spent in the field visit or the number of conversations I had with gatekeepers about their NGO, as a researcher, I can never truly know everything about the research participants' lives and the complex realities of girls taking part in SDP programmes. Hence, the approaches discussed in this

chapter are about managing those complexities and assessing what can be known and how it can be known. It would be naïve to assume that I could ‘know everything’ which was a key revelation early on in the research process to assess suitable ways of managing potential assumptions, the epistemology, the ontology and the methods where this chapter is a reflection of that multi-dimensional process. Reflexivity was a strength of this study, and qualitative research more broadly, because it highlighted potential challenges when conducting the research and exposed the effect of the researcher on the research and sought in-depth and practical approaches to overcome and manage the challenges.

Chapter Five Case 1: Kids Play International

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents themes which emerged from the analysis of the Kids Play International (KPI) programme. The focus is on five core themes which emerged from the data analysis: unpacking self-confidence, parents' concern for the programme, educating parents, critical pedagogy and the role of menstruation in girls' (dis)empowerment.

At this stage, it is important to reintroduce the objectives of the KPI programme. Their core business is to use sport to promote gender equality in communities impacted by the genocide (Document A, KPI). KPI has both short term and long-term objectives such as increasing participants' understanding of fair play and gender equality, improve self-confidence and long-term objectives which focus on addressing gender roles in the home and increasing the value of sport in the community (Document A; Document B, KPI).

Evidence from interviews was primarily used in addition to the research journal and documents. The data are presented as a series of narratives from the semi-structured interviews exploring themes and are presented in each section using rich descriptions before moving onto a more critical analysis, drawing on theoretical literature and previous studies (pseudonyms have been used to protect the identities of the research participants). The data from the document analysis is also used to support and elaborate on research participants' narratives. These findings are situated within overlapping discursive frameworks of SDP, gender (CFT) and empowerment wherein Mwaanga's and Zimmerman's (1990) work on individual empowerment and sport empowerment is drawn upon. It is important to note this discussion is focused on contextualised experiences to Rwanda to answer the research objectives and research questions such as what role do NGOs play in girls' (dis)empowerment? What are the programme mechanisms that lead to girls' (dis)empowerment? And, what are the contextual mechanisms that implicate girl's development of empowerment or do they lead to disempowerment?

The chapter begins with an examination of the intrapersonal dimension of individual empowerment from the perspective of the research participants working for KPI. The relationship between self-confidence and the intrapersonal dimension are examined before examining how parents interact with the programme, the use of critical pedagogy and the role of menstruation and girls' (dis)empowerment.

5.2 “I want players to have that confidence...”, Unpacking the conceptualisation of self-confidence

There was overwhelming support from the research participants that self-confidence, or confidence, is a crucial psychological component for girls' development. An early suggestion of this was when some of the research participants highlighted the differences between girls who participate in the KPI programme compared to girls who do not participate.

The girls in KPI they have advantages ... it is their education... We encourage them to be confident and this affects them positively at school, they participate, they are active and they are encouraged to get high grades at school. (Eugene, KPI)

...they [girls] have a big advantage ... there is a big difference ... they try to convince or to explain to those who are in society who are upset about the KPI to learn about gender ... to know what we can do to promote gender. (Vestine, KPI)

...the girls present in KPI are different between the kids who are non KPI, so the girls of KPI are about the reasons ... the girls non KPI do not very easy understand the reason for KPI. For example, the girls in KPI they know gender, gender, but the girls non KPI they do not know gender and the KPI values. So, the girls in KPI they know many things different than non KPI. (Wellars, KPI)

Gervais and Sophia both indicated that the girls who participate in KPI possess self-confidence.

The girls non KPI and girls in KPI are different because the girls in KPI have confidence and speak loud, they are able to express their ideas and the girls non KPI is not to play with the boy because the girls say ‘boys push’ and ‘the boys have man power’ but the girls in KPI have confidence. (Gervais, KPI)

The girls in the programme feel more confident in their abilities than they otherwise would. They are more confident speaking to boys and to adults than other girls. (Sophia, KPI)

These responses might indicate the positive effects programmes have on girls who participate in comparison to girls who do not. Both responses advocate self-confidence as an important component for girls to bridge relationships with boys, which may highlight a limiting factor of girls who do not participate and their relationships with boys at school, home or in the community. When differentiating between girls who do and do not participate in SDP programmes there is a danger in assuming girls who do not participate in programmes have no self-confidence. Equally, it is important not to assume that girls come to programmes with no prior self-confidence, for they must have a degree of self-confidence to attend the programme in the first instance. This point is reiterated in the literature review in critiquing the assumption that SDP programmes are *solely* responsible for a person’s positive change.

Gervais and Sophia also connect the importance of self-confidence with having a voice as they both discuss encouraging girls to “have confidence to speak loud” (Gervais) and “are more confident speaking” (Sophia). Encouraging girls to have a voice was mentioned in several sections of the literature review, for example in SDP literature, researchers have advocated recovering “the voices of the disadvantaged and oppressed” (Darnell and Hayhurst 2012, p. 115). This notion of voice also supports the gap in literature that called for an alternative to ‘privileged voices’. When discussing privileged voices, it is often assumed to be referring to the privileged voices of Global Northern practitioners and policy makers, yet, KPI focuses on the voices of disadvantaged girls from rural communities rather than girls who live in urban areas. As examined in Chapter Two, it is typically only urban high class women who have benefitted from the women’s movement in Rwanda and the voices of women and girls in rural areas remain unheard. Hence, acknowledging the diversity of voices *within* a

context is examined using CFT and highlights its usefulness for bringing unheard voices to the fore.

In addition to the diversity of voices being promoted in programmes, it is also essential to look at the type of voices which are being developed. Are programmes giving girls a voice because they previously had no voice or are they adding another voice to the voices they already had? These narratives suggest that KPI is trying to enhance girls' existing voices based on the assumption that they are disempowered and have little or no control over what they say.

...there can be self-confidence and feeling free in public, then they can be something, be able to speak and they get to work together in society ... for example, at school and home. (Wellars, KPI)

As Wellars, a coach and former participant in KPI, suggested, self-confidence enabled girls to speak up and gain greater control over aspects of their life in school and at home. However, what remains absent from these narratives are the wisdom and focus of when this newly developed voice should be used. As was highlighted in the Chapter Two, being silent is considered as a strength of the African woman in public spaces which counters the monolithic representations of women in the Global South. Arguably, there is a difference between being 'silenced' and being 'silent'. On one hand, girls are 'silenced' by patriarchy and social structures that lead to a lack of control and disempowerment, and on the other hand, being 'silent' involves a degree of wisdom and critically understanding the strength in not speaking. Being silent is required at times to have effective dialogue and conversation which links to the interactional dimensions of individual empowerment. Being silenced and silent, having no voice and having a voice do not need to be examined in the binary. It might be possible for SDP programmes to focus on providing the skills and self-confidence to participate effectively in dialogue and show girls how to use their voices effectively in different spheres of their life whether that be at home, at school or within the SDP programme. One sphere of life where encouraging girls to have a voice and participate in dialogue is at home. Men and boys tend to have a greater say in Rwandan society as they tend to lead decision making activities inside the home and make decisions on behalf of their wives, sisters and daughters. This means that some girls have learned to rely on their fathers, uncles and brothers because they are not used to having a voice

and making their own decisions. Vestine a coach who also works as a teacher at a local primary school, neatly summarises this point about the programme:

...for girls to have self-confidence it can help them to feel free to do everything which can help them to get different opportunities without depending on their brothers or fathers. (Vestine, KPI)

While Vestine's observation highlights the advantages of girls increasing their self-confidence in the home, she doesn't mention how increasing girls' self-confidence may affect their brothers or fathers. When girls develop skills through KPI, they could cause conflict at home which could be harmful to them. As Annet explains, there are certain cultural expectations about girls held by men:

I want our players, our girl players, to have confidence and to try to show everyone they are able to do different things, because in the ancient period, some men they believe that a girl or a woman cannot do sports, cannot do this, cannot stand in public or express their ideas. (Annet, KPI)

The issue of new conflict arising as a result of girls changing their behaviour has been acknowledged in other empowerment studies. Research conducted by Hughes et al (2015), Sweetman (2013) and Kabeer (2005) into women's participation in microfinance programmes indicated an increase in domestic abuse by male partners when women bring financial income in to the home. Even though KPI is not focusing on girls gaining financial control, there is something to say about the potential conflict regarding shifting dynamics of gender norms and roles within the home. For example, as girls begin to develop their self-confidence and assert their own decision-making, how do fathers and brothers negotiate or resist that change? Thus, building on KPI's existing work to increase self-confidence, the programme might need to consider the long-term effects of the changing dynamics in the home and what it might mean for girls and their empowerment, especially if they encounter resistance or conflict at home. This process also poses questions of how KPI could support family members going through a shift in the family dynamics and relations in the home?

5.2.1 The perception of powerlessness and girls' agency

Most research participants alluded to increasing girls' agency through participation in KPI. Girls' agency was often discussed in research participants' narratives as encouraging girls to "do more things" (Wellars, KPI):

...whatever we are doing, we are encouraging girls today to take responsibility to do things and to be confident to do all things... (Eugene, KPI)

KPI tries to explain to them [girls] when you have confidence you may try to do everything... KPI encourages them to try to do different things. (Annet, KPI)

In our culture females in general are excluded, so I want them to have the confidence which can help them to feel they can do everything. (Gervais, KPI)

Marie's comment appears to elaborate on Eugene's, Annet's and Gervais' responses:

By trying out new things with boys as colleagues and as their peers and accomplishing something and seeing something that they're capable and then ... realising their abilities, the diversity of their abilities by putting them in these new situations. (Marie, KPI)

Marie's observation is interesting because she refers to girls 'realising their abilities'. This prompts some significant questions regarding how girls perceive their abilities or agency to take action or 'do things'. Kabeer's (2005) work on gender-based empowerment might be useful for understanding girls' agency. Kabeer examined girls' perceptions of the choices they can make and how their perception of activities can be changed. Kabeer (2005) argues that there are two types of choices; the first is making a strategic choice such as where to live, who to marry or how many children to have, and the second type of choice includes day-to-day choices such as what food to cook, but these are determined by the strategic choices that effect quality of life. In terms of empowerment, girls' perception about the decisions and choices they make are important, because empowerment refers to taking control over what one deem important in one's life (McArdle 1990).

Marie, indicates an example of how an increase in perceived ability may enable girls to complete chores at home:

...of course they are a bit young so maybe that line between sex and gender is not so clear yet, but if they have that feeling of confidence in doing these chores... (Marie, KPI)

While many of the research participants' accounts are encouraging girls to make day-to-day choices; examining through a CFT lens helps reveal that these day-to-day choices and decisions are framed within societal constructions of gender ideology. Dominant gender norms, roles and expectations are likely to affect girls' agency which may lead them to have a constrained perception of the choices they can make and their own abilities to act on those choices. It could be argued then that Eugene's, Annet's and Gervais' message to girls that they should be able to 'do everything' is unrealistic because their agency may be constrained by structures. These narratives reaffirm the critique in the literature (see Hayhurst 2013a) where responsibility for behaviour change is placed on the individual without acknowledging the social structures in place that constrain girls' decision making and action. The dominant gender ideologies that influence girls' everyday realities and their participation in KPI are rooted in power relations. With the role of power in mind, girls' agency could be related to an expression of power which acknowledges that a large part of 'powerlessness' is merely their perception of 'powerlessness' (Mowatt and Schmalz 2014; VeneKlasen and Miller 2002). Zimmerman (1995) emphasised the importance of shifting perceptions of powerlessness as essential for motivating individual's behaviour for positive change and empowerment. Thus, encouraging girls to shift their perception about what they can do might go some way to counter the assumption that they are powerless. Eugene sheds some light on shifting perceptions in the programme:

In our culture, we used to say 'girls are weak, all women are weak, they can't do hard work'... that is where we say in our culture in KPI to try and change our mind about our culture, about what is expected and why. (Eugene, KPI)

Eugene also refers to shifting gender norms and expectations to provide alternative conceptions of what it is to be a ‘strong’ woman and goes on to provide an example of when women are exerting strength:

...you will see them coming from the field the men and women, men have only the hoop and you will see women carrying a baby on her back with the hoop, a big baggage of firewood on her head and even pulling a goat behind ... how can you do that without being strong? ... it is opening the mind for people to see what is necessary for them. (Eugene, KPI)

Eugene’s narrative highlights a shift in perspective when analysing girls’ experiences because he views women and girls from a position of strength rather than assuming their weaknesses as is often portrayed in the gender policies and mandates. Marie and Vestine say more about how the programme attempts to transform girls’ perspectives:

...opening up their mindset of what they can achieve because we are putting them through different experiences that they just normally don’t have. So, the idea is really to use that as a tool for them to be and build that self-awareness, to build that confidence through experiences. (Marie, KPI)

I encourage them to try some work reserved for boys and then I ask them what happened after doing that... and also to not be afraid to do different activities. (Vestine, KPI)

Encouraging girls to shift their perception about the way they view themselves and what they can do, refers to them developing their ‘power within’ (see section 3.6.4). Power within is an essential component in developing individuals’ ability to bring about change (VeneKlasen and Miller 2002). This is because power within refers to “self-confidence and the capacity to undo the effects of internalised oppression” (Calvès 2009, p. 740). Therefore, if girls can begin to undo their perception of powerlessness they might begin to seek alternatives to decision making and acting on those new decisions. However, it must also be considered that girls will have different perceptions of their powerlessness and agency. Further, the level of agency is likely to be cultivated in different circumstances and situations from one another. Some

research participants' responses indicated that some girls participating in the programme may have begun to shift their perception of powerlessness and exercise some agency. Annet tells the story of Diane, a girl who participates in KPI, and an example of her agency at home:

...before coming to the programme she [Diane] thought that she cannot do some jobs reserved for boys and now she does ...when she is at home she told us that she would like to milk the cows and feed them, but in Rwandan society those works are reserved for men or for boys. (Annet, KPI)

The narratives in this theme might suggest how the intrapersonal and interactional dimension of empowerment could be connected. The interactional dimension of individual empowerment refers to individuals developing a critical and holistic understanding of their environment. For girls, a critical perspective of their realities is useful for examining how their perception of powerlessness has been constructed through gender ideologies, cultural expectations and patriarchy. Once girls have developed a critical and holistic understanding of their conditions, they can begin to negotiate the complex landscape in realistic ways and have a realistic view of their agency and the challenges they may face in taking action. Additionally, for girls to attain the behavioural dimension of individual empowerment, which refers to taking action, the above responses suggest that they must first possess 'power within' and shift their perception that they can take action. Based on the above narratives, the multiple dimensions of girls' individual empowerment may be interconnected because girls need to develop self-confidence and shift their perception of powerlessness (intrapersonal dimension) to realistically take action (behavioural dimension). One way to achieve this may be to encourage girls to develop critical awareness of their condition (interactional dimension). Thus, the question for SDP programmes like KPI is *how* they can help girls foster the development of the intrapersonal, interactional and behavioural dimensions of individual empowerment?

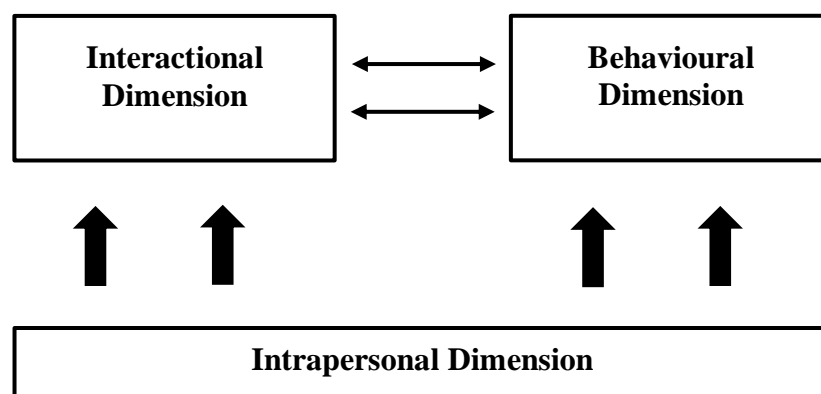
Academic evidence in empowerment clearly demonstrates the centrality of psychological components such as self-confidence (Wallerstein 2006; Spreitzer 1995). The studies showed that self-confidence is associated with the intrapersonal dimension of individual empowerment. Within the sport context, scholars also support the notion

of developing personal capacities through participation in sport (Hutzler 1990). The findings emerged in this research are largely consistent with these studies, where the intrapersonal dimension is made up of psychological components including self-confidence. Yet, in KPI, the findings suggest that self-confidence has been conceptualised differently by different people in the same programme. These responses imply that enhancing girls' voices, decision-making and perception of powerlessness forms an integral part to the intrapersonal dimension. By referring to these forms of development within the intrapersonal dimension as simply 'self-confidence', important nuances are overlooked and may do a disservice to girls developing this dimension of individual empowerment. As a result, overlooking the intrapersonal dimension and the role of power could prevent other dimensions from being fostered if girls have not developed the foundation capabilities.

5.2.2 The intrapersonal dimension as the foundation of girls' empowerment

One way in which this finding could progress our understanding of individual empowerment is that the intrapersonal dimension (psychological components) has emerged as a foundation for developing the interactional and behavioural dimensions. Figure 12 reflects the changes in the relationships between the dimensions of individual empowerment.

Figure 12 Change in relationship between individual empowerment dimensions



These findings might help to make sense of the shortfalls in previous studies into empowerment which overlooked the relationship between the dimensions. Without overcoming the perception of powerless and developing their intrapersonal dimension,

girls may have greater difficulty developing their interactional dimension or behavioural dimension to take action. Developing the intrapersonal dimension of empowerment is especially relevant for girls because their powerlessness is often a result of structural gender ideologies where males possess more power, and girls are powerless. In this vein, KPI might provide a space for resisting dominant discourses related to gender. Rather than reproducing the notion that girls are powerless, girls participating in KPI are encouraged to build their self-confidence.

This theme has begun to address the gap in literature which knew little about the usage of 'self-confidence' in SDP and has started unpacking the term in the context of the KPI programme and how it relates to girls' individual empowerment. As identified in Chapter Three, self-confidence is a buzzword often associated with girls and is used interchangeably with terms including 'empowerment' and 'development'. SDP programmes tend to use the term self-confidence to broadly describe behaviour change as an outcome of the programme without conceptualising what self-confidence looks like for girls participating in SDP. By examining participants' responses from the interviews, self-confidence in KPI refers to girls having a voice, the ability to speak up and encouraging girls to believe they can do more things. As discussed in Chapter Three, self-confidence is a component within the intrapersonal dimension of individual empowerment (Mwaanga, 2011; Ozer and Bandura 1990; Zimmerman 1990) and these observations are useful for progressing understanding of this dimension and its role within girls' individual empowerment.

5.3 “...you may get pregnant”, negotiating the complex role of parents in girl’s (dis)empowerment

This theme illuminates the role of girls’ families and parents as an external factor in developing individual empowerment. It begins by examining the concerns parents have for their daughter participating in SDP programmes and highlights the effect that these perceptions could have on girls’ (dis)empowerment. Research participants working in KPI discussed how some parents were concerned about their daughter’s participation in the programme. One concern was about the type of messages and education their daughters were receiving in the programme. Eugene explains that some parents are concerned with the new things that their children are learning:

...for their parents, it is a challenge because when they see the children or the girls doing things which they are not familiar with, they can say ‘what are you coming with, what are you doing, where did you see this happen?’ and when you are a girl, ‘how can you wear a short, a short like that?’ they can’t understand. (Eugene, KPI)

Part of this concern was that girls would become pregnant by spending time with boys during the programme. Annet and Marie witnessed comments from parents of girls in the programme.

...and ‘even when you be familiar or be approached by the boys, you may get pregnant’... (Annet, KPI)

...we have one girl for example, her mum refuses to let her do tasks that are expected of boys ... she [the girl] is really quite disappointed about it and she wants to go and collect wood and her mum says no and says, ‘if you go to collect wood and spend time with boys you will be pregnant’ even though she’s not even a teenager yet. (Marie, KPI)

Marie’s response provides an insight into how these perceptions are formed in the community.

...most teenagers are pretty sexually active in the whole country but there is just, there is no space for dialogue around that much of the time. We know teen pregnancies are there and, like many places in the world, in rural communities

there's not a lot of things to do, so sexual activity is one of them... (Marie, KPI)

As Sophia accounts, the perception held by some parents was if girls spent time with boys they would become pregnant. This made it difficult to recruit girls to participate in KPI.

Their friends and family told them not to join because sports are only for boys and by playing sports with boys, they would become prostitutes or start having sex with boys at a young age. (Sophia, KPI)

The negative perception of mixed participation in the programme was one often held by mothers. According to Marie and Eugene, mothers are experiencing some conflict seeing their daughters doing things they would not have done themselves as a young girl.

...you may have a mother that's really in a challenging position with the changes that she is seeing in her daughter because it's really different from her own experience and that foreignness can be daunting for a parent. To be like 'where is this going?' ... mothers are more resistant to the daughters having these opportunities... (Marie, KPI)

But I think the mum is having that idea in her mind because she has been told that from her childhood and still now she still has that idea of when you play with boys you get pregnant, but if you can think anything else, that the conception she has in her mind. (Eugene, KPI)

The issue of mixed-gender programming was also examined by Lindsey et al (2017, p. 128) as part of their studies in Zambia, "Another practical consideration in the selection of sports offered by SfD concerns their capacity to enable single- and/or mixed-gender participation. The issues about gender integration/segregation reveal some of the complexities in the interaction between types of sport, local cultural norms and the developmental aims underpinning SfD activities". Keeping in mind the findings from previous studies and considering the context of this research revealed that for some mothers, their daughter's participation in KPI is a huge departure from gender expectations and norms they would have experienced as a young girl. Subsequently, mothers may begin to feel anxious about their daughter participating in

the programme. To add to this, many mothers are not fully aware about what goes on in programmes because they are not the ones who signed their daughter up to participate.

...her mom didn't know that she's coming here and didn't sign, and the player told us it was her dad that signed the agreement. (Marie, KPI)

Within the context of the KPI programme, the fathers or sons in families have control over the decision making which means they most often sign the documents and read the information about the programme. However, Marie goes on to say that some fathers can be quite supportive of their daughters.

...it's mainly a male relative in the family that will be really supporting the daughter, older sister or the sibling to get into these new experiences because they know it's going to allow them to grow and to be ultimately different but also empowered in those experiences so they have like supportive male presences in the community. (Marie, KPI)

Despite some fathers being supportive, ultimately the mother is the person managing household activities and deciding who completes household chores such as cooking, cleaning, caring for younger children, collecting water and milking cows. Even though KPI encourages girls to try completing tasks, some girls are prevented from trying new tasks because they are governed by gender expectations, roles and norms which have been constructed culturally and historically. This is the case for Brigit, a girl who participates in KPI:

...there is a girl called Brigit when she gets home she tried to do different activities but her mum doesn't want Brigit to do the work. When she goes to collect firewood with boys her mum says 'no, that work is reserved for boys not for girls'... (Annet, KPI)

However, in Brigit's case, her father thinks differently.

...but her father agrees with Brigit so it is that challenge that sometimes it is a mindset of different people. (Annet, KPI)

For girls like Brigit, the conflict between her mother's and father's standpoint on what tasks she can do causes frustration. Part of this frustration could be because Brigit has

developed her interactional dimension of empowerment where she now has a critical understanding of her environment and the gender roles which exist. Document A (KPI) outlines KPI's curriculum which centralises gender equity education with the objective to engage boys and girls in "large group discussions challenging gender norms" (2017, p. 6). Thus, as girls like Brigit begin to critically examine and unpack gender norms within the SDP programme it may lead to them feeling frustrated if they are prevented from taking action to address the issues she knows exist.

Many girls seek consent from their parents before they do certain things which may be viewed as going against the status quo, i.e. undertaking chores that are traditionally reserved for boys. Most girls, like Brigit, would like consent from their parents before they do things because they do not want to disrespect their mother or father. In Rwanda, there is a tradition of respect for families' and children respecting their parents (Denborough and White 2012).

Because one of the values we instil it's like having respect, so one of the things has been in the household is the idea of respect in Rwanda it's like when a parent tells you to do something, to show them respect it is 'I will do it without complaint and I will do the task straightaway'. (Marie, KPI)

The tradition of respect is also reflected in collectivist cultures which emphasise a high level of respect for older generations who have a higher level of authority over young people, especially girls (Kay and Spaaij 2012). This is an important cultural tradition to consider because it will affect the programme mechanisms employed to ensure they are encouraging girls to still be respectful. Lindsey et al (2017) also found in their study that girls had to negotiate with their families to be able to participate in SDP provision. Eugene builds on this point and suggests to girls that they should not 'hate' their parents but instead should try to negotiate and work with them.

...we encourage those people to focus on the objective, so don't hate your mum because she is preventing you to go and do what you like but try to make a conversation to her, you can ask such question like what I am asking you. (Eugene, KPI)

Brigit's struggle is not unique and other examples of girls resisting traditional gender roles are witnessed by Annet and Marie and are discussed in Document C (KPI).

...some of our players when they go home they try to do different activities without saying this is for boys or this is for girls... feeding animals is reserved for only boys in our culture but now our players try to change the community by doing those activities and explaining to parents and neighbours by telling them that even girls when they do this work which are considered as for boys... (Annet, KPI)

...when you're practising with her to say 'well what would you say to your mum', she is like nine or eight, she says 'well I know I can tell my mum that when I'm with boys it's a good thing because I can learn from them and they can advise me on certain things so I'm actually gaining from it and I can also share things with them' and she has the confidence to talk to and explain these things to her mum... (Marie, KPI)

Francoise is female player who has been in KPI since 2011. Before joining KPI she understood that there were certain tasks for females and certain tasks for male players, but now she understands that everyone can do all jobs regardless of their gender. (Document C, KPI)

Annet and Marie have two points in common, first they are examples of girls and boys challenging gender expectations and completing tasks that were not traditionally reserved for them. This point is supported by Kay and Spaaij (2012, p. 81) who argue that in "most collectivist cultures gender roles are strongly differentiated and females have low status". Second, Annet and Marie speak of examples where the players have tried to explain or educate their family about what they are trying to do. The location of these conversations is also noteworthy because they are happening in private spaces in the home and not in the setting of the SDP programme. This is significant because dialogue is a central component to raising critical consciousness towards development of the interactional dimension of empowerment. Yet, when girls have conversations with family members at home, they are beginning to develop their behavioural dimension of empowerment because they are starting to take control and act on what they have learned within the programme. Eugene provides an example of where he advised a girl on how to speak to her mother.

I have an example of Sovereign, she is young girl player, she used to come saying ‘so my mother told me don’t go to play with the boys because when I play with the boys we get pregnant’ ... Like try to ask your mum, make her understand that you can’t be pregnant at your age, she will understand it to. (Eugene, KPI)

In Lindsey et al’s (2017, p. 110) comprehensive research in Zambia, they argue that families are sources strongly related to gender ideology, norms and roles and state “Traditional perspectives regarding gender are deeply embedded across different aspects of Zambian culture...”. Building on Lindsey et al’s findings, it is useful to examine whether these insights can also be applied to the context of Rwanda in this study. For example, in Gatagara (a rural area in Rwanda where the KPI is delivered) it is important to consider the lives of some of these mothers in this community, some of whom are single parents who have lost their husbands, fathers and other family members during the genocide and are now living in poverty. These mothers also have sole responsibility for earning income and looking after the household. In this way, it is likely to be in the mothers’, daughters and the programme’s best interest to work together rather than make life more challenging by creating conflict. Promoting conversation with mothers and family members may help to alleviate some of the challenges experienced by girls and prevent any conflict. This is crucial because otherwise girls are left “without the tools to understand the underlying sources of tensions and challenges they may face” (Rauscher and Cooky 2015, p. 3). These findings are useful because they provide some insight into how the interactional and behavioural dimensions might look in practice. Girls identified that certain gender roles exist surrounding household chores and then sought to challenge those norms through conversation with their parents at home, a central component to developing critical consciousness. The development of critical consciousness subsequently leads to the development of the interactional dimension of empowerment where girls demonstrate a critical understanding of their environment and the challenges they face. Further, practitioners such as Eugene, shed light on how important the role of the practitioner is on addressing issues between parents and daughter, where he focused on girls working *with* parents to address issues rather than against them.

These accounts also provide more detail on how the dimensions of individual empowerment might be connected. As discussed in the previous theme, the

interactional dimension needs to be developed alongside the intrapersonal dimension for girls to understand the social structure and systems which effect their agency. Research participants' narratives indicated that girls need to have developed their self-confidence (intrapersonal dimension) first to approach their parents and have a conversation about the challenges they are experiencing (interactional dimension). As some practitioners highlighted, some girls have been prevented from taking action and doing chores. This is noteworthy because the ability to take action suggests development of the behavioural dimension of empowerment, and so a failure to act may mean that attaining empowerment will stop at the interactional dimension. The behavioural dimension is also important because it involves a process of action and reflection which encourages individuals to critically reflect on their experiences, without which, girls will may not be able to take control. In this vein, the family system can be viewed as a structure which has a tradition and set of beliefs with the potential to constrain girls' agency. Parents may therefore be considered as a contextual mechanism which effect girls (dis)empowerment. Parents are a contextual mechanism because they are a pre-existing relationship to the introduction of the SDP programme (Porter 2015). For some girls participating in KPI, parents led to girls developing disempowerment because their control over completing chores and activities was taken away.

Chawansky and Mitra (2015), Kay and Spaaij (2012) and Kay (2009) are of the few studies which examine the complex role of families in international sport development. Emphasising the importance of girls' lives *outside* of their participation in KPI decentralises the SDP programme to offer new perspectives on girls' disempowerment. The above narratives come from a position where the KPI programme is centralised and assumed that it is the most valued aspect of girls' lives, and it is the other aspects of her life such as parents, which interfere with girls' participation in SDP. An alternative way to examine this perspective would be to decentralise the programme and instead ask the question of how *SDP* interferes with girls' (dis)empowerment in other spheres of their life such as and their relationships with their family and culture. Examining in this way reveals that SDP could be a negative influence on girls' empowerment and lead to disempowerment, because SDP programmes are promoting messages which conflict with the culture and beliefs held by their parents. This is of concern because girls like Brigit may become alienated

from their families with programmes placing them into a position of cultural destitution where they feel isolated from their cultural values and ideologies. Shifting perspective in this way sheds light on the importance of the relationship between family and cultural gender expectations and away from the assumption that participation in SDP is the most important thing in girls' lives.

Given the complex relationship between what girls learn during the programme and the extent to which they can act on what they have learnt, the legacy of the KPI programme might be for the next generation of girls and boys living in the community (Gatagara). As girls like Brigit and Sovereign grow up and have their own family, they will shape their daughters' or sons' perspectives on how they view gender norms, roles and expectations. Therefore, the next generation may experience *greater* benefit from the KPI programme than the girls currently participating in the programme. For many girls, the existing family structure is one that constrains their agency and means they are unable to develop their behavioural dimension of empowerment. However, if those girls are able to develop their interactional dimension and think more critically about gender relations, when they are mothers and aunties they will be able to shift the family structure to allow their daughters or younger girls to develop their behavioural dimension of empowerment. This might involve encouraging their daughters or nieces to complete tasks around the home that were traditionally reserved for boys such as collecting water.

Examining the potential of SDP programming in the long-term contrasts with the short-term evaluations of programmes (Donnelly et al. 2011; Giulianotti 2011). Thus, to learn more about girls' empowerment, it could be understood as a long-term process where the programme outcomes may include participants using their knowledge and experiences to empower their future daughters and sons. Indeed, the long-term effect of KPI in Gatagara may emerge over the next two decades when girls are older and have left the programme.

5.3.1 Developing an education for parents

This section builds on the previous findings and illuminates how KPI responded to the role of parents on their daughter's involvement in the programme. So far research participants' responses indicate the influence parents have on their daughter's participation in KPI and subsequently their development of individual empowerment.

In response to the challenges girls faced from their parents about their participation in KPI, the practitioners organised a workshop in July 2016 for parents to attend. The workshop was delivered in partnership by the Rwanda Men's Resource Centre (RWAMREC) a Rwandan based NGO that aims to promote gender equality and alleviate gender-based violence (RWAMREC 2014). The workshop provided an opportunity for parents to understand more about the KPI's programme curriculum.

...that was the opportunity for the parents to see the similar conversations to what their kids are doing because of course, that is the other challenge, you have your kids moving forward and then the parents ... are not reflecting on the same things they can also be disconnected... (Marie, KPI)

KPI is also impacting the community through special event partnerships with other organizations. Recently, the Rwandan Men's Resource Centre did a training for all of the parents of KPI's players on gender equality. All mothers and fathers of KPI players were required to attend. (Document C, KPI)

There was also consensus from the research participants' that education was needed to make girls' parents more aware of what was going on in the programme.

...even some children gave the idea and asked if we can also hold their families to be educated, to be in the KPI programme and participate and be talked to about what they are learning there. (Eugene, KPI)

The workshop also helped to alleviate some of the curiosity that surrounded the programme. Some KPI parents were curious about who, in the programme, was giving their children certain messages and telling them how to behave in certain ways. The perception held by some parents was that their child's behaviour was learnt by 'white men' as Marie and Eugene explain.

'oh, you are destroying the culture and you are doing cultural appropriation, you are taking on somebody else's and that's just not correct' and saying that 'the young people and the young children will see what you were doing and completely change us'... (Marie, KPI)

...when they know they are coming from KPI, they know that it is white men that come over and they say 'oh this is white American culture you bring in here, it is not good', they can tell their children 'this is not good'... (Eugene, KPI)

This perception of the programme also prevented some parents from letting their children attend KPI.

At the beginning it was hard, some kids were not allowed to come to KPI because the parents thought they would develop new bad behaviour from white men saying 'we don't like this'. Some of them kids were leaving because of their families... (Eugene, KPI)

This point of view is noteworthy because it is one that is not often represented in SDP literature. There has been an absence of voices from programme end-users in the literature to say that they do not want to be influenced by 'white men'. This is also poignant because of the negative historical notion of white Western men in Rwanda as a result of the Belgium colonisation in the early 1900s. From a policy perspective, it is often assumed that people in receipt of aid welcome it, and instead these responses suggest resistance to traditional Western aid politics. Vorhölter's (2012) study also highlighted the layperson's resistance to Western values, norms and practices in her research into social change in Uganda. Therefore, KPI's decision to partner with local Rwandan NGOs and inviting Rwandan men to deliver the workshop to parents could present a shift away from the traditional donor-led development approaches often seen in SDP, the benefits of which Marie observes.

...what RWAMREC is doing as well is that they are opening a conversation in a way that people are filling in the gaps themselves ... and because it was Rwandan men then it is also nonthreatening it's not like an outsider it someone from the same culture talking about their own culture... (Marie, KPI)

In this vein, messages from the workshop may have had a higher chance of resonating with parents if the message comes from a fellow Rwandan compared to a non-Rwandan person or 'white man'.

The male Rwandan presenter asked the father of a child in KPI how many beers he drank per day, it turned out to be quite a few. The presenter then did

the math to calculate how much money per week, month and year this man spent on alcohol. The amount was quite high and the presenter talked about all of the other things that this man could spend that money on in order to improve his family. (Sophia, KPI)

Unlike other workshops, which may have focused on the health implications of consuming high amounts of alcohol, RWAMREC presenters emphasised the economic impact of this father's drinking on his family. This is noteworthy because money might resonate with the father more than health, as many families in this community are living in poverty and could have spent that money on basic amenities such as food, schooling and clothing. This is relevant because RWAMREC drew on their knowledge and expertise of working with Rwandan men to ensure they related their discussion with the audience. According to Sophia, the discussion during the workshop resonated with the father.

The wife of this man later came to KPI to thank us for bringing RWAMREC to present because since then the man had significantly decreased the amount of money he spent on alcohol and had instead saved it or invested it in his family. (Sophia, KPI)

However, it is important to not assume that the change in the father's behaviour was a direct result of participation in the workshop. Rather, the workshop may have helped the father to think in different ways about the money he spends on alcohol. It could also be argued that one workshop for parents will not provide the necessary information parents need for supporting their daughters and to help facilitate their daughter's empowerment. The workshop may have been the first time these parents have been exposed to other ways of thinking about gender norms so they will likely require more support on how to manage this new information and their daughters. Thus, KPI may need to schedule these types of workshops on a regular basis to provide a space where parents can learn more about the programme and how they can support their daughter.

Even though Rwandan men were the primary deliverers of the workshop, there were parts of the workshop which enabled some of KPI's female coaches to speak directly to parents and answer some of their questions about the programme. As discussed earlier in the chapter, many girls received abuse and were labelled 'prostitutes' if they

wore shorts when participating in the programme. During the workshop one parent asked why KPI encouraged girls to wear shorts or trousers instead of a long skirt to which the presenter responded; ‘How can you play with that long skirt?’ and ‘how can you climb the tree with the skirt?’. During the workshop Annet elaborated on this answer for the parent:

... when you are going to practice sport, you have to feel comfortable, you have to wear clothes which make you comfortable, but when you play with a skirt you may get some trouble. (Annet, KPI)

When Annet discusses trouble, she is referring to being ashamed if a girl fell over because she is wearing a long skirt while playing football.

I asked him, ‘supposed that you are a girl or a woman and then there is a match in the community if men and women, you are a woman and you are putting on a skirt then by accidently you fell down – what will happen?’. ‘Then why don't you put on pants or shorts before you get ashamed’. Then he understood. (Annet, KPI)

It is also significant to note that Annet, a female coach, spoke up during the workshop. Generally, women in rural parts of Rwanda are not taken seriously with decision making or in leadership roles because of traditional and cultural expectations about gender where women’s roles include home making and caring for children. However, coaches such as Annet could be considered as a role model within the community to show girls that they can conform to cultural and traditional gender expectations such as getting married and having children, *and* play sport, wear shorts and become employed.

Considering who is delivering the workshop to parents has emerged as an important consideration to be made by SDP practitioners. When speaking to fathers about their experiences, a Rwandan male presenter may have been more appropriate because he will more likely resonate with the challenges men and fathers experience. On the other hand, in parts of the workshop involved discussing gender and girls’ participation in KPI, a Rwandan woman such as Annet is well placed to discuss her own experiences as a female sports coach who is married with her own family and has a good job at as a teacher at a local school and wears shorts.

While KPI acknowledged the advantages of delivering a workshop for parents, there was an absence in the data which discussed how delivering the workshops could also benefit KPI. Again, by decentralising SDP and centralising the importance of parents in girls' (dis)empowerment, the workshop could have been used as an opportunity for KPI to learn more about the struggles and realities parents experience. In this way, the learning is a two-way system that encourages learning from families *and* the SDP programme.

5.3.2 Outcomes of the workshop

Eugene explains some of the positive effects of the workshop on the parents who attended.

So now we are having good support from the parents in KPI. We are not having any problems with our parents because they understand why we are doing what we are doing. (Eugene, KPI)

The workshop had such an effect that both parents and children requested another workshop to be organised.

...you see that the participation we are getting from the kids and you also have parents that are curious about this and say 'please can we have another session about this?' (Marie, KPI)

...they trained about gender and many many social problems, some of the mothers they talk about their families. The dads went home even after they came to [the workshop] and say that 'we need this to be all the time, can we have this kind of programme, it is helping'. Someone said, 'oh my husband has changed from that day'. (Eugene, KPI)

Viateur's [programme participant] mum asked a coach if KPI could do more trainings similar to RWAMREC in the future. (Document C, KPI)

The workshop also appeared to influence people who did not attend the programme.

Now, some girls still hear negative comments from their peers and adults in the community. But for the most part, the community has begun to understand the positive impact that KPI has on the youth involved. Families now come and ask how they can get their children into the programme because they see the positive changes in our youth and our families. (Sophia, KPI)

What Sophia describes is significant because it highlights the potential wider reach of the programme to parents and encourages them to make certain changes in their lives. However, Eugene explains that the process of educating parents and community members who are not involved with KPI is more challenging.

But now we need to work harder, we started already to work permanently with the families, also to use them to change the non-KPI parents, they are close to them in the whole community. (Eugene, KPI)

The research participant's responses discuss how KPI have acknowledged the effect of families on girls' participation in SDP and have attempted to manage the conflict through workshops and conversations. The research participants' have also begun to highlight the potential for parents to facilitate the development of multiple dimensions of their daughter's empowerment when programmes provide sufficient support for parents and educate them about the programme. This involves the development of the interactional dimension by engaging in dialogue and promoting conversation, between girls and their parents about KPI, and developing the behavioural dimension to encourage girls to take control by doing tasks and making decisions at home.

The findings provide some insight into the complexity of this relationship which suggests that one workshop for parents is insufficient for all parents to understand the programme and how they can support their daughters. For instance, Lindsey et al (2017, p. 144) discussed how the Go Sisters programme organised regular workshops for parents to "encourage members of the broader community to value SfD activities and to support the desired outcomes of peer-led activities". In KPI, some parents may also benefit from their own support system to guide them in helping their daughter. This assistance could be in the form of regular workshops or meetings with other parents to discuss challenges or ask questions to KPI staff. While KPI emphasise the importance of their work with parents, they could also focus on the legacy of the girls

participating in the programme who will become future mothers, sisters, aunts and grandmothers in the community. Hence, KPI could place greater emphasis on the long-term trajectory of the programme and recognise the effect KPI will have in the community in the next two decades.

Initially, the research participants' narratives suggested that parents were a disempowering contextual mechanism that effected girls' development of their interactional and behavioural dimension of empowerment. However, by organising and delivering a workshop and encouraging girls to engage in dialogue, the potential for parents to become an *empowering* contextual mechanism emerged. These findings imply that contextual mechanisms can change between being empowering and disempowering if they are managed and negotiated by the SDP programme. In KPI, this included organising workshops to educate families about the programme (behavioural dimension) and encouraging girls to have conversations about the programme with their parents, and mothers especially, at home (interactional dimension). Similar findings also emerged from Chawansky and Mitra's (2015) study where they speak to the tensions between families and girls' participation in SDP programmes. Chawansky and Mitra (2015) suggest that family members can facilitate and hinder girls' empowerment. For example, they discuss how parents restricted their daughters' movement out of fear for their daughter's safety in public spaces but also explored how families encouraged girls to attend and participate in the programme (Chawansky and Mitra 2015).

It should not be assumed that parents are an entirely disempowering contextual mechanism for girls. The narratives imply that it is the convergence of SDP programming and parents without mitigation which causes conflict in girls' lives. Other spheres that converge with parents and families such as school or church are unlikely to cause the same level of conflict with girls' empowerment. This could be because other contextual mechanisms, such as school and church, are already embedded in the community and share the similar perspectives on gender, culture and beliefs. Meanwhile, the SDP programme could be considered as a foreign object (literally and figuratively) that embeds a new set of beliefs which could cause conflict within the community. This is an important point because it provides evidence of the danger of conceptualising and implementing SDP programmes in isolation to the communities they are located in. In terms of girls' (dis)empowerment, the

convergence of SDP programming and different aspects of girls' lives must be acknowledged because it may lead to disempowerment as suggested above. To this end, NGOs have a growing responsibility to embed SDP programmes within communities and ensure they have the appropriate systems in place for working *with* girls' families and parents rather than against them.

5.4 Critical pedagogy

5.4.1 Problem-posing and critical consciousness raising

Most KPI staff observed the role that conversation played in the programme's curriculum. Conversations were embedded within each session with allocated times where boys and girls would form small groups of between 4-10 children and sit with their coach (Document D, KPI). This is reiterated in Document A (p. 4) which states that KPI will provide "an emotionally safe space to have sensitive and empowering conversations" (Document A, KPI, p. 4). This part of the session was called 'team time' as Sophia observes:

During this time, our mentor coaches facilitate a discussion on the topic of the day. This is an opportunity for the group to dive deeper into the lesson that was taught during activities. (Sophia, KPI)

It is very important to have a conversation with the kids. We are making conversations with them from their own stories... (Eugene, KPI)

...every time they are in the programme we have topics that we try to get our players in small groups and discuss about those questions or that topic. Then after, we try also to make a big group with every player, then we get a boy or a girl to share with others about what they talked about to share ideas about the topic of the day. (Annet, KPI)

Encouraging girls to share their personal stories is an approach advocated by Freire (1972). Freire emphasised the value in a group of individuals sharing their stories to create collective knowledge (Wallerstein and Bernstein 1988). This collective knowledge would then benefit girls because it highlights the similarities in inequalities and has the potential to highlight solutions to address such issues. Eugene appears to put this approach into practice by following up the participants' stories with questions such as 'why can't girls do this?', 'what will happen if they do?' and 'what will you do?'. Likewise, Marie encourages girls to think about how they would address issues:

... so you say ‘what are we going to do about this conflict that we have in the match?’ and they give ideas... (Marie, KPI)

The above narratives imply that the programme setting might be an appropriate space to hold critical discussions. Encouraging girls to share their stories of struggle and asking them questions about their conditions may enable girls to begin to think more critically and unpack issues in their daily realities. Allocating a specific time during every session to have these discussions might therefore create a setting in girls’ lives where they know they can speak openly about their experiences without judgement, and to other girls with similar experiences.

...you have a support system to know that ‘we’re here to support you through these processes’ and ‘see that you have a safe place to come and talk to us’ [programme staff]. (Marie, KPI)

While some studies have discussed creating a safe space in SDP, they have largely focussed on creating a space which is physically safe (Donnelly et al. 2011; Kidd 2011). A physically safe space refers to “a place that provides safety from physical harm and is accessible and accommodating” (Spaij and Schulenkorf 2014, p. 634). Likewise, the importance of creating a physically safe space is outlined in Lindsey and Chapman’s (2017) Commonwealth guide for using sport to achieve SDGs. According to Lindsey and Chapman (2017), steps should be taken to create and maintain safe spaces - a process which involves all stakeholders being vigilant to ensure that girls and women are not subject to harm or violence within sport.

These findings build on previous studies to explore a safe space created by reducing *ideological* barriers so that girls can talk openly about their experiences. This examination is reiterated in Holley and Steiner’s study where they state that a safe space refers to a place where participants “are able to openly express their individuality” (2005, p. 50). Sophia, Eugene, Annet and Marie narratives indicate the use of questioning as a technique for reducing the ideological barriers and promoting a space for dialogue. This is supported by the literature that advocates a problem-posing orientated pedagogy (Freire 1970). Problem-posing refers to *how* individuals and groups can address issues and inequalities in their community (Wallerstein and Bernstein 1988). This way, solutions are formed by the girls who experience

inequalities and are based on real problems, not problems which have been romanticized or assumed (Matthews 2014). Multiple activities within KPI employed a problem-posing approach which encouraged girls to analyse their environment, such as sketching, role-playing, song analysis and debating. These questions are then used to prompt debates or discussions about gender norms and roles between girls and boys participating in the programme.

We did debate formats, so one side would take like a key argument or a typical argument from the community and the other side has to think about what kind of feedback they give to these arguments. (Marie, KPI)

...there is a conversation about why women are considered weak or why men are considered strong in the society. Then we will give that question to our players and then they go and sit and they try to explain like a debate and then some of them they agree and then some of them disagree. If women are weak or if men the men are strong then they come up with their different ideas then after we tried to make the conclusion. (Annet, KPI)

Some of these debates involved discussing real life scenarios that happened in the community, for example, Marie describes a typical statement that would be given to participants such as 'girls can't go and take care of cows in the field'. Similarly, Annet also witnessed one debate on 'why women are considered weak or why men are considered strong in the society' and explains the conclusion the participants came up with:

...according to the players, 'the woman or the wife who carries the baby, who pulls the animal, when they come back home the one who fetch the water, who tries to clean the compound, to clean dishes and to collect the firewood we see is the one who is in charge of many activities at home so in that case is not weak'. (Annet, KPI)

The debates end with a discussion about how the perception of women and girls as weak can be changed (Annet, KPI). In this example, Annet observes participants' suggestion that both sexes should work together to complete household tasks:

...we can do it to convince other people that if we work together. (Annet, KPI)

According to KPI staff, including topics on gender in debates and discussion activities forms a central part to their programme, for example, they aim to use “sport and interactive discussions to shift attitudes, behaviours and gender norms between girls and boys” (Document A; Document D, KPI). Research participants’ observations highlight KPI’s attempt to challenge dominant gender discourses and effort to reform them using problem-posing techniques. The use of critical discussions and debates as mechanisms within SDP provision are reiterated by Lindsey et al. (2017). Although their research focusses on the role of peer leaders in Zambia, there are some similarities between the coaches working in KPI and the peer leaders they interviewed in their research. Lindsey et al. (2017, p.136) observed how peer leaders encouraged programme participants to discuss and debate the challenges they face in their lives as a way of identifying approaches to address such challenges, for example:

“in peer-led Go Sisters sessions, approaches to dealing with peer pressure to have sexual intercourse are commonly addressed. In those sessions observed, peer leaders would explore with participants why this pressure may be inappropriate and what dangers it poses, in order to then encourage the group to suggest solutions for how they may be able to avoid or challenge negative influences from their peers”.

The consistent theme across both these findings and Lindsey et al’s (2017) research is that the strategies utilise ‘real-life’ examples during debates and discussions. Thus, those facilitating the activities likely play an important role where practitioners in the local community, whether they be coaches or peer leaders, may have an advantage to discuss real-life challenges because they have experienced and dealt with similar challenges. However, this doesn’t necessarily mean that local practitioners are *always* best positioned to facilitate activities because they may be biased or uncritical about their reality. This presents an area for further research to examine what training and support can be provided to practitioners to develop their skills so they can effectively facilitate programme activities which encourage critical discussions between programme participants.

These findings begin to respond to Rossi and Jeanes' (2018) call for greater insight into how critical pedagogies are operationalised in SDP programming. The approaches adopted in KPI are similar to Freire's approaches for developing a critical pedagogy. Dialogue, conversations, discussions and debates delivered in KPI were also pedagogic techniques advocated by Freire for developing individuals' critical consciousness by problematizing their environment (Rossi and Jeanes 2018). Through these activities, it could be interpreted that girls in KPI were encouraged to question their social, political and cultural life rather than take it for granted. Through the process of challenging their conditions, girls can raise their critical consciousness, a crucial component for developing their interactional dimension of empowerment. One key part of this approach, which emerged from the findings, is that dialogue, debates, role plays, songs and sketches are possible programme mechanisms which require deliberate participation from girls. This point agrees with the existing literature which suggests that developing critical consciousness demands active rather than passive engagement (Matthews 2014). Like empowerment, critical consciousness cannot be given to an individual, rather it can be developed through active participation in the process via a critical analysis of the root causes for the basis of social action (Wallerstein and Bernstein 1988).

Empowerment as a process and an outcome was discussed in Chapter Three (see section 3.8), and research participants' responses suggest some programme mechanisms as empowering processes. Empowering processes in KPI might include conversation time, debates, role plays, songs and sketches because they encourage girls' development of critical consciousness which is central to the interactional dimension of empowerment.

Focussing on embedding programme mechanisms as empowering processes might be more effective for developing girls' empowerment. One reason for this is that programmes have greater control over (dis)empowering processes fostered through programme mechanisms than outcomes which may be tacit or occur outside of SDP programmes. Thus, developing programme mechanisms as part of a broader programme critical pedagogy may assist in girls' development of the interactional dimension. Without a critical and holistic understanding of their environment, girls may not be able to take control over aspects of their lives which ultimately effects their development of dimensions of empowerment. Failure to develop a coherent and

critical pedagogy could lead to banking education where information is simply ‘deposited’ into learners who are passive and unengaged in the process (Freire 1970). Further, a banking education may not develop the knowledge and skills required for girls to take control over their lives and foster their empowerment.

5.4.2 “...to empower girls, boys must play a meaningful role”⁵

In Document D, KPI state that “to empower girls, boys must play a meaningful role”. A large part of KPI’s programme involved delivering a programme where girls and boys participated in activities and sports together.

A central theme of KPI is discussing the kinds of chores, jobs and education that girls and boys have now in Rwanda and whether or not those are equal and what we can do to make them equal. (Sophia, KPI)

... they [KPI] tries to encourage both players, girls and boys to work as a community and they encourage girls to try their best... (Vestine, KPI)

...we know that the mission of KPI is to promote gender equity by using sport, so using boys and girls is focusing on its purpose of promoting ‘gender’. So, I think it is why KPI decided to include both sexes to promote and to teach different sexes how to live in society. (Wellars, KPI)

Some of the coaches expressed their thoughts about the limitations of delivering a programme without boys.

First of all, the purpose of KPI is promoting gender equality using sport for girls and boys, so when KPI uses girls only it cannot help KPI to deliver the complete message. So, KPI has to use both sexes for delivering those lessons to boys and girls who go into this society and implement them. (Gervais, KPI)

⁵ Document D, Kids Play International Website 2016

...if KPI occupied girls only, it cannot help us to reach our goal because we want boys and girls to work together so even people surrounding us when they see a girl and boy working together they see that girl also is able compared to the boys. When they are playing together, many people all the community when they come they stand and observe they say ‘oh this girl is so strong also than boy’ (Annet, KPI)

...if KPI was girl only, they [girls] cannot get benefits to see what the boys can do or what they can do more than the boys. They can get the chance to compare between the sexes. (Vestine, KPI)

Likewise, according to Hargreaves (1994), women’s or girls’ only programmes only serve to exacerbate the *differences* between men and women. Girls only SDP programmes have often been designed based on the assumption that men and boys are the primary source of girls’ oppression (Connell 2012), thus, a programme which removes men and boys is viewed as creating a space where girls have greater control. Adopting CFT and drawing on African feminism highlighted alternative ways of viewing the role of boys in girls’ empowerment. Rather than perceiving boys as the oppressors which lead to girls’ disempowerment, KPI advocated the requirement for boys as part of the process to transforming gender relations. Fostering positive relationships between men and women has also been central to the wider gender and development movement in Rwanda. “Ubulinganire” (equality) and “ubwuzuzanye” (complementarity) are terms used by gender development organisations which advocate that men and women should work together to address gender inequalities (Rwabyoma 2014). For example, at the policy level, Rwandan women and men worked collaboratively to draft a bill to decrease gender-based violence (Rwabyoma 2014).

In KPI, research participants observed boys and girls sketching together. Sketching was used during sessions to encourage participants to reimagine aspects of their life which they would like to improve. Marie observed that participants ‘would make a sketch of something that could happen or that they would like to see’ and she provided an example of a sketch which was drawn by a boy who participates in the programme:

...their sisters are at home and then the boys see that that there are girls studying there [at school] and they come back home and they talk to their parents like saying 'my sister should also be coming to school'. (Marie, KPI)

Marie's observation suggests that some boys are questioning the social structure of existing gender roles and are seeking to change them. By including boys in activities and dialogue with girls, boys might begin to understand in more detail the inequalities girls face and seek to help redefine gender expectations as Eugene highlights.

... even the boys also need to contribute and promote gender because they need to understand that the girls know that they are able to do such things. (Eugene, KPI)

Likewise, Sophia observes how some boys have taken action at home to allow 'females in the family more time to focus on school work or working':

Our boys talk about taking on more chores at home including washing clothes and cooking. (Sophia, KPI)

Participating in conversations during team time, debating and role-playing are activities where girls and boys could begin to question and analyse their environment and how it implicates their social conditions. This is supported by Sophia:

...it allows players to have a deeper understanding of the harmful gender norms in their community and gives them practice at discussing these norms. (Sophia, KPI)

Another way KPI has promoted reforming gender roles and norms is by encouraging girls and boys to learn about each other's realities by exchanging stories and experiences with other participants as Vestine witnessed:

Also, encourage boys to tell them you can learn something from girls also and the girl can learn something from the boy. (Vestine, KPI)

Eugene adds to Vestine's point further as he highlights how participants can begin to realise how their responsibilities at home differ from each other.

...it is more helpful having them mixed because we are showing and we are asking the boys what they can do about their responsibilities at home, and the girls they tell their responsibilities at home, but that they understand that they are different. (Eugene, KPI)

These accounts suggest that understanding the realities of the 'other' could enhance the development of critical consciousness. When girls and boys exchange their experiences in the programme and learn about each other's realities, they "deepen their social, cultural, and political understanding of their environment" (Stromquist 2014, p. 553). This is important for girls because it is their understanding and analyses of their environment which is likely to lead to attaining the interactional dimension of empowerment by developing critical consciousness. When girls and boys learn about each other's realities, they might be able to enhance their understanding of the environment through a different perspective that they may not have otherwise explored.

For KPI, encouraging girls and boys to participate in sessions together was essential because it meant that the programme would reflect the rest of society where boys and girls interact in all spheres of life, as Marie neatly explains:

...the reason we don't just work with only girls and why we have boys and girls collaborate is because in their everyday life, that's the setup that they live in. (Marie, KPI)

Some studies have advocated the benefits of girls only programming where they have found that girls only programmes can create a space where girls can speak openly and in a comfortable environment (see Pike et al. 2018; Hershow et al. 2015; Bean et al. 2015). In contrast, the data in this study indicates that boys perform an important role in developing girls' individual empowerment. In KPI, research participants alluded to the requirement for boys to become allies with girls to contribute to girls' long term development.

...having boys and girls playing together allows us to create men who are advocates for the girls in KPI, girls in the family and girls in the greater Gatagara community. (Sophia, KPI)

As a coach, we have to give the responsibility to girls and encourage boys also to help girls ... so you have to encourage them to help each other. (Gervais, KPI)

In addition to boys helping girls develop their interactional dimension, research participants' narratives also implied that boys might also assist girls with developing their behavioural dimension of empowerment. This was reinforced in earlier findings that highlighted how some mothers were resistant to their daughters for completing household chores that were not traditionally reserved for girls (milking the cows or fetching water). Instead, boys might be in a position to support their sisters or friends to perform tasks that would usually be reserved for them. This could create an opening for girls to take direct action and develop their behavioural dimension of empowerment. Wellars, a former participant and now a coach in KPI provides an example of this from his own experience:

... my mum would send me somewhere to bring something and to fetch water, so for me I can tell my mum, 'no, I'm not here to go and fetch water' and I told my sisters they will go and fetch the water... (Wellars, KPI)

Eugene elaborates on this calling for boys to become role models in the home to support their sisters:

Gender is not only for girls... boys need to work with their sisters because if they know that in our families it is only the girls who cleaned dishes it will not be gender equality. So, they need to be educated and to be role models to do such activities to help the mothers out. So that's why we need to include all sexes in the programme. (Eugene, KPI)

By encouraging girls and boys to work together and become allies, boys may help girls to develop their behavioural dimension of empowerment, so they can begin to take action. This could also mean that girls and boys can begin to challenge hegemonic gender ideologies and create more gender equitable norms and roles which liberate girls *and* boys. By eliciting boys in the process of girls' empowerment in SDP programmes, boys may also begin to develop a critical awareness of their conditions to challenge the reproduction of patriarchal social systems and unequal power relations.

SDP programmes therefore might have the potential to be used as a site to build such alliances because of the unique proximity of boys and girls participating together. Because boys are closely related to girls who experience inequalities daily, they might become susceptible to learn about girls' realities and can begin to sympathise with them. Oceja and Jiménez agree with this point and argue that "the empathy felt for a specific individual may also lead to awareness of the existence of other individuals involved in the same situation" (2007, p. 377). This was achieved through a process of participating in critical pedagogy approaches in KPI which emphasised dialogue and learning about each other's realities. By provoking empathy towards girls, boys may also have a long-term effect on transforming gender relations the community. When the current participants of KPI grow older and establish their own families, they might begin to challenge the social systems that constrain girls, and boys, as they raise their own children. For example, educating their sons and daughters about gender norms and roles and encouraging their children to perform tasks that are traditionally performed by certain genders.

In order for there to be real gender equality, programmes must change the minds of girls and boys. In most societies, men hold the power and if women are going to advance, men must become educated on gender norms and give up some of that power to women. By having both boys and girls in the program we educate both genders. (Sophia, KPI)

Boys could therefore be considered a programme mechanism with the potential to assist girls in developing multiple dimensions of their individual empowerment. While mixed-gender programmes may not be suitable for all SDP programmes, it is important for NGOs conceptualising programmes to carefully consider the rationale

for designing girls only or mixed-gender programmes. Asking these additional questions indicates a shift away from the common assumption that boys only lead to girls' disempowerment, and towards alternative designs where boys are viewed as an ally for fostering girls' dimensions of empowerment.

This theme has begun to identify and examine some of the pedagogic approaches delivered in KPI related to developing the interactional dimension of individual empowerment. The research participants' responses largely point to focusing on one component of the interactional dimension which is to develop critical thought, but there was an absence in the data to suggest that girls who participate in KPI are developing critical action (the absence could also be due to the limited sample in this study). Critical action is key for moving through the process of unknowing to critical consciousness, or as Freire (1987) called it 'critical transitivity', where critical transitivity corresponds with the achievement of critical consciousness through critical thought *and* critical action (Campbell and Jovchelovitch, 2000). It is important to consider time as an element to exploring the process of developing the interactional dimension of empowerment because critical consciousness can only be observed within the confines of the programme. The SDP programme might be useful for facilitating critical discussions and encouraging girls' critical thinking, but girls might begin to assert their critical action (behavioural dimension) at home and at school. Through acquisition of knowledge about the gender inequalities which restrict girls, and boys, education can be identified as a tool for girls' liberation (Henry 2011; Watts et al. 2011). This knowledge may then become a source of power that can be used for critical action and subsequently contribute to the development of the behavioural dimension of empowerment.

Critical consciousness could also be considered as a skill that girls can draw upon for the rest of their life. As discussed previously regarding the limitations of banking education, it may also be limiting to focus only on the current issues and struggles girls experience because it doesn't acknowledge that girls' lives will change as they experience new situations. This opens further questions into whether critical consciousness could be described as a skill because it may have the potential to be applied to multiple and varied situations. For example, if girls were educated using a framework of critical consciousness raising questions, is it possible for them to apply

those questions to circumstances and situations throughout their life? This is important because individuals' needs, and circumstances, will change and develop over time, so being equipped with critical consciousness as a skill means girls can apply even when their life changes. Therefore, a girl who has developed her individual empowerment is able to continuously "think and to act on the conditions that shape her living" (Campbell and Jovchelovitch 2000, p. 260).

Despite the different forms of pedagogy within KPI, it is frequently implied that practitioners are crucial for creating and delivering a critical pedagogy in the programme because they play a significant role in facilitating conversations and discussions between the participants. Lindsey and Chapman (2017) also agree that those involved in the delivery of activities play a key role in SDP and argue that they should possess the "appropriate knowledge and skills, and have access to additional training and support necessary" (2017, p. 85). The importance of the facilitator, or educator, is commented on by Freire (2000) who suggests that they should be an equal contributor to the dialogue. By stepping back and encouraging the participants to engage in discussion, the practitioners are balancing power between the educator and learner by removing the sole power from the educator. The educator becomes the facilitator who then shares an equal part in the dialogue with the participants and facilitates ideas and realistic solutions *with* the participants (Freire 2000). This is indicated within KPI where girls' information is valued and seen as beneficial to the learning process. Hence, knowledge and information does not solely come from the educator, it comes from the participant who provides information based on their personal experiences shared through their stories, just as Freire advocated (Freire 2000). In this vein, facilitators need to understand the worldview of girls which can be achieved through shared dialogue between both the facilitator and the learner.

5.5 “Can men really tell when you are on your period?”, menstruation and girls’ empowerment

KPI’s objective to address the issues associated with girls’ menstruation (Document B, KPI) was discussed by some of the research participants. As Annet, Sophia and Marie explain, to achieve the objective, KPI distributed menstrual hygiene management products to girls who participate in the programme:

My responsibilities in KPI are to coach and ... for distributing some materials especially for their periods. (Annet, KPI)

...one of the things we do for girls is that we provide free menstrual pads to all of the girls who are on their periods and once a month they come and collect them. (Marie, KPI)

Our girls also receive free sanitary pads through a local partnership. (Sophia, KPI)

In rural Rwanda, menstruation and menstruation hygiene management is largely shrouded by myths and misconceptions formed by cultural beliefs and discourses. Marie observed this while working in the programme when during one session she was asked questions by girls such as “Can men really tell when you are on your period?”. This is of concern for girls’ (dis)empowerment because if unchallenged, such myths and misconceptions will continue to be reproduced. Part of the problem is that menstruation is considered a taboo to discuss with parents at home or in school (Maniar and Mehta 2017; Sommer 2010). In many rural communities located in the Global South, menstruation is perceived as an illness rather than something which occurs naturally (Garg and Anand 2015). Part of the challenge for feminists and gender researchers alike comes from attempting to conceptualise menstruation as something which reinforces perceptions of the “female body as ‘messy’, ‘leaky’, ‘disruptive’” and how these perceptions effect girls’ (dis)empowerment (Kirk and Sommer 2006, p. 12). The prevalence of myths and misconceptions and the lack of factual information about menstruation, “means that girls’ practical needs related to managing menstruation are often not appreciated or appropriately addressed” (Maniar and Mehta

2017). Such misconceptions and taboos about menstruation in society “exclude women and girls from many aspects of social and cultural life” (Garg and Anand 2015, p. 184). Girls exclusion from social groups and institutions could result in disempowerment if their control is taken away by menstruation. A relevant question for SDP is whether SDP can address menstruation related issues so that girls’ can foster their individual empowerment? Drawing on CFT, three key points have emerged from examining the data that provide insight into girls’ (dis)empowerment in relation to their menstruation and participation in SDP.

First, the findings indicate that there is a requirement for researchers, to examine the contextualised conceptualisation of menstruation in a way that does not perpetuate the negative assumptions of rural African communities as ‘backwards’, uneducated and poverty stricken. By adopting CFT and drawing on African feminism, girls’ experiences are contextualised to a rural Rwandan setting to assist with capturing a holistic picture of girls’ (dis)empowerment. The first factor which emerged from the research participants’ narratives was the relationship between girls’ schooling and menstruation:

“...girls may miss school when they are menstruating...” (Sophia, KPI)

...lots of girls skip school or missed school because of their period, so that’s another thing where they are supported with us. (Marie, KPI)

Sophia and Marie’s observation is reinforced in other studies by Maniar and Mehta (2017), Jewitt and Ryley (2014) and Sommer (2010) that showed a reduction in girls’ attendance to school when they were menstruating. Girls often experience shame, embarrassment and discomfort because they do not have access to products, or products which are ineffective, that make sitting in school all day extremely uncomfortable (SHE 2017). Further, the lack of private bathrooms make it difficult for girls to change and dispose of products and so most girls would rather stay at home than go to school (SHE 2017; Sommer 2010). Applying CFT, and African feminism specifically, is useful for understanding girls’ conditions because it helps us to make sense of the multiple factors which foster their (dis)empowerment. Attempting to understand the issues surrounding menstruation from a Western feminist perspective might be limiting because girls in the West generally have access to affordable sanitary

products, receive education at a young age about menstrual hygiene management, can access more of private spaces and have an abundant supply of clean water (Sommer 2010). In addition to the differing physical access to resources, girls in the West do not experience the same forms of stigmatisation as girls in Rwanda and so, the approaches to addressing menstruation management issues to facilitate girls' (dis)empowerment must be constructed in a way that is appropriate to the context.

Second, the actions taken by KPI to supply girls with sanitary products indicate that they have considered the intersectionality of girls who participate in the programme. By supplying menstruation products, KPI are acknowledging the barriers to girls' participation in the programme by ensuring they can regularly attend the sessions. As Marie explains, the programme also provides girls with shorts so they do not miss sessions:

...they get given lycra shorts so they can wear them under the shorts. So, they feel really secure and so they can play their sports so they don't feel like anything is preventing them doing that. (Marie, KPI)

If girls do not have access to menstrual products, and a private place to change and dispose of them, they are far less likely to participate in the SDP programmes (Meier 2005, p.9). By giving the products to girls for free, KPI are recognising the low socio-economic status of girls participating in the programme. Many girls who attend the programme are living in poverty and do not have access to clean water, soap and money to buy sanitary pads (Oster and Thornton 2010). This means that girls experiencing poverty have a greater risk of developing health-related issues such as infection because they use cloths or more traditional materials such as mud, animal skins and leaves. While these materials are free and readily available, they are uncomfortable, unhealthy and largely ineffective (SHE 2017).

Without access to menstrual hygiene products, girls may be considered as disempowered because they are unable to take control over certain aspects of their life that they deem important. As research participants witnessed, during menstruation girls tend to avoid participation in activities outside of the home such as school and attendance in KPI. Consequently, girls have lost control and the ability to choose to attend school and the programme if they want to attend. This is reinforced by Kabeer's work on expanding girls' choices and was discussed earlier in this chapter. Even

though deciding whether to attend the programme is considered a day-to-day choice, this choice is framed within broader strategic decisions which are influenced by contextual factors. If attending KPI's sessions every week is what girls deem important in their life, then they need the ability to take control and have the capacity to make decisions. Without medication, the menstrual cycle cannot be controlled, but it can be managed if KPI provide girls with menstrual products they can take control over their participation in the programme. Thus, when girls take action, they are exhibiting their behavioural dimension of individual empowerment.

Third, the sustainability of providing girls with menstrual products and how this may affect girls' (dis)empowerment must also be examined. KPI is a publicly funded NGO reliant on funding and donations (Document D, KPI) and without income to KPI will be unable to buy resources for the programme participants. These products are purchased from a Rwandan organisation called Sustainable Health Enterprises 'SHE' which works in partnership with KPI.

...they [SHE] have developed a way to produce natural pads out of the banana fibres out of banana leaves...it's like more absorbent than cotton and they are producing them here in Rwanda and it's a women's lead business and women are running it. (Marie, KPI)

KPI partnered with SHE to provide sanitary pads to ensure a sustainable flow of products to girls who participate in the programme. This is especially important as in Rwanda there is limited infrastructure for distribution because it is a landlocked country, but if KPI maintain the partnership, girls can easily access the products. If KPI no longer have the funds to provide menstrual products, girls will return back to their previous solutions for menstrual management which were unhygienic and could lead to health-related problems such as infections. These circumstances would be disempowering because girls have once again lost control over that part of their life and instead have become dependent on the programme to gain their control. This point is reiterated within SDP literature which examines 'aid' and the relationship between 'donor' and 'recipient' (Giulianotti et al. 2016). This is also problematic for the long-term development of girls' individual empowerment because the programme has not equipped them with the skills to source their own menstrual products. For example, girls may lack the employment skills to earn money to buy these products outside of

the programme. Riger (1993) argues a similar point emphasising that girls' empowerment must go beyond subjective feeling and perceptions of control to acquiring resources. In this vein, acquiring menstrual hygiene products are the resources girls could take control over rather than relying on the programme. Hayhurst's (2013a) study on social entrepreneurship in Uganda similarly suggested the importance of ensuring girls were not dependent on the SDP programme to provide them with menstrual products. Instead, girls were trained as martial arts trainers and encouraged to earn their own money to buy sanitary pads (Hayhurst 2013a). Thus, these points bring to the fore more questions regarding the transformative capacity of SDP programmes such as, can SDP programmes provide long-term support for girls to help them navigate the psychological and social changes to foster girls' empowerment?

5.5.1 The 'coming of age'

Despite the distribution of modern sanitary products which are more hygienic, easier to dispose of and are more comfortable for girls to wear while they participate in KPI sessions, the wider socio-cultural beliefs, myths and misconceptions about menstruation were largely unchallenged in the programme. This is reiterated in Document B (KPI) where increasing the "number of menstrual pads distributed" was listed as an output in the KPI logic model with no linkage to short and long-term programme outcomes. In addition to distributing menstrual pads, KPI also worked in partnership with SHE to deliver a workshop on menstrual hygiene.

One of the things they [SHE] do is also menstrual hygiene education and sexual reproduction education so we have had a session from them with all our players. (Marie, KPI)

Delivering specific sessions by SHE meant KPI could better prepare younger girls *before* they start to menstruate. As previously discussed, because the topic is considered a taboo to talk about, many girls are often unprepared about how to manage menstruation and fearful of whom they can speak to about it (Sommer et al. 2015; McMahon et al. 2011). However, this workshop was focused on disseminating information about hygiene and sexual reproduction. This appears to be a missed opportunity for the programme to address the day-to-day issues and align them with the broader gender equity and transformation objectives and outcomes of the

programme. By employing a critical pedagogy to discuss menstruation may have helped girls to develop their interactional dimension of empowerment. For example, the programme could have facilitated critical discussions between the coaches and participants to deconstruct and unpack the misconceptions and myths about menstruation. These discussions could also have been used as a site for girls to share their experiences and provide advice to girls who are pre-menstruation.

SDP programmes have a unique opportunity to provide a space where girls and boys of different ages can discuss their experiences and critically examine issues which they cannot discuss at school or at home because they are considered as a taboo. Additionally, if SDP programmes recruit female coaches from the community where the programme is delivered they can become role models because they may have lived through similar experiences to girls in the programme. Again, this highlights the uniqueness of SDP because girls are exposed to female coaches who are working in sport and resisting traditional gender roles.

Instead, the one-off workshop was focussed on giving information for girls to memorise and repeat, similar to what Freire described as a 'banking education'. A 'banking education' is problematic for girls' empowerment because it does not encourage girls to think critically about the beliefs and ideologies which shape their conditions and how they affect their ability to act. As a result, girls are left with only the practical information about the physiological changes of their body, hygiene management and sexual reproduction where there is an absence of long-term support regarding their psychological changes and how they can navigate the complex discourses surrounding menstruation. Such psychological changes may lead to girls feeling alienated or ashamed (Montgomery et al. 2016; Sommer et al. 2015; McMahon et al. 2011; Sommer 2010) and influence their intrapersonal dimension of empowerment. Without this dimension, girls will continue to self-impose perceptions of their lack of control. This again reinforces the requirement for girls to develop their interactional dimension of empowerment, so they can begin to examine their perceptions of powerlessness and lack of control and how they can overcome them.

Other GAD studies have also discussed the lack of acknowledgement of the ramifications of girls "coming of age" have been overlooked in favour of short-term, menstrual hygiene education and information workshops (Sommer 2010, p. 522). As Sommer examined, coming of age refers to much more than menstruation in girls'

lives. It can also refer to the increase in household responsibilities and child caring: pressure to get married, and the upsurge in parents' concern to prevent premarital pregnancy (Sommer 2010). When girls are coming of age, multiple gender-based issues collide which lower their level of control and disempower them. However, the data suggests that there are unique features of SDP programming which could be used to address issues of disempowerment during this complex stage in girls' lives. For example, KPI separate their delivery into two lots of sessions per week; one for older girls and boys aged 14 to 18 and a second for younger girls and boys aged 7 to 13 (Document D, KPI). This means that girls who enter the programme at 7 years old can stay with the programme until they are 18 and will have access to support during pre-menstruation and while they are 'coming of age'. The programme mechanisms can assist with fostering the girls' intrapersonal dimension or interactional dimension of empowerment. While there is no evidence to suggest that KPI fully exploited these programme mechanisms to support girls, it does highlight that there is potential for SDP programmes to maximise key elements of the programme. This includes, employing a critical pedagogy to unpack the myths and beliefs surrounding menstruation (interactional dimension), recruiting female coaches to offer girls support for building their psychological components (intrapersonal and interactional dimension) and promoting long-term attendance in programmes so girls can critically discuss and examine the multiplicity of their lives and how they are constructed so they can take control and act (intrapersonal, interactional and behavioural dimension).

When examining girls' (dis)empowerment there is a need to situate issues of inequality in the broader context to identify factors external to programmes that implicate girls' developing their empowerment. Control was discussed as a central feature of individual empowerment in the literature review. The approaches taken by KPI demonstrate programme mechanisms which encourage girls to take control of menstruation, moving from a position of disempowerment towards a position where they have control over this part of their life. However, it is important to note that regaining control and moving out of a position of disempowerment does not necessarily mean becoming fully empowered because there are multiple inequalities which girls face that could be disempowering. The data also suggested that SDP provides a unique space to address issues of menstruation. KPI encouraged girls to participate while they were menstruating and provided them with sanitary pads and

lycra shorts to do so. This message contrasts with the common messages girls receive about menstruation where they are excluded from certain social spaces and encouraged to stay at home. Therefore, with the relevant programme mechanisms in place, the SDP programme becomes a space where girls can take control over their participation in the programme and participate in activities freely.

Because of the lack of education and awareness about menstruation, many girls are unprepared and subsequently lose control over important aspects of their life such as their self-worth, health and education. It is the perception about menstruation that has the potential to be disempowering because it can take away control from the girl and her access to certain activities. This disempowerment is constructed in three ways, physically (no access to pads or private toilets), socially (it is a taboo and surrounded by myths) and psychologically (something to be ashamed about). This is problematic because the construction of the physical, social and psychological effects girls' overall (dis)empowerment. As a result, girls miss out on their education and other social, health, emotional benefits they receive from their participation in the SDP programme. This finding has also made sense of the multidimensional aspects of girls' lives in relation to menstruation. What may initially appear as a singular problem, that girls need menstrual products to enable them to participate in sport and go to school, is connected to broader spheres of girls' lives such as their intrapersonal dimension and the social structures that create their perceptions of control while menstruating.

5.6 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has examined four themes that emerged from the data analysis of the KPI programme. Some themes have shed light on the different dimensions of individual empowerment and how they are developed by girls during the KPI programme. The chapter began by unpacking how KPI conceptualised self-confidence in the programme, a central psychological component in the intrapersonal dimension. Many research participants emphasised the importance of girls to have self-confidence and described the meaning of the concept in two ways, first as girls' needing a voice and second, focusing on encouraging girls to change their perception about what they can do. Through these accounts, the notion of 'powerlessness' surfaced and shed light on the relationship between power and self-confidence. The evidence suggested that 'power within' is required before girls can bring about change and subsequently

realise their other dimensions of individual empowerment. In this way, the intrapersonal dimension emerged as a crucial dimension for empowerment because it provides a foundation level for the interactional and behavioural dimension to be developed.

Several further important findings were revealed in the chapter in line with the study's research objectives. The role of parents in girls' (dis)empowerment is something absent from the literature, yet many research participants observed how parents implicate the empowerment process. It emerged that parents are a contextual mechanism which could be negotiated to foster empowerment rather than disempowerment. Research participants witnessed multiple programme mechanisms employed by KPI in attempt to mitigate parent's influence on their daughter's empowerment by providing educational workshops for them to attend.

The critical pedagogy theme illuminated pedagogical approaches within KPI, such as debates, role play, conversations during team time and mixed-gender sessions suggest that they are programme mechanisms for girls to enhance their interactional dimension of empowerment. The evidence suggests that girls can change their conditions if they can acquire knowledge about why their condition is the way it is. This knowledge, as Freire (1976) argued, enables them to transform and improve their realities. It was clear that practitioners in KPI developed an understanding of girls' worldview by participating in shared dialogue.

The final theme responds to a gap in literature to identify contextual mechanisms which affect girls' participation in SDP programming. This theme sheds light on how menstruation can lead to girls' disempowerment. The evidence emphasises the multiplicity of challenges girls face daily and highlights how those challenges implicate girls' participation in SDP and their attainment of empowerment. The analysis demonstrates the limitations of KPI's current programme mechanisms for supporting girls and sheds light on the potential for SDP programmes to provide a unique space to address issues and develop dimensions of girls' empowerment.

To this end, this chapter has answered some of the questions posed in Chapter Two and Three. These findings reinforce the necessity to move beyond the surface and identify the inequalities girls face daily and how they may implicate their attainment of individual empowerment. As discussed in Chapter Three, failure to address the

inequalities present in girls' lives could lead to programmes being consumed by the same issues or reproducing them.

Chapter Six Case 2: Cricket Without Boundaries

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents themes which emerged from the analysis of the Cricket Without Boundaries (CWB) programme. The focus is on three core themes which emerged from the data analysis: embedding HIV/AIDS education with cricket, introducing new sports to transform gender relations and the effect of volunteers on girls' (dis)empowerment.

To begin this chapter, it is useful to reintroduce the CWB organisation and their main objectives. As a charity organisation based in the UK, they use cricket to promote health messages to young people in five countries across Africa including Rwanda. CWB deliver a two-week programme in different schools and communities in North, South, West and East of Rwanda. Outside of the two-week programme, CWB work with the Cricket Development team in Rwanda all year round to train coaches and recruit ambassadors. These ambassadors are responsible for delivering sports sessions throughout the year using CWB's materials. Seven practitioners who worked for CWB were interviewed, six of whom were British and one practitioner was Rwandan.

The overarching aim of the programme is dedicated to educating and developing local communities in Rwanda and increasing the popularity of cricket. CWB hope to achieve this through three main goals (Document E, CWB):

- “to spread cricket through coaching children and teaching adults how to coach
- to link the sport to health and social messages and incorporate these messages into coaching sessions.
- to bring together and empower local communities through cricket”

This chapter responds to questions posed in the literature review such as, does the type of sport delivered in SDP programmes affect girls' (dis)empowerment? To what extent can sport be used to transform gender relations to foster girls' empowerment? And, what effect do volunteers from the Global North have on girls' (dis)empowerment?

The chapter begins with an examination of the CWB curriculum in relation to girls' (dis)empowerment. The chapter then unravels the potential for 'new' sports to transform gender norms and ends with an examination on the role of Western volunteers in facilitating girls' (dis)empowerment.

6.2 “...maybe you need to do something more”, embedding HIV/AIDS education with cricket coaching

This theme examines the curriculum adopted in CWB and highlights how the design of CWB's HIV/AIDS curriculum impinges on girls' developing (dis)empowerment. As discussed in Chapter Two, the HIV/AIDS pandemic “was and remains a key driver for the SfD movement” (Lindsey et al. 2017, p. 159). Michelle, who has been a cricket coach for CWB for four years, sets the scene for this theme by bringing to life the realities of HIV/AIDS in Rwanda. Michelle is also a Rwandan student studying biotechnology and spends much of her time working in a lab testing for hepatitis and HIV/AIDS.

... you find that most of the positive people are very young. So, I thought maybe I need to do more, because outside the lab I'm sensitising about HIV and AIDS to teach people, and to teach these young people, how dreadful this disease is and how they should understand it better. ... I can't wait to get into my sport gear and tell someone else 'please, this is what is happening'. I am very driven. I don't have to be reminded because what I do already reminds me. I'm already reminded 'Michelle maybe you need to do something more'.
(Michelle, CWB)

As detailed in Documents A and B the CWB curriculum focuses on five key messages: Abstain, Be Faithful, Use a Condom, Get Tested and Stigma (ABCTS). CWB aims to “Bowl Aids out of Africa” (Stephanie, CWB). As discussed by several research participants, the programme uses different approaches to deliver these messages. Information supplied in Document A ‘An Introduction to Coaching Handbook’, included several coaching cards which covered the basics of how to coach catching, bowling, batting and fielding. Most of the coaching cards included key points on how

A, B and C messages can be embedded when coaching new skills. Document A explained that when practicing close catching, participants should ‘be faithful’ to their team mate by throwing the ball to them accurately. This approach to integrating HIV/AIDS messaging with cricket coaching was also discussed by Michelle:

... in each of these sessions you use the skill itself to symbolise one of the words there. So for instance, to abstain, maybe when I’m coaching them how to field they have to ‘abstain’ from the dropping the ball. (Michelle, CWB)

Michelle also provides another example of how the same symbolism is used to promoted another message within the programme:

But when you for instance are batting you tell them to protect your body and your stumps using a bat, like in normal life the way you protect yourself using a condom. So, you find you relate everything. You relate the message to the game and it works, it works. (Michelle, CWB)

This evidence helps to make sense of how HIV/AIDS messaging is directly embedded into sports activities in two ways, first by examining the symbolic association of cricket skills with HIV/AIDS terminology, and second, to understand whether this approach leads to girls developing their empowerment. While the programme theory behind this strategy is not discussed in-depth in the documents, it is implied by the research participants that by embedding terminology and repeating movement sequences individuals can draw on that imagery to remember how to complete the movement. These findings are like those identified by Fuller et al (2011) in their study on HIV/AIDS in Mauritius and Zimbabwe. According to Fuller et al (2011, p. 614), health messages were embedded into football skills, for example heading the ball was linked to “protect yourself from HIV”, dribbling the ball was linked to “avoid drugs and alcohol” and shooting was linked with the message to “vaccinate yourself and your family”. In this vein, it is possible that combining HIV/AIDS terminology with symbolic cricket movements may help the learner to create mental constructs in their mind and commit the messages to memory (Buell 2004).

Studying the activities within CWB are crucial for identifying and understanding possible mechanisms within SDP programmes which may lead to girls’

(dis)empowerment. The data presented illuminates the integration of sport and health education. Emerging from the analysis was the unique feature of SDP programming where the physical activity or 'sport' component of cricket was used to symbolically reinforce health messages. On one hand, the introduction and repetition of ABCTS provides girls with an initial understanding of key terms associated with HIV/AIDS education. But on the other hand, this approach may do little to foster girls' dimensions of empowerment especially the interactional and behavioural dimensions. The interactional dimension is unlikely to be developed because emphasis is placed on memorising and repeating information rather than understanding the multiple, complex issues at play to critically understand HIV/AIDS in the context of girls' lives. As discussed in section 2.4.2, HIV/AIDS and sex related issues are intensified because of the historical context of Rwanda and the genocide. During the genocide, thousands of women and girls were raped before being murdered, and sexual violence was used "just as methodically as other crude weaponry in the effort to torture and exterminate" (Donovan 2002, p. 17). So, for girls to foster their interactional dimension of empowerment, CWB may need to support girls in developing a critical and holistic understanding of HIV/AIDS and the effect it has on their conditions. Part of this education might involve examining the complex relationship between the genocide and the historical context of women and girls HIV/AIDS. By developing an advanced understanding of their conditions and the historical relevance of HIV/AIDS, girls may begin to seek ways to take control of their lives while negotiating culturally and historically designed discourses and ideologies about HIV/AIDS. Instead, CWB's approach could be viewed as a de-contextualised, ahistorical one-size fits all approach that could be considered banking education because girls are encouraged to simply memorise and repeat information and key words, which they are then tested on at the end of the session to check their memory. This assertion is reinforced by Derick a programme coordinator for CWB. As he explains, CWB's monitoring and evaluation method tends to emphasise short-term memory testing of outcomes:

...what we do is try and get as much data before the intervention and afterwards and ask them about their knowledge about the messaging. So, the ABC and the testing and about cricket ... so obviously, it's a very short time period because it's before and after the intervention and is really testing what messages hit home. (Derick, CWB)

The above responses prompt some deeper thinking into empowering mechanisms within SDP programmes. Though on the surface it may appear that this is an effective way for learners to embrace the messages, because it combines the enjoyment of playing cricket and important HIV/AIDS information, as discussed in Chapter Three, banking education can do a disservice to learners because it stifles critical thinking, creativity and is de-contextualised (Freire 1970). It could be viewed that this approach creates a disconnection between the messaging and the implementation of learning into their daily lives. This is supported by the discussion in Chapter Three (section 2.10) which argued that HIV/AIDS education in many SDP programmes is not situated in the broader context of individuals and so fails to acknowledge the intersecting factors which impact on girls' abilities to make choices or act in particular ways regarding HIV/AIDS. As Romero et al. put it, "women's choices may be constrained by poverty, gender roles, and cultural norms" (2006, p.391). There are, subsequently, dangerous ramifications for girls' empowerment because girls are likely to only remember the terminology and may not possess the required skills or abilities to apply the learning to their own context and everyday lives.

To examine this programme mechanism further, it is also important to explore the *type* of messages which are being promoted. When examining the coaching handbooks supplied to all CWB volunteers (Document A; Document B, CWB), over half of the coaching cards and games focused on promoting the 'abstain' message. There have been contentious debates during the past decade regarding abstinence-only programmes and interventions (Fonner et al. 2014) and, by emphasising the 'A' in ABCTS messaging, CWB is at risk of falling into the same limitations as abstinence-only programmes. Abstinence-only programmes advocate delaying sex until marriage (Fonner et al. 2014). The argument against abstinence-only programmes is that it tends to withhold important information from programme end-users about other ways of protecting themselves from diseases such as HIV/AIDS. Other organisations have argued that abstinence is the only way to protect from contracting diseases and provides greater control to the individual who chooses when, where and with whom they have sex, even though this view does not acknowledge that not all women and girls are able to make that decision.

What is implied in CWB is that there is a hierarchy to the messages being promoted: 'Abstain' is higher priority and 'Testing' and 'Stigma' are lower priority because they

are discussed less frequently. Prioritising health messages are indicated in Document A where the most basic and fundamental cricket skills such as catching, bowling and hitting all begin with an 'Abstain' instruction. However, placing greater emphasis on abstain also suggests imposing moral judgements about how girls should act rather than focusing on practical prevention of disease (Barnett and Parkhurst 2005). Tim, a programme coordinator, was the only research participant to voice his concern about the programme's curriculum:

CWB at the present time in my opinion, is at a crossroads in relation to its methods of delivery and objectives. Recent international academic criticism ... has shown that the ABC messaging method is only partially effective in that 'abstinence' from sex is an unrealistic message which potentially threatens the effective delivery of more appropriate educational messages such as using condoms. (Tim, CWB)

This is significant when examining girls' (dis)empowerment because girls need to possess *all* the information for them to have greater control over the situation to enable them to make the right decisions in certain circumstances. It could be argued that withholding certain information from girls means that they are unable to take control and are subsequently disempowered. Without possessing critical awareness and a critical understanding of the issues, girls are likely to be unable to fulfil the behavioural dimension of individual empowerment. As such, they may be unable to take direct action to address their challenges because they do not occupy the relevant information or critical skills to apply information to their own situation. This is important because some Rwandan girls become infected by engaging in transactional sex to obtain clothing and school fees or goods for improving their appearance such as body lotion and makeup (Michielsen et al. 2014). Therefore, if programmes prioritise certain health information over others, some girls are at risk of not receiving the education they need to take control over their life, including the decision to not engage in transactional sex and be at a higher risk of being infected with HIV/AIDS.

6.2.1 The role of stigma in HIV/AIDS education

Multiple CWB documents identified the relationship between stigma and HIV/AIDS. ‘Stigma’ and ‘testing’ were the most recent additions to the ‘ABC’ messaging embedded in CWB programmes.

Recently we added on stigma because of, yeah, it seemed as if there had been a problem of stigma around... (Michelle, CWB)

Multiple definitions have been used to describe stigma in relation to HIV/AIDS and although there are multiple ways of defining stigma (see Parker and Aggleton 2003), for this study, Erving Goffman’s (1963) definition is drawn upon to examine research participants’ narratives. Goffman, a sociologist, provided a modern understanding of stigma (Deacon et al. 2005), where he asserted three different types of stigma:

“First there are abominations of the body-the various physical deformities. Next there are blemishes of individual character perceived as weak will, domineering or unnatural passions... homosexuality, unemployment, suicidal attempts, and radical political behaviour. Finally there are the tribal stigma of race, nation, and religion”

(Goffman 1963, p. 5)

CWB’s acknowledgment of the existence of stigma and the relationship with HIV/AIDS is reiterated in the literature (Tsai 2015; Judgeo and Moalusi 2014; Sengupta et al. 2011; Collins et al. 2008; Parker and Aggleton 2003; Bond et al. 2002). Scholars such as Collins et al (2008) have acknowledged the powerful influence of social processes such as stigma in HIV/AIDS prevention. Goffman wrote that stigma is something that is socially constructed and is related to an individual’s identity. According to Goffman, society labels people as being deviant and those individuals or groups acquire a ‘spoiled identity’ because they have a characteristic which is considered undesirable to society. Stigma and labelling are not limited to HIV/AIDS and is also found when examining other topics such as mental health and abortion (Judgeo and Moalusi 2014). The individual or group is stigmatised because they are perceived as having a ‘spoiled identity’ where society views them as tainted or discredited and should then be treated with less respect (Judgeo and Moalusi 2014;

Parker and Aggleton 2003; Goffman 1963). As Michelle observes, this results in assumptions made about people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) and the disease:

Usually there is a lot of misinterpretation, and maybe, misconceptions about HIV and AIDS itself. So, we find that people are misled. (Michelle, CWB)

Similarly, Mukamana and Brysiewicz (2008) also conclude that their female respondents had experienced humiliation and loss of dignity, a loss of identity, social isolation as a result of the stigma around HIV/AIDS. Document E discusses in more detail how the programme intends to address stigma:

“Reducing stigma associated with HIV positive status and combating gender inequalities by having boys and girls of all statuses training, learning and playing together”.

(Document E, CWB)

Some of the research participants also witnessed the programme’s emphasis on mixed-gender participation to address stigma:

...the programme is open to all and is all about stopping stigmas and getting everyone involved in sport while trying to communicate the message of HIV... (Hannah, CWB)

The bulk of our work in country will just focus on ensuring that boys and girls play sport together to help break down that stigma... (Louis, CWB)

The documents and Hannah and Louis’ accounts are useful because they shed light on how CWB conceptualises stigma. The data suggests that CWB view the key to reducing stigma is by creating an inclusive environment where girls and boys can participate together, and by participating together, no one is stigmatised. PLWHA are subjected to discrimination, physical abuse, alienation and ostracisation which can be detrimental to their lives. This experience is often more intense for girls, where gender ought to be acknowledged when designing programmes that address stigma (Mugoya

and Ernst 2014). Often, the intensified stigma women and girls experience is a result of poverty, lack of education and gender inequality (Gourlay et al. 2013). According to Mbonu (2010), women and girls who are HIV-positive or have AIDS experience extreme social stigma, despite suffering from the same illness as males. As such, the context of girls living with or having friends or family with HIV/AIDS must be acknowledged to examine the extent CWB can foster girls' empowerment.

Examining the context in greater depth might enable SDP programming to develop programme mechanisms suitable for addressing contextual issues. In Rwanda, heterosexual sex is the most common form of transmission of HIV/AIDS whereas in Western Europe stigma of living with HIV/AIDS is often associated with homosexuality or drug use (Judgeo and Moalusi 2014). The programme mechanisms therefore are likely to be more effective if they are context dependent to address the given issues. CWB's approach to addressing stigma fails to account for the external structural inequalities which girls experience daily and subsequently the approaches taken for fostering girls' individual empowerment are irrelevant. Campbell and Deacon (2006) support this point and have argued that individual analyses of stigma have failed because they do not account for contextual inequalities such as gender and ethnicity using macro-level examinations. Stigma is deeply rooted in society's belief that people are discredited by having a certain attribute that is not the norm. As Goffman's definition of stigma highlights, he identified three different forms of stigma, and simply encouraging boys and girls to participate together is likely to do very little, if anything, to counter the beliefs of others about stigma and PLWHA. The research participants' responses and the documents suggest there is limited programme theory which addresses how mixed-gender participation leads to a reduction or an education around stigma. While this programme mechanism may not result in girls losing control over their lives and their disempowerment, the mechanism may also not facilitate dimensions of empowerment either. Programmes need to challenge the dominant discourses surrounding stigma that perceives PLWHA are weak and unnatural.

In summary, this theme attempts to make sense of how social processes and mechanisms in SDP programmes address issues of HIV/AIDS and in what way they may implicate girls' individual empowerment. To begin to make sense, the practical and theoretical relationship between sport and HIV/AIDS in CWB and the extent to

which it fosters girls' empowerment has been explored. The data from research participants and documents tended to suggest the presence of a neoliberal approach to HIV/AIDS education that focused individual change whilst overlooking contextual factors at play. Thus, the onus to change appeared largely to be girls' responsibility and CWB encourage girls to govern and discipline themselves and their behaviour by 'Abstaining', 'Being Faithful' and 'Using Protection'.

It could be argued that the use of ABCTS is also based on neoliberal notions of rationality. The view that girls will make rational decisions to prevent contraction of HIV/AIDS assumes that if given adequate knowledge, girls will make a rational decision that benefits their health and well-being (Kerr and Mkandawire 2010). Yet, what is problematic is that the geographical 'other' is constructed as 'irrational' if they fail to conform to the neoliberal ideology of rational. According to Craddock (2000 cited by Kerr and Mkandawire 2010), the irrational other is perceived to be lacking control, hypersexual or irresponsible.

As has emerged in the previous findings and discussion chapter, a critical pedagogy might be crucial for fostering girls' empowerment. The programme mechanisms identified here suggest that they led neither to girls' empowerment or disempowerment. A critical pedagogy in SDP programming therefore, might be one which embeds deeper messaging and provides an alternative to banking education where memorising and repeating terms such as 'abstain' trivialises HIV/AIDS terminology and how those the terminology can be applied in complex real-life situations.

6.3 Using ‘new’ sports to transform gender relations

Several participants observed the accessibility of the programme and highlighted how girls were encouraged to take part in the programme regardless of their gender, race, size and if they were HIV/AIDS positive. As discussed in Chapter Two, sport in Rwanda is often reserved for boys, and girls’ participation in sport is often discouraged by friends and family who fear that girls will not conform to gender expectations of getting married and having children.

...we live in a society where sports, women in sports is not ok, it’s not as common as mens, so because of society there may be issues. They ... equate a sports lady to a muscular lady, and think that no guy can look at you really, you know you cannot be able to give birth, things like that. (Michelle, CWB)

These gender expectations bring to the fore the association between sport and hegemonic masculinity, where if girls play sport they are viewed as being masculine and not do not conform to societal expectations of girls. Michelle, who plays also plays cricket for the Rwandan Women’s National Cricket Team reports some of her personal experiences of being a woman in sport in Rwanda. During her coaching sessions, she encourages girls and boys to ask her questions about her life as an athlete. Girls have asked Michelle if playing cricket makes her ‘feel like a man?’ to which she responded:

If they ask me if it makes me feel like a man I tell them no I feel like a lovely princess! Yes, I feel like a lady! ... I feel so fit, I feel so fit, I’m like ‘ok you give me a runway and I will show you what I can do with it! I am so fit for everything!’ It just makes me feel good! (Michelle, CWB)

Michelle also reports that some girls asked her about how much training she does with her cricket team:

They ask you how often you train so that they know if the girls train differently to boys because they say that maybe boys train more and ladies not train as much. (Michelle, CWB)

One reason they ask about the training is because there is a common perception that women's teams are not taken as seriously as men's teams because so they do not train as much. This standpoint is reiterated in practice where many programmes adopt popular sports, such as football, to demonstrate that girls can play sport like boys. However, the following accounts disagree with the literature and trends in practice to suggest that introducing cricket has greater accessibility compared to football.

... we feel the game [cricket] lends itself well to equality and the message and the kid is probably more familiar with football but you can get more out of the game in a way that means everyone can get involved. (Derick, CWB)

The rationale for many programmes has been that to transform gender relations girls should be encouraged to participate in male dominated sports (Mwaanga 2012). The Go Sisters programme in Zambia is one such programme that attempts to challenge the dominant gender ideologies through women and girl's participation in football. Lindsey et al (2017, p.128) observed similar findings from their prolonged involvement with Go Sisters, they suggest that football opportunities are provided for girls and young women "to counter specific perceptions of it being a male-only sport, with the intention of also challenging wider cultural stereotypes of gender appropriateness". Additionally, as identified in Mwaanga and Prince's (2016) retrospective study on women and girls who were former participants of Go Sisters, football tournaments were used to challenge ideologies and encourage girls to speak publicly about gender related issues. Similarly, in the context of Rwanda, football is a popular male dominated sport whereas cricket, because it is relatively new, has few, if any, rooted gender norms and expectations. With these findings and previous studies in mind, introducing a new sport which isn't historically entrenched by hegemonic masculinity and male privilege might provide an alternative approach to addressing girls' empowerment, as examined in the following two sub sections.

6.3.1 Using 'new' sports to empower girls

Hannah and Stephanie's responses reiterate one of the key aspects of the programme which is to foster 'equality'.

Gender equality, both boys and girls can play cricket, and all are welcome...
(Hannah, CWB)

... the programme is designed to increase involvement and create the atmosphere of equality whatever age, size or gender you can play this game.
(Stephanie, CWB)

One way in which CWB intends to address issues of 'equality' is by adopting cricket in the programme. CWB is a single sport programme which only uses cricket to foster development outcomes (Document A; Document B; Document D; Document F). Jack explains some of the advantages of using cricket in the programme:

We always mention that cricket is for *everyone*. Whether they're a boy, girl, have HIV or not. Hopefully the girls go away learning that this sport is for them too. (Jack, CWB)

Many research participants' referred to the accessibility of cricket with the view that the sport does not discriminate based on gender, race, HIV positive or even ability. As Michelle explains, cricket is a relatively new sport in Rwanda:

...well in Rwanda Cricket is not even two decades-old ... so introducing to them what it is 'cricket' and then they're like "okay, we've not even seen that game on TV"... it's not like football, they would say "I've played before" or "I have watched it on TV". (Michelle, CWB)

Cricket is a sport most boys and girls have never played before meaning they will begin on a similar skill level when learning to bat, bowl and catch. This could mean there are no prior advantages to boys playing over girls, unlike football where girls are often denied access and therefore do not have the necessary skills to play football at a similar standard to boys. Some research participants highlighted the advantages of cricket in comparison to football.

...not everyone wants to play football and it's great to provide an alternative [cricket] where boys and girls can play together. (Derick, CWB)

Jack elaborates on this and explains that cricket is accessible to boys and girls because it doesn't rely on their physical traits:

... it is about saying this is a game where boys and girls can play together, so it's not like potentially football or rugby where there is often quite a big size and speed differential (Jack, CWB)

In the context of Rwanda, football is deemed as a sport reserved solely for boys. This assumption is often formed through the association of football to hegemonic forms of masculinity which are associated with gender expectations for boys. When participating in football, there is likely to be a higher chance that the preconception that girls are weak and unable to do things is reproduced because girls have a lower skill level than boys. Their lower skill ability is easily observable to boys and the girls themselves meaning that it reproduces the notion that girls are weaker, powerless and less able to do things. This is reiterated in sport which carries heavy cultural baggage where aesthetically pleasing sports such as dance, volleyball and netball are considered as 'girls sports' because they are associated with femininity. These 'feminine' sports are often characterised differently to masculine sports because they are often more aesthetically pleasing, non-contact and non-aggressive. 'Boys sports' are often characterised by play traits that reproduce hegemonic masculinity such as aggression, strength and competitiveness seen sports such as football and rugby. The misconception has largely been that girls play sports which exude femininity and are associated with weak, passive and submissive forms of behaviour. By introducing a 'new' sport with no prior misconceptions about masculinity and femininity, and whether it is considered a 'boys' or 'girls' sport, implies new opportunities for challenging gender ideology within the SDP programme. Michelle reinforces this point about the effect the sport has on girls, especially football which is perceived as a sport solely for boys:

So, it's not like football where some girls where shy away, you have a lot of boys because it's popular. So that is why I think cricket is advantageous. (Michelle, CWB)

This examination is significant as it could shed some light on why so many SDP programmes choose football to foster girls' empowerment by showing girls that they can do the same things as boys can do. Stephanie and Derick observed how introducing a new sport altered the perceptions of what girls can do in relations to boys.

The general skills for both genders were appreciated by all, everyone took part so no prejudice was involved and when the boys wanted to take over the girls could show that they were just as good, a level playing field for all (Stephanie, CWB)

You get the odd occasion when maybe a girl is not so good but then you have an equal occasion when a boy is not so good, frustrated at their batting or that their bowling is not so good... (Derick, CWB)

...the fact that it is a new sport to most that we coach also allows boys and girls to compete, at least at the start, at the same level. (Louis, CWB)

However, Michelle explained how mixing boys and girls was not initially straight forward in the programme:

...when we were beginning, they were facing some little challenges even the boys facing challenges of working together because of that mentality or feeling maybe ladies slower and boys are faster and men are faster the women or stronger than women. So, initially that was an issue to put them together to do one thing at the same time together or to make a team together but as time went on that faded away. (Michelle, CWB)

Despite the challenges, some research participants took extra steps to promote gender equality within the programme, even though this is not something described in any of the CWB documents. Hannah ensured "there were equal amounts of boys and girls who took part in the cricket festivals..." by mixing girls and boys evenly within teams and Derick stated how some girls were made captains of teams, "we get partnerships to bat together girls be captains of boys". Hannah also went on to say how the mixed sessions may have helped girls to develop their intrapersonal dimension:

To encourage girls to play cricket we made sure we mixed both girls and boys together so the girls could get confident and so the boys can see girls can play cricket too. (Hannah, CWB)

This finding may also offer significant insight into the power relations between boys and girls within the programme. When girls and boys are participating on a similar skill it might make it harder for boys to try and assert the male privilege and power which is often associated with other sports.

...bringing them together reduces that feeling of being inferior and the boys being more superior than the girls. At least they feel they're just people you know they should not classified themselves as inferior in sports in terms of the gender. (Michelle, CWB)

Michelle's account is supported by Saavedra (2005) who argues that those, male or female, who possess feminine traits, continue to be dominated by heterosexual male superiority, which continues to be reinforced in sport. This raises the question of what happens to girls if boys no longer have a platform to maintain a position of privilege within the programme? It should not be assumed that because boys' power has been reduced that girls will automatically gain more power and are therefore empowered. Power should not be examined as purely zero-sum (where one group has power and the other does not) and seeing boys participate in the programme without their superiority might not mean that girls have greater control over their lives and develop their individual empowerment. Introducing a 'new' sport which has fewer gender expectations and assumptions may instead encourage girls to do more than they had previously envisaged. This may increase the number of opportunities for girls to see how they can do more than they originally perceived thus developing components of their intrapersonal dimension such as self-confidence. This may be viewed as unique to cricket in the context of Rwanda because the sport had no preconceptions or gendered expectations. This is unlike other sports where girls are often disadvantaged from the outset because boys are more experienced and have higher levels of physical ability and there are certain gender norms that assume certain sports are reserved for boys.

The above narratives illuminate some of the short-term changes which may affect girls' (dis)empowerment. During CWB sessions, girls may immediately observe that they may have a higher physical ability than boys when participating in cricket. This experience may help them to develop their intrapersonal dimension because the programme has provided an opportunity to succeed in learning and performing new sports skills which they may have previously perceived they could not do. Psychological components within the intrapersonal dimension to counter perceptions of powerlessness may be developed as girls begin to see what they can do and try out new skills and activities. This highlights a unique feature of SDP programming where introducing a new sport with no gendered assumptions about masculinity and femininity could be viewed as a space for girls to develop components of their intrapersonal dimension.

The potential for new sports to develop girls' intrapersonal dimension can also be challenged. This approach still positions boys at a benchmark that girls need to become like them to be successful, for example, by saying that 'girls are better than boys' creates a comparison about what girls and boys can do within the programme. This could be of concern because masculinity remains the most valued form of gender and overlooks the advantages of girls possessing multiple forms of masculinity and femininity at the same time. As expressed in CFT, examining from the position of multiple masculinities and femininities means that girls can be masculine and feminine at the same time. This means that girls participating in CWB might be assertive and competitive about winning but at the same time be caring. Jeanes (2011) had a similar finding in her study where she found that girls would wear make-up and play sport at the same time. By recognising the notion of multiple masculinities and femininities promotes the message that one is not valued over another, and that girls and boys can be both masculine *and* feminine at the same time. This means that the notion of sport being just for boys, because of its historical roots of hegemonic masculinity, might not be reproduced. Instead, notions of femininity could be produced to show that skill, tactics and caring for team mates are highly effective in sport and not just celebrating strength, competitiveness and aggression.

Some research participants emphasised that physical stature and strength, traits often associated with hegemonic masculinity, were not required to play cricket.

I think cricket really lends itself well to girls and boys playing together, something else to try and engineer the game in whatever way we can so that everyone, regardless of gender or ability, can take part in the team and play together really and have fun. (Derick, CWB)

One of the big messages that we promote is that cricket is a game anybody can play, and play together. Cricket does not require players to be of a particular height, size or sex. (Tim, CWB)

...the bowling games at the end where accuracy was the key to hitting the stumps, you do not have to be fit or athletic to do this. (Stephanie, CWB)

Stephanie and Tim highlight the different skill sets required for cricket:

Everyone could have a go and their skills appreciated by all the team. (Stephanie, CWB)

Unlike other team sports, such as football, rugby or basketball, where the ideal is for all team members to have an ability to play the game, cricket is a game with very specific skill-sets which the whole team is not required to have. (Tim, CWB)

In cricket there are batsmen, bowlers and specialist fielders all requiring different skillsets. This means that “Even if you can’t hit a ball, you can learn how to bowl one or catch it” (Jack, CWB). The physical skills are also combined with non-physical skills such as technique and strategy where, according to Louis, technical skills are more important than physical skills:

I believe cricket is in some ways a good one as it relies more on technical skill rather than physical skill... (Louis, CWB)

Likewise, Derick argues that because cricket is technical boys and girls can play together:

...cricket is, like we've said, is a game where you can have girls and boys play together because it's technical and quite strategic... (Derick, CWB)

Emphasising non-physical components of sports sheds light on alternative framings of masculinity, because it no longer aligns with hegemonic masculine traits which value strength, power and 'manliness'. Other components such as technical and strategic skills are emphasised, and could be considered as being transferable between masculinity and femininity and girls and boys. It is important to note that just because the physical component is not emphasised does not mean that cricket is less masculine, or becomes feminine, rather it implies that not all sports should be perceived as hegemonically masculine or feminine.

These accounts are noteworthy because they disagree with the current rhetoric which tends to emphasise developing girls' physical abilities to prove that girls are as physically strong and capable to play sports as boys. The intention of these messages is often to encourage girls to be strong in all aspects of their life and transform the gender stereotype that girls are weak. However, encouraging girls to demonstrate traits associated with hegemonic masculinity may serve to reinforce the notion that hegemonic masculinity is the most valued and should be achieved by everyone for girls to succeed in the rest of society. Nonetheless, this could be an area for further research to examine, given the limited scope of this study.

The relationship between sport and gender has been discussed at length in Chapter Two and a common theme which emerged was that SDP programmes tend to be "permeated with norms and expectations about gender" (Saavedra 2009, p. 127). As evidenced in the above accounts, because *both* boys and girls will not immediately have the skills required or know the rules of the game, it creates an environment where neither is likely to have the advantage. This could mean that perceptions about girls' being weak and powerless are not reproduced in the programme and highlights a unique feature of SDP programming because the 'sport' becomes a programme mechanism which may foster different outcomes depending on the sport.

The data presented shifts away from the emphasis on girls showing themselves to be rough, aggressive, strong and dirty, and instead shows that there are other non-physical components involved in sport, which are often overlooked, that resist ideals of hegemonic masculinity. This examination is significant because it begins to challenge

the common assumption in SDP policy and practice that girls need to be strong, competitive and assertive to be empowered. The findings suggest new lines of enquiry for future studies to question what SDP programmes would look like if they emphasised only components of femininity.

6.4 “Make a difference...”⁶, global citizens and their effect on girls’ empowerment

The notion of being a global citizen emerged from the research participants’ narratives. As examined in Chapter Three (see section 2.11.1), there has been an increase in ‘global citizenship’ with volunteers travelling from the Global North to the Global South to volunteer in SDP programmes. Several research participants outlined that their motivation for volunteering in CWB was because they wanted to ‘help’ people.

I love cricket and helping people. (Jack, CWB)

The attraction was teaching cricket and because I can make a difference to other people’s lives by doing this out in Africa. (Hannah, CWB)

Some individuals seek to ameliorate others by addressing inequalities and improving the lives of people globally (Heron 2007), yet what could be perceived as good intentions could also be considered as harmful to girls’ (dis)empowerment. Even before individuals’ volunteer, they are faced with messages that they will ‘help’ people:

“Our projects provide an amazing opportunity to make a genuine impact - for some children we visit, simply having the chance to play an organised game is a thrill, but equally you can make a fundamental difference to a community through spreading positive health and social messages through your coaching.”

(Document E, CWB)

CWB volunteers contribute to the belief that sport is a universal language which can reach communities globally (Tiessen 2011). Jack and Hannah continue to promote the mythopoetic status of sport with the belief that sport can be used as a tool to transcend global inequalities and ‘help’ people. Subsequently, it is implied that the volunteers reify their position in SDP to address the problems in the Global South (Tiessen 2011). The perspective that sport can positively contribute to improving people’s lives is one

⁶ Quote from CWB research participant Hannah

that is echoed by SDP organisations globally, and so individuals with a similar attitude align effortlessly with the SDP movement (Darnell, 2012).

Jack and Hannah's responses also imply that cricket was a direct motivation for them to volunteer with CWB. This reinforces the point that SDP tends to attract 'sports people' to volunteer, instead of people who work in health because of the focus on HIV/AIDS. Stephanie also observes how she is motivated by seeing how sport is mobilised to make positive change:

I find that the enthusiasm of the children is motivating, and to see shy kids bashing seven bells out of [cricket] stumps and hitting them. (Stephanie, CWB)

These narratives are also framed within the broader rhetoric of the 'power of sport' that reinforces the belief that sport is the magic wand for addressing broader social issues (Coalter, 2013; 2010). The research participant's narratives are largely based on the assumption that girls' participation in sport and SDP programming are inherently positive. Many research participants stressed the importance of sport for making participation in CWB enjoyable for girls.

There is something around showing kids what could happen and getting them to have fun doing it and not really think about what they're doing... (Derick, CWB)

Cricket is for everyone, regardless of gender. In terms of specifics, teamwork, having fun through the playing of sport and learning new skills and empowering girls to play sport. (Jack, CWB)

...everyone can be involved. We might not all be at the top, but enjoying being active with your friends and sharing your skills must be good. (Stephanie, CWB)

Their accounts also shed light on the type of messaging volunteers are encouraged to promote within the programme. These messages are reinforced in the coaching guides where coaches are encouraged to "use these messages [ABCTS] whilst playing cricket in a FUN way." (Document A; Document B, CWB). While a rationale for providing

a 'fun' environment is not discussed in any of the documents or by the other research participants, Derick and Louis provide greater insight into *why* the programme emphasises fun and enjoyment:

Well I think for me the key think is fun...we are trying to get very serious messages across that are generally taught in a classroom and we want to get them across in an environment which is fun ... (Derick, CWB)

For Derick, making the sessions fun is important because it enables HIV/AIDS education to be embedded in a way that is unlike the school setting, which tends to be didactic and passive. Louis also observed the advantages of sport to having fun:

...we believe that reinforcing such messages while the young people are active and having fun is a great addition to learning alongside the traditional chalk and talk method of teaching most of them will be used to. (Louis, CWB)

Louis' response is also significant because it bolsters the notion of sport as an alternative way of educating young people which, as discussed earlier in this chapter, involves embedding education with cricket games and drills. While it is accepted that young people's participation in sport is associated with their level of enjoyment (Darnell 2012; MacDonald et al. 2011; Donnelly et al. 2011), to only focus on generating enjoyment may be problematic. Emphasising fun could come at the expense of developing certain skills and education and subsequently hinder girls' ability to develop dimensions of individual empowerment.

Sport is something that brings people together metaphorically and literally (Darnell, 2012). What is of concern though is that CWB, like other SDP organisations, have created a system that encourages privileged Westerners to travel to Rwanda and volunteer. This relationship forms a paradox where the very issues CWB is attempting to address could be intensified or worsened. The programme states that it aims "To bring together and empower local communities through cricket" but some of the programme mechanisms they employ could be considered as disempowering (Document E). By recruiting Western volunteers to deliver the programme may reproduce the assumption that practitioners located in the Global North are the

‘experts’ and the girls participating in the programme are donors in need of help from the experts. This could be considered as problematic because the volunteers maintain control over knowledge production and dissemination. Empowerment involves increasing girls’ control over their lives, and this may not be achieved if the volunteers continue to maintain a position of control. Volunteers cannot simply give girls empowerment because it is a slow process which girls must engage with.

The level of control was also suggested in research participants’ narratives where they discuss that they were motivated by ‘helping’ and making a difference to girls’ lives but this perspective manifests in a way that assumes that girls have no control in Rwanda are *in need* of help. Despite the apparent enthusiasm and good intentions for CWB volunteers to ‘help’, their presence and roles within the programme may have lead to a tendency for individuals and groups to become objectified (Tiessen 2011). Part of this problem is that individuals may be so eager to volunteer, or to ‘help’ people, they do not engage in self-reflection about their position and what effect they could have on delivering the programme in Rwanda. This is supported by Heron who argues “we need to ask ourselves to what extent colonial legacies of racialized relations of comparison, planetary consciousness, obligation, and entitlement are at play” (2007, p.155). Even though volunteers may seek to improve people’s lives, their very actions may perpetuate and reinforce the issues they are trying to address.

6.4.1 Challenging the discourse that the ‘West knows best’

The centrality of making a difference and trying to improve people’s lives is also connected to assumptions based on racial difference (Heron 2007). These assumptions are often created through construction of the ‘other’ by Westerners (Mohanty 1988). The way in which the Global South has been represented by organisations and agencies’ media has largely been negative and derogatory (Mwaanga and Banda 2014). The racialized construction of the ‘other’ can be observed through the CWB website where there are numerous photos of white volunteers from the West with black young people taking part in the programme (Document E, CWB). When prospective volunteers from the Global North search for volunteering placements, the photos show an opportunity for them to fulfil their global citizenship and improve the lives of poor black children (Tiessen 2011). Then, during the delivery of the programme, the view that white people are wealthy is reinforced because the Western volunteers have travelled on an expensive aeroplane to Rwanda (Heron 2007). The suggestion is that

SDP only happens when white people provide charity to black children (Darnell 2007). SDP tends to fortify the “stereotype of the developing world consisting of kids waiting to be helped by ‘us’— or the West.” (Tiessen 2011, p. 580).

The ‘us’ and ‘them’ discourse is also evident in the way some research participants describe how volunteering made them think about their own life.

Without wishing to sound like a cliché, working in Africa really does make you thankful for the society in which you live and take for granted. (Tim, CWB)

...and [I] have got a real sense of perspective about life and how lucky I am to have the background that I do. (Louis, CWB)

Both accounts reinforce the ‘us’ and ‘them’ discourse by emphasising the differences between their lives and the lives of people participating in the programme. Operating within a binary focuses on the differences between people is at the expense of “shared or structural experiences” (Simpson 2004, p. 688). Often, the life of the ‘other’ is assumed as being worse based on the volunteers’ perception of inequalities, such as poverty, which exist in Rwanda. This is exacerbated by some research participants who adopt the term ‘Africa’ instead of Rwanda, and imply the homogenisation of an entire continent despite the unique history and demography of Rwanda.

Louis’ response offers greater insight into how volunteers view the inequalities that the ‘other’ experiences. Louis describes how ‘lucky’ he is for having the life he does. However, using the word ‘lucky’ is problematic because it removes the contextual and historical events that have led to inequalities and puts it down to simply bad ‘luck’. Not only could this be considered as an ahistorical way of examining global inequalities, but is also reductionist because it removes the history of colonisation, the genocide and the marginalisation of Rwandan people. This point is also supported by Simpson (2004, p. 689) who argues, “Learning that living conditions and life are products of a randomized process of luck, sets particular parameters for social justice, wherein wealth and poverty are not part of the same process, but attributed independently of one another”. Separating the relationship between wealth and poverty overlooks the perspective that some wealth is gained directly as a result of poverty. For instance, Rwanda and other African countries, were exploited by

colonisers who became wealthy from mining precious minerals from the country (Alemazung 2010). During the 20th Century, Rwanda's mining economy was controlled by Belgian colonisers who extracted and sold minerals such as tin ores, initially without the rights to do so from the Rwandan government (Perk 2016). Concluding that inequalities are down to 'luck' therefore is an ahistorical and simplistic way of examining contemporary Rwanda.

Postcolonial theories have some purchase here for examining the effect of foreign volunteers on girls' (dis)empowerment. When volunteers simplify the inequalities individuals and groups experience to 'luck', they do a disservice to them because it overlooks how certain inequalities have come to be through colonisation and the genocide. For girls to develop dimensions of their empowerment they need to identify the challenges they face in gaining control over aspects of their lives. If practitioners are unable to identify the structural conditions that effect girls' lives they will be unable to facilitate a space in the programme that critically examines and discusses issues in-depth with girls and help them find solutions to addressing problems.

In KPI, the findings suggested the advantages of recruiting local staff who have a deep understanding of the context the programme is delivered in because it enabled them to pose critical questions for girls to engage with and question their environment. This could be important because without development of the interactional dimension, girls will lack an understanding of the social structures which exist and constrain their agency. This may also influence their ability to develop their behavioural dimension which emphasises that girls should take action and reflect on those actions. It is suggested that volunteers, like those represented in this study, may have limited knowledge about the context of the programme and are unqualified to deliver the health messages CWB is attempting to promote. CWB places greater emphasis on recruiting volunteers who are "sport enthusiasts" (Document E, CWB). This is reinforced in the volunteer application form where individuals are asked about their sport coaching qualifications but not about their prior knowledge on health promotion or HIV/AIDs. Local Rwandan people may be better positioned to work in SDP programmes in this context to help girls develop their dimensions of empowerment because they may have a more comprehensive understanding of the structural and social inequalities which effect girls' control. By employing Rwandan people as

volunteers and coaches, the programme can also begin to challenge the dependency of organisations in the Global North which is perpetuated when using foreign volunteers.

6.4.2 The commodification of SDP programmes and the ‘Voluntourist’

While the presence of volunteers may result in the homogenisation of individuals and groups as ‘people who need help’, some research participants held the view that their volunteering positively influenced children’s lives.

...[and] confidence building by speaking to us and developing a wider knowledge of other people would have increased their horizons. (Stephanie, CWB)

Likewise, Louis also noted how he receives satisfaction from seeing young people positively affected by the programme:

...the smiles of the children when we run sessions and the stories and memories of where we have made a real and lasting difference and the hope to achieve more of these. (Louis, CWB)

Both Stephanie and Louis report the positive effect they had on children. How the volunteers perceive their effect on the programme is important to consider because it may shed light on how they construct their role within CWB and wider development discourses. Stephanie’s assumption that her presence in the programme was beneficial, because children could broaden ‘their horizons’, could be considered as what Tiessen (2011) refers to as ‘arrogant confidence’ because this type of assumption is rarely challenged by anyone else. Though girls should be encouraged to expand their activities and knowledge, or ‘horizons’ as Stephanie puts it, they must also think critically about their environment (interactional dimension). Simply being in the presence of white Western volunteers is unlikely to develop the different dimensions of girls’ empowerment because it does not result in any form of psychological development, critical consciousness-raising or action.

Other research participants viewed their volunteering as a good opportunity to travel.

...I made lots of friends, travelled to some amazing places... (Louis, CWB)

Travelling to Africa, making new friends both home and abroad... (Tim, CWB)

What is of concern is that the volunteer might become a 'tourist', or 'voluntourist', who is only exposed to certain activities and scenarios during their stay and does not develop a deeper understanding of the realities of the local people (Darnell 2012). Additionally, the notion of travel could result in exoticizing the 'other' which reaffirms the 'us' and 'them' notion. The differences between the 'other' and the volunteers are pointed out rather than meaningfully trying to understand people's lives.

I guess you're kind of in a little bubble to a certain extent, where you get looked after by the cricket association, but on the same token you also get to go and be a tourist. (Derick, CWB)

Without exposure to non-tourist areas and meeting local people, volunteers' perceptions about inequalities, such as poverty, are likely to be reconfirmed because they have not been challenged during their visit. Subsequently, there is a danger that volunteers leave CWB with the same viewpoints and stereotypes they arrived with. This is concerning because conclusions about people's lives are drawn based on assumptions about the 'other' and reproduced when the volunteer returns back home. This was evident with some research participants' accounts which romanticised about the issues facing girls.

To be honest though, Rwanda doesn't seem to have a massive issue with sexism like the Western world. As far as I learnt, regardless of gender, people are treated equally there. But that's as far as I could ascertain! (Jack, CWB)

On the programme that I was on, there were no challenges that girls faced that I could see because both boys and girls got involved and the teachers were supportive of that... (Hannah, CWB)

In this case, the gender inequalities which girls' experience are trivialised. The research participants take their views for granted without questioning or challenging the wider issues at play and how they implicate his way of thinking (Raymond and

Hall 2008). Griffin (2004, p. 70 cited by Raymond and Hall 2008) argues “the assumption that ‘seeing’ equates to ‘knowing’ means stereotypes in the mind of the observer could perhaps be strengthened rather than challenged”.

A headline on the CWB website reads “Volunteers wanted for life-changing experience in Africa” (Document E, CWB). The headline is followed by quotes from previous individuals who had volunteered in Rwanda and Kenya:

My trips have given me new experiences, new friends, new found confidence that I can deal with any situation and a new perspective on what is important. Sign up, it will be the best two weeks of your life. (Quote 1, Document E, CWB)

[My] trips were unforgettable and genuinely life-changing. It is impossible to explain the feeling that coaching a group of several hundred smiling, enthusiastic, lively and cheerful African school children brings. (Quote 2, Document E, CWB)

It was a life-changing two weeks... we crossed the Nile, saw elephants, Ugandan Kob, and some very curious baboons... (Quote 3, Document E, CWB)

This approach to packaging and promoting volunteering in CWB exploits the appeal of altruism and self-development individuals are seeking. The notion of altruism is reiterated by McGee and Santos’ (2005, p. 760) who define volunteer tourism as “utilizing discretionary time and income to travel out of the sphere of regular activity to assist others in need”. It could be argued that CWB has used this hook to attract volunteers to the programme who will each pay for the trip in exchange of these experiences. As stated in Documents E and F volunteers are asked “to raise a minimum of £975 to cover the costs of the project, including transport, accommodation and most importantly the cricket equipment that is left in country”. The volunteer must also pay for their own flights, insurance, vaccinations, malaria pills and food and drink. Voluntourism could therefore be considered as a neoliberal approach to development because the main beneficiaries of recruiting volunteers from the West are the

volunteers themselves. Meanwhile, girls participating in SDP programmes are at risk of experiencing the disempowering effects of volunteers on their lives who maintain control within the programme and do not have the necessary skills or qualifications to help girls to develop dimensions of their empowerment. Packaging SDP in this way is problematic in two ways, first because it masks the privatisation and commodification of the programme and second, because girls participating are constructed as ‘people in need’. This could undermine girls’ empowerment because it shifts the intention of the programme from focusing on its intended objectives (health education and gender equality), towards creating a commodity for volunteers to go on excursions and see how ‘other people’ live in the Global South (Tiessen 2011). These approaches reproduce earlier disempowering notions of exoticizing the ‘other’, which may result in volunteers observing surface level cultural differences of food, clothing and music rather than critically understanding the cultures and context of girls participating in the programme.

Some volunteers’ motivations to volunteer could therefore be considered as being associated with ‘self’ development (Sin 2009). Self-development refers to the volunteer’s perception that experiencing the ‘other’ and something ‘exotic’ will develop their ‘self’ because they are understanding the world better and themselves as a part of that world. Examples of experiencing ‘other’ lifestyles as a motivation for volunteering are also reiterated in Barbieri et al’s (2012) research on volunteers in Rwanda. Barbieri et al (2012) concluded that developing the ‘self’ was a crucial motivation for their volunteering as well as seeing how ‘other’ people live in a different part of the world. Consequently, SDP programmes are at danger of becoming a commodity where Westerners can pay to see an alternative reality to their own. Operating in this way could mean that the volunteer increasingly detached from the programme end-users and therefore, as Simpson argues, “Poverty becomes an issue for ‘out there’, which can be passively gazed upon, rather than actively interacted with” (2004, p. 688).

Chapter Three questioned the effect of Western volunteers on girls (dis)empowerment in SDP programmes, and recruiting volunteers from the UK for a two-week programme is unlikely to create a programme environment to help girls develop their individual empowerment. In some cases, these volunteers may have led to the

disempowerment of girls participating in CWB. The findings shed light on the Global North and Global South politics in SDP and suggest that the limited positive effect of foreign volunteers is a result of inappropriate skills, irrelevant qualifications and insufficient knowledge about the programme context required to facilitate a programme that enables girls to develop their empowerment. Nonetheless, the benefits of using volunteers to deliver SDP programmes are often assumed and demonstrates an area in need of further research.

The commodification of SDP programmes is troubling as it generates a neoliberal industry where poverty and disadvantage are packaged, marketed and sold to privileged Westerners who can purchase the experience for their own gain. The growth and continued attention on recruitment of Western volunteers in the Global South means more work needs to be done to prevent disempowerment of individuals and groups participating in SDP programmes. Even though a volunteer might intend to ‘make a difference’ (Smith 2014), their desire to help others is based on moral and ethical issues that ought to be confronted when making the decision to volunteer in the Global South. This highlights the need for individuals to look within themselves and ask themselves challenging moral and ethical questions about their *real* motivations for volunteering and what effects that could have on the programme and programme end-users.

NGOs like CWB have become the bridge between volunteers and the communities ‘in need’, so there is a requirement for NGOs and other organisations, public, private and non-profit, to be accountable to the programme end-users. NGOs could begin to question whether the type of staff they recruit align with the intended outcomes of the programme. For example, if the programme outcomes are to educate girls about HIV/AIDS in the context of rural Rwanda, then volunteers must be knowledgeable, skilled and qualified to deliver such messages and sessions to facilitate the development of dimensions of empowerment. Simply being qualified in ‘sport’ is not enough.

6.5 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has discussed the emerging factors and processes related to girls’ (dis)empowerment in CWB’s programme. The first theme responded to the gap in literature which examined the efficacy of the CWB programme and questioned how

sport is used to promote health education. The theme identified some practical approaches that were adopted in the programme to educate programme end-users about HIV/AIDS and highlighted that ABC messages were embedded directly into cricket skills. Yet, despite the creative combination of cricket skills and ABC messaging, the evidence suggests that the approach perpetuated banking education. Subsequently, the HIV/AIDS education largely focused on encouraging girls to memorise and repeat terminology at the expense of developing critical thinking skills which may be more akin to developing dimensions of empowerment. The way that the curriculum is designed could also be limiting to girls' empowerment because CWB's emphasis on 'abstinence' is an example of making moral judgements concerning girls and the way they should live their lives.

In the second theme, it emerged that cricket may be viewed as an alternative sport that moves away from traditional conceptions of gender in SDP. The data introduced new questions into the relationship between concepts such as masculinity and femininity with girls' empowerment. Traditional trajectories in SDP have conceptualised girls' empowerment based on masculine notions of strength, assertion and competitiveness often using hegemonic masculine sports like football. Because cricket has no prior gender assumptions in the context of Rwanda, it meant that girls and boys were likely to be starting on a neutral ability level and girls could begin to challenge their beliefs in what they can do. The research participants therefore highlighted the potential for 'new' sports which counter girls' perceptions of powerlessness that could assist girls in developing their intrapersonal dimension.

The final theme made sense of the ramifications of Global North and Global South politics and the usage of volunteers in SDP as per research objective one. This was achieved by addressing the questions posed in the literature review about volunteers' motivations for volunteering and their implications on girls' developing their empowerment. The theme begins by illuminating research participants' motivations for becoming a volunteer in the programme. Whilst the research participants anticipated that their contribution to the programme was entirely good, the evidence suggests that their intentions could be detrimental to the programme and to girls developing their individual empowerment.

It emerged through the findings that volunteers are a programme mechanism that play a significant role in SDP programmes and whether they achieve their desired programme objectives. Volunteers play a central role in the way SDP is organised and delivered (Darnell 2012) and yet, the dominant position of the Western expert often remains intact and unquestioned and, in any case, their position of power could be reinforced. CFT assisted in understanding power relations in this context because it draws heavily on postcolonial perspectives and analyses the relationship between power and knowledge (Briggs and Sharp 2004). It was revealed that those with knowledge possess greater power, and so, when knowledge is created and controlled in the West, the West maintains power. This may be problematic for girls' developing empowerment, because empowerment is centred on individuals gaining control over aspects of one's life and requires a shift of power where girls can move from a position of powerlessness to taking control. Empowerment cannot be done *to* girls as they need to develop their own empowerment. Thinking in this way enables a more critical examination of the role NGOs play to facilitate girls' empowerment.

The chapter has addressed some questions posed in Chapter Three about the design of programme curriculums, how certain sports may be more equipped for facilitating girls' empowerment and the usage of foreign volunteers in SDP. CFT was drawn upon to examine components of CWB and how key parts of the programme were conceptualised. The final section examined the implications of Western volunteers in SDP, their motivations for volunteering and their influence on the programme and subsequently for girls' empowerment. The evidence suggests that research participants may have reproduced the donor-recipient relationship critiqued in the literature where the privileged Westerner maintains power over the passive programme end-user. Nevertheless, it emerged that practitioners involved in SDP programmes must engage in critical self-analysis about their position and how they perceive their contribution to the programme.

Chapter Seven: Locating Individuals Within the Collective

7.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the complex relationship between the individual and the collective in relation to girls' (dis)empowerment. To achieve this, research participants' narratives from both cases are used as well as entries from the researcher's journal. Initially, this chapter examines the role of mutual support within SDP programmes and the experience this creates for girls participating. The chapter then analyses the extent to which cultural philosophy effects girls' development of individual empowerment wherein Ubuntu is discussed and critically analysed within the data.

7.2 Creating a setting for peer support in SDP

In several cases, research participants implied that 'support' was a key part of girls' experiences in KPI and CWB. Even though neither programmes had an official peer mentorship strategy or system, both KPI and CWB interviewees commented on how younger girls received support from older girls:

... you have older girls and they [younger girls] are seeing them pursuing high school and so on. (Marie, KPI)

Older girls would not only offer support within peer groups, but also to the younger ones, ensuring they were being fairly treated. (Stephanie, CWB)

The relationship between older and younger girls is significant because the older girls appear to play an active role in supporting younger girls in the programmes. Older girls became unofficial mentors to younger girls and provided another system of support and guidance from within the SDP programmes. Michelle explains how she capitalises on the supportive relationship girls develop during the programme to assist in their education:

...they [older girls] educate each other [younger girls] so I don't do all the education. If there is something someone experienced before and shares out loud I am also inspired or I'm also educated by it. (Michelle, CWB)

As agreed by Freire (1976; 1973), an environment where girls are supported by their peers creates a space for effective collaborative education. Individuals share their stories and experiences for others to listen and learn from This is reinforced by Lord and Hutchinson (1993) who argue that it is the ability to listen to others' experiences which serves as a form of moral support. Marie says more about how the programme creates a unique environment for programme end-users:

Those high school students, they are also seeing the coaches support them so that they are like in this unique bubble of support system that's like in healthy environment to them to be themselves. (Marie, KPI)

Programmes like KPI and CWB can provide a suitable environment for girls to do things they might not normally do because they now have a structure of support around them.

...sometimes more girls putting their hands up to contribute...they are moving past that fear of like, speaking up. And even sometimes they speak up in a low voice, and looking into the ground and kind of shy and in this really encouraging space. (Marie, KPI)

As examined in earlier findings, when girls share their personal stories they create collective knowledge which can lead to development of their interactional dimension of individual empowerment (see section 5.4.1). Creating a space where girls feel comfortable to share their stories is crucial. For some girls, this might be the only setting in their lives where they receive moral or mentor support from other girls who have been through similar experiences. Especially older girls who have participated in the programmes longer and are likely to have experienced similar challenges about their participation in a sports programme. Thus, older girls and other girls who participate in the programme could offer valuable peer support. Peer support refers to

“social emotional support, frequently coupled with instrumental support, that is mutually offered or provided by persons having a mental health condition to others sharing a similar mental health condition to bring about a desired social or personal change” (Solomon 2004, p. 393). Several mental health studies have also argued the benefits of developing supportive structures in programmes and interventions (see Tanaka et al. 2018; Schutt and Rogers 2009; Randall and Salem 2005). Thompson et al’s (2002) study demonstrated that women at higher risk of suicide were those with low levels of social support. Likewise, Zelvin (1999) study into women’s treatment of addictions also found the positive effects of group support and listening to the experiences of peers as effective treatment. In comparison, social isolation has been linked to being disempowering and is associated with the development of mental health issues (Schutt and Rogers 2009). Therefore, participation in the programme forms an important part of their formative development as Michelle observes:

...you find that it creates an environment some of the kids didn’t usually have especially that feeling of belonging and some don’t feel like they belong or they don’t have a family. Maybe she’s never felt a feeling of belonging but now she is in a team where she is laughing and somebody is looking out for her... (Michelle, CWB)

It is suggested by the research participants that feelings of belonging were created because of the support provided by other girls participating in the SDP programme. Especially within CWB and the programme’s HIV/AIDS curriculum, peer support could be significantly effective. Kellett and Gnauck’s (2016) study highlighted the role of peer support groups in alleviating stigma experienced by women. According to Kellett and Gnauck (2016, p.345) the peer support groups “fostered a sense of support and freedom from one’s troubles. Merely the act of participation in the workshop provided women a sense of release from negative thoughts and emotions”. The relationship between belonging and empowerment is also reiterated by Barringer et al (2017) who argued that women with higher levels of empowerment were those who experienced high levels of belonging support. SDP programmes might therefore provide girls with a sense of belonging and connection which may be lacking in other

spheres of their lives. These findings provide some indication into the programme mechanisms which foster support such as peer support and mentoring.

7.2.1 Developing relationships, bonding and Ubuntu

Michelle and Marie also spoke of the bond girls created by doing activities together outside of the programme. These activities include walking in the forest together, laughing together and going on day trips to museums. It could be argued that the supportive environment developed within the programmes also extended outside of the programmes where girls began to look out for each other:

...somebody is giving her a heads up like ‘watch out there’s a car coming’.
So, it has brought that environment to people. (Michelle, CWB)

On a practical level, the bond between participants is useful for KPI so they can learn about why someone has not attended a session.

The players know each other if the players are missing the other players will usually know they will be like ‘this is happening in her family’ or ‘she is sick’ or ‘someone in her family is sick so she needs to stay home’ ... (Marie, KPI)

In this way, the programmes became an environment where a ‘network’ between girls, and some boys, was created:

Many had the network of supporting each other... (Stephanie, CWB)

I also want our girls to form a network of supportive girls, women, boys and men who will be advocates and allies for them. (Sophia, KPI)

These accounts suggest a more practical form of support which refers to the more tangible help where girls helped each other (Lord and Hutchinson 1993). Practical support also includes giving a friend a pen when they are at school because their friend did not have one (Wellars, KPI) or girls’ sharing their lunches at school because they know their friend hasn’t eaten at all that day (Vestine, KPI). Acknowledging the practical support which occurs in girls’ lives is important because it is connected to

contextual mechanisms outside the programme such as family and school. Practical support might involve helping other girls to meet their basic needs of survival such as food, safety, warmth and security – essentials for girls living in a rural community in Rwanda with high levels of poverty.

There was also an example of support which combined moral and practical aspects of support recorded in my research journal during my field visit to Rwanda. At the beginning of each KPI session, girls and boys were separated into smaller groups of five or six with a coach and everyone was given a banana to eat. Eating together signifies unity and sharing and is a key part of family and rural community life when everyone eats their evening meal together (moral support). Once the banana has been eaten, the coach led a conversation to find out how everyone's week had been and what the participants had done during the week. In relation to practical support, for girls who are malnourished the banana will provide them with the energy and nourishment required to participate in the physical activity during the session. The connection between the moral and practical support and girls' empowerment manifests in this activity by creating a setting for fostering empowerment at the beginning of the session. From the start of the session, girls were encouraged to have a conversation with other participants and the coach, foreshadowing the activities later in the session which promote conversation and facilitate consciousness-raising (interactional dimension of individual empowerment).

Mentoring, moral and practical modes of support present in KPI and CWB align with the cultural philosophy of Ubuntu embedded in rural communities in Rwanda (see section 2.2.3). Across both cases, tenets of Ubuntu emerged through research participants' narratives. Terms such as support, togetherness and belonging were used to describe the relationships some girls formed through participation in KPI and CWB. Ubuntu presents a shift of power relations from 'power over' to 'power with'. In the context of KPI and CWB, Ubuntu and collectivism may be more culturally fitting to 'power with' because it centres on the idea of accomplishing individual goals in partnership, and at the same time, as group goals. Unlike 'power over' which must be continually reinforced to maintain its dominancy, 'power with' evolves through the participation of people and grows in strength with continued recognition (Carne and Marti 2003; Foucault 1978). As recognition grows, individual's abilities and knowledge are multiplied, unlocking the unique potential of their 'power to' (Carne

and Marti 2003). Hence, within SDP programmes, programme mechanisms that are designed with mutual respect and reciprocal understanding might reduce the reliance on coercive or dominating ‘power over’, and instead provide opportunities for individuals to exercise their agency, or ‘power to’.

The type of sport adopted in SDP programmes may also promote ‘power with’ and mutual support and therefore may be more akin to embedding tenets of Ubuntu. Michelle’s account connected the supportive environment directly to sport by discussing the advantages of being in a team:

...you find that in despite of how you have been raised or whatever you have gone through, it is a supportive environment of feeling happiness, togetherness, feeling all the spirits a team player ‘she is my teammate’ so you just have that natural thing of signing on in your team. (Michelle, CWB)

In team sports such as cricket, participants already experience cohesion within their team and have individual roles to support the good of the whole team. For example, a participant will play an individual role in the team when fielding but their performance also contributes to the way the team performs overall. Indeed, it should not be assumed that *all* team sports inherently foster team work and mutual support. During an informal conversation with Marie, we discussed the usage of different sports that emphasised team work. Marie explained that there was a tendency for football based games and activities to be dominated by higher ability boys who would dribble the ball and aim to score without passing the ball to other girls or boys. Even though some sports are labelled as ‘team sports’, it does not mean they automatically foster support between team members. Marie discussed how running operated as a group activity where girls and boys would support each other when running as a group.

if someone was slowing and falling further behind the main group, the whole group would slow down and wait for them to catch up or say motivating words to help them catch up.

Regardless of whether the sport is an individual or team sport, it is the way that sport is cultivated with all participants that makes the difference. Certain sports therefore, could be cultivated in a way that aligns with the cultural philosophy where support

and collectivism is emphasised.

Despite the multiple forms of support which operated in KPI and CWB, there was consensus that support, a central tenet to Ubuntu (Mugumbate and Nyanguru 2013; Hailey 2008), could be a key element of both programmes. The presence of practical support for girls might also be essential for them to fulfil their basic needs whether outside or from within the programme. These findings begin to answer a question posed in the literature review as to how girls, who are the individuals, develop their empowerment whilst being part of the community, who are the collective.

7.3 Realising her own needs: self-realisation and the collective

The above responses bring to life practical examples of the Ubuntu value of mutual support within SDP programmes. They also begin to highlight the ways girls may benefit within and alongside the collective as Tim explains:

This message is transferable into society, in terms of relationships, families and work-place, it also teaches that individuals can flourish and perform both for their own and the teams' benefit and achievement. (Tim, CWB)

Tim refers to an important characteristic of Ubuntu which emphasises the individual knowing themselves and their needs. As Broodryk (1997) states, Ubuntu is “a process of self-realisation through others, it enhances the self-realisation of oneself” (cited in Mwaanga and Prince 2016, p. 600). During this process of self-realisation, girls can begin to realise themselves as individual and develop their way of being. For girls to develop their individual empowerment, realising her *own* needs is crucial because empowerment is based on taking control over what the individual deems important in their life (Adams 1990). This process involves two important parts. First, it is important for girls to consider what they want from their own lives. This might only happen once the individual has developed her interactional dimension of empowerment and achieved some degree of critical consciousness so that she can see the options available to her and understand the challenges she may experience. Second, while a girl develops her capacity for identifying her own needs for control, she is also negotiating the cultural philosophy which in this context involves simultaneously receiving and reciprocating her community.

... it's also creating a space where they can be themselves and reflect as an individual. That's not to make them detached from the community, but to understand themselves and how they can work *with* [emphasis added] the community. (Marie, KPI)

Marie's statement also reiterates a critique of SDP programmes which tend to be detached from the realities of the rest of the community (see section 1.3.2). For Marie, programmes should work symbiotically with the culture and context they are delivered

in. Whilst it is crucial to acknowledge the cultural philosophy of Ubuntu in this setting, attention must also be paid to the individual to ensure they can develop their *own* mindset and not conform to the collective mindset simply because the collective think in a certain way. This argument is reiterative of the structure and agency debate discussed in Chapter Three. The literature review posed questions about the relationship between Ubuntu (structure) and girls developing their individual empowerment (agency). The position of the individual within the collective was a point of contention in the literature about Ubuntu, wherein some scholars argued that the emphasis on the collective needs and community stifles the individual and their own agency. Thus, individuals might therefore be restricted from pursuing their own good because they are too focused on the collective good. Marie reinforces this earlier critique of Ubuntu as she observes the challenges of living in a community that practices collectivism:

...to be valued as an individual person which is also difficult in a community, a small community, and working for the better of the community is always ahead of you and yourself... (Marie, KPI)

Some research participants commented on the challenges girls experience between the conflict of cultural expectations and participation in SDP:

...they saw a girl work, doing things reserved for boys, they try to call her and say 'this girl is like a boy, this girl is not respecting the culture'. (Annet, KPI)

...in the culture of Rwanda, the girls don't put on shorts but in KPI the girls put on shorts. (Gervais, KPI)

Lindsey et al (2017, p.165) also discuss the tensions between the individual and wider social change, "As much as young women discussed redefining notions of femininity and their status and position within communities, they also talked about having to navigate negative attitudes and sometimes aggression towards their participation". Similar circumstances also emerged in KPI where some girls wanted to take control of the clothing they wore to participate programme, but were stigmatised for resisting cultural expectations as Gervais and Sophia explain:

The people and the neighbours in the field look at girl in KPI and talk many words, ‘why do girls put on shorts?’. Sometimes they call them prostitutes. (Gervais, KPI)

...there was a relatively large focus on what girls should wear when playing sports. In the community, it is seen as abnormal for a girl to wear shorts, particularly if it is above her knee. (Sophia, KPI)

These experiences were usually reinforced by gossiping where “People may talk about her behind her back or call her a prostitute” (Sophia, KPI). This was an issue also recorded in the research journal on multiple occasions after informal discussions with Wellars, Marie and Eugene. They explained that gossiping was customary in rural communities which prevented some girls from wearing shorts while participating in the programmes, as Michelle explains:

It has not been a very big challenge it’s only to some few girls who being in sports they can’t put on tracksuits they feel that they need to be in a skirt and a long skirt. (Michelle, CWB)

Gossiping was also identified as a harmful factor in Walstrom et al’s (2013) research into factors affecting women’s engagement in psychological health services. In this study, gossip may have hindered the development of some girls’ behavioural dimension because they may not have the ability to take control over what clothes they wore out of fear they would be talked about negatively in the community. Such negative experiences may also effect girls’ intrapersonal dimension of empowerment because they felt that they were unable to do certain activities.

Generally, it is more common to see women and girls wear shorts and dresses on or above the knee in urban areas rather than rural areas where these programmes are located. As witnessed by Michelle and Eugene, one reason girls wanted to wear shorts was because it allowed them to move freely when participating in sport.

So, you find that it is not easy for kids to be like others in terms of running around playing like the others if she has things that hinder her like the skirts and the like. (Michelle, CWB)

...it was not even allowed for girls to play football, for girls it was not allowed to wear pants, it was kind of exclusion... They can't play sport with a dress on... (Eugene, KPI)

These accounts align with empowerment literature which supports the view that individuals should take control over what they deem as important and so, if girls consider their participation in sport as important, they need to take control over what they wear. However, this control brings about conflict with community members (collective) who viewed this as an act of defiance against Rwandan culture:

...the first challenges when they put on shorts they call them prostitutes, 'they're are not respecting our culture' ... (Vestine, KPI)

As a result, the SDP programme could be the cause of conflict between girls and their community because girls are trying to negotiate contextual mechanisms (community and cultural beliefs) with programme mechanisms which encourage girls to wear shorts. This conflict is exacerbated by SDP programmes if they present the choices girls can make as binary, i.e. girls must choose whether they want to conform and preserve their cultural values and traditions *or* take control over their life by choosing what they want to wear. As such SDP programmes are presented with a challenge to prevent forcing girls to choose between their culture and their own development and instead centralise ways girls can develop their individual empowerment and be part of the collective. One way in which KPI attempted to address this conflict was by encouraging girls to educate other people in the community by having a conversation with them:

...they can promote by having a conversation or comment about what they did in sport and now they [neighbours] have a better understanding of what a girl and want a boy can do. (Eugene, KPI)

...in our programme, we have boys and girls they try to work together in the sport. We encourage them to play together... to work together in different activities at home and at school and try to convince others by explaining to them ... that a man, a girl and a boy are equal and can do the same things. (Annet, KPI)

Eugene and Annet's narratives reinforce earlier findings that emphasised communication and dialogue as crucial skills required for girls to negotiate their control with family or members of the community (see section 5.4.1). For girls, possessing necessary skills such as communication not only links to her development of the interactional dimension but means that she could develop herself whilst developing her community. Subsequently, by focusing on approaches that work *with* the collective, SDP programmes might begin to embed cultural values which prevent leaving girls with only binary choices. This data is also supported by Louw (2006, p. 169) who argues that the individual or 'the other' is malleable and dynamic and not fixed within the collective that "allows the other to become".

A shift in perspective might therefore be required for NGOs and SDP practitioners to understand what girls deem as important in *their* lives, because the SDP programme may create conflict for girls which can affect their attainment of individual empowerment. Resisting the status quo and what is deemed as 'normal' can bring about unwanted attention, harassment and abuse from people in the same community. This presents a shift away from the assumption that participation in SDP is the *most* important thing in girls' lives when their participation and reciprocation from the community may be more important as it is the cornerstone to Ubuntu (Dolamo 2013). This point is supported by Metz (2015, p. 396) who argues that these characteristics can be summarised as "sharing a way of life" on the one hand, and "being responsive to others' needs, and sharing what one has, usefully captured as caring for others' quality of life" on the other.

These findings show some disagreement with the literature review which highlighted that Ubuntu and collectivism could have a negative effect on girls' empowerment. Instead, they suggest the potential for Ubuntu to assist in the development of girls' individual empowerment. The process of self-realisation is closely aligned to the intrapersonal dimension where girls can begin to foster their 'power within' and key

concepts such as self-confidence. It was implied by the data that both programmes created a supportive environment where girls felt comfortable to share their personal experiences and stories via participation in a critical pedagogy. As a result, girls could expand their interactional dimension of individual empowerment by listening to and sharing their own experiences within the programme.

The findings also show that ‘the collective’ might be a positive factor which contributes to girls’ empowerment rather than hinder empowerment or lead to (dis)empowerment. This is agreed by Bujo (2001, p. 14) who explains, “It must be recalled that African ethics does not define the person as self-realisation or as ontological act; rather, it describes a person as a process of coming into existence in the reciprocal relatedness of individual and community”. Bujo’s argument is noteworthy because it also highlights the disservice some SDP programmes do when they are detached from the context and, in some cases, can go against cultural values and norms which create conflict for individuals. Acknowledging the existence of, or embedding, contextual mechanisms such as Ubuntu into SDP programming therefore may help to ensure that programmes aligns with and possibly reinforce local discourses and values. However, like the findings in Lindsey et al’s (2017) study, the above narratives suggest that girls experience tension between the ‘self’ and meeting the needs of the collective to foster their empowerment.

7.4 Chapter conclusion

Examining girls’ attainment of individual empowerment from a perspective which acknowledges the role of Ubuntu is useful because it presents an alternative to neoliberal approaches that focus on individual development and change in isolation to contextual factors (Forde 2014; Coakley 2011). Research participants’ responses suggest that through mutual support and self-realisation, key tenets of the cultural philosophy of Ubuntu, girls may develop dimensions of their individual empowerment. In the context of KPI and CWB, cooperation, support and reciprocity are valued over competition and individual success (Kerr and Mkandawire 2010) and as such do well to reflect the cultural philosophy embedded in rural communities in Rwanda.

This data also helps to make sense of the coming together of multiple worldviews, and responds to a question posed in the literature review concerned with how Western conceptualisations of girls' empowerment would interact with Rwandan conceptualisations of girls' empowerment. As Shutte (2001, p. 10) examines, liberty and freedom of individuals and individuals' power over choices is a Western or European notion of empowerment, whereas the "African idea is the idea of community, that persons depend on other persons to be a person". Despite the differences in between the West or Africa, broadly speaking, they both "deal with human beings and human nature" (Dolamo 2013, p.8).

At the micro level, what is clear is that individualism and collectivism are not mutually exclusive. There might be an opportunity to combine existing cultural values, such as mutual support, with a critical pedagogy to develop the interactional dimension of empowerment by girls' gaining greater awareness of their environment. Subsequently, programmes could begin designing programme mechanisms which work symbiotically with contextual mechanisms without imposing Eurocentric beliefs or norms which have little, if any, value to girls living in Rwanda.

This means there is the potential for the SDP environment to become an ecosystem, a community within a community, where it might be possible to form a unique Ubuntu which combines the cultural philosophy of the wider context and specific programme values and messages between individuals and the collective. Mutual support was a feature of Ubuntu and an important component in KPI and CWB, but both programmes focus on different ways of developing a supportive environment. KPI practitioners observed girls' self-realisation whereas CWB practitioners described how girls bonded over sharing stories and experiences. A KPI version of Ubuntu was different to a CWB Ubuntu, but both were rooted in the Ubuntu worldview and thus gives rise to the notion of Ubuntu *within* programmes as a programme mechanism and a contextual mechanism.

However, there is a clear caveat to acknowledge that Ubuntu isn't the overall answer for understanding African communities. Clearly, there are challenges and conflicts and to say that the individual and collective are always working towards the benefit of the individual and collective would not be an accurate representation of community life. This study has only highlighted the observable aspects of Ubuntu in this context such as self-realisation and mutual support, however there are also psychological and

spiritual tenets of Ubuntu which may be harder to see, as Binsbergen (2001, p. 73) explains:

“Being utopian, the images of concrete social life featuring in statements of do not have to correspond to any lived reality anywhere — they are allowed to refer to ‘No-Place’, and to merely depict, through social imagery, desired changes to be brought about by an application of the precepts”.

The responses in this chapter are useful because they highlight how contextual mechanisms such as cultural philosophy may emerge through and within the SDP context. Thus, a thorough understanding of the context and the tenets of the cultural philosophy ought to be achieved by NGOs, as well as awareness of how individuals and the collective interact with cultural philosophy to foster girls’ empowerment.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

In this final chapter, a summary and conclusion of the research project are discussed. This is crucial to ensure the research aim and objectives have been achieved. The chapter begins by explaining how each of the four research objectives have been achieved. Next, the research contributions to theory, policy and practice are identified followed by a discussion of their implications for edging SDP research, policy and practice forward.

8.2 Research objective one: To investigate the ramifications of the Global North and Global South politics on conceptualising gender in SDP

This research objective was concerned with exploring gender within SDP and the relationship between the Global North and Global South. To achieve this objective, Chapter Two examined the existing literature on SDP, gender and development to acknowledge the contributions of other studies and identify gaps in knowledge that this study could address. The literature analysis began by providing a context and background on gender in SDP, before discussing the Women's Movement and critiquing the usage of solely Western feminist perspectives in the conceptualisation and research of SDP programmes in the Global South. The relationship between the Global North and the Global South was critiqued to reveal the implications on conceptualising gender in SDP programmes. The analysis highlighted that the majority of research on gender and SDP had been completed in the Global North, but the subjects of the research have often been in the Global South, especially Africa. With the scale and wealth of higher education systems in Europe and the United States, critics have argued that research mandates in SDP reproduce Western, Eurocentric, neoliberal knowledge that privileges Northern ways of being and knowing while discounting indigenous forms of knowledge (Darnell 2012; Darnell and Hayhurst 2011).

Through the analysis, it became clear that although there was a growing literature on gender and SDP, it emerged that multiple feminist perspectives might help to make sense of the complex relationships between sport, gender and development. Using multiple feminist perspectives in CFT meant that girls' participation in SDP could be examined under a set of guiding assumptions and previous studies in SDP could be re-read using a different perspective.

Chapter Two identified some gaps regarding the relationship between gender and SDP, including an examination into the role of sport to positively transform girls' lives. This involved building on previous studies to explore the cultural and historical implications of sport, a historically male dominated institution, and gender expectations to understand how girls experience participation in SDP. This context was then used as a basis for further analysis into how sport, with its cultural and historical baggage, can (dis)empower girls. This was of relevance and importance for this study because, as questioned during the literature review, certain sports may be more akin to fostering girls' (dis)empowerment. Findings from Case 2 in Chapter Six bridged this gap and highlighted how certain sports, such as football, might reproduce and reinforce gender norms, whereas sports such as cricket could begin to challenge gender norms to facilitate empowerment. When girls participated with boys at a new sport neither had played before, the physical skill which gives most boys an advantage was removed. This could mean that gender expectations about girls shifted because they could compete at the same level or at a higher level than boys. Introducing a new sport meant that there were likely to be no prior preconceptions about whether cricket is 'a sport for girls or boys'. This subsequently opened opportunities for girls to counter perceptions of powerlessness (intrapersonal dimension) and shift the perception that sport was a domain reserved only for boys.

8.3 Research objective two: To explore the role of NGOs in fostering girls' (dis)empowerment in SDP in Rwanda.

To achieve this objective, the role of sporting NGOs were examined in the literature review and the finding and discussion chapters. The literature analysis began by examining organisations' and policy's usage of the term empowerment, wherein NGOs globally have tended to emphasise the claim that SDP is a viable site for empowering girls. It was the popularity of the term 'empowerment' in practice coupled

with its casual usage that provided the impetus for this research to add an extra layer of understanding empowerment within SDP.

The beginning of Chapter Three began to deconstruct empowerment by examining the origin and dominant discourses related to the term. First, the literature illuminated that empowerment is a multilevel concept to involve the individual and collective level and that the individual level is a multi-dimensional (intrapersonal, interactional and behavioural dimensions) social process and outcome that helps individuals and groups gain control over what they deem important in their lives. While the literature acknowledged that empowerment has been defined differently, in practice programmes have largely focused on psychological concepts of empowerment such as increasing girls' self-confidence. This led to the question of how self-confidence is related to girls' individual empowerment. The focus on developing self-confidence was reiterated in Case 1 (Chapter Five) where it was implied that self-confidence was conceptualised in different ways by practitioners working in the NGOs. Some research participants referred to self-confidence as girls needing a voice while others focussed on encouraging girls to change their perception about what they can do. Despite the different accounts from research participants, many suggested the importance of this dimension was with regards to developing other dimensions of empowerment. It was conceived that the intrapersonal dimension is likely a crucial dimension of girls' individual empowerment because it provides a foundation level for the interactional and behavioural dimension to be developed.

Even though empowerment was labelled as a viable alternative that shifts away from donor-recipient aid development, some of the approaches being adopted by NGOs tended to reproduce the dominant development discourses. This was of concern because those conceptualising the programmes often paid lip service to the notion of giving up or balancing power. The literature suggested that some NGOs may have continued to possess the same level of power but repackaged it to let girls believe they have power and control without acknowledging the structure and system which surrounds and confines them. This posed a question within the literature analysis as to whether girls' participation in SDP could be *disempowering*, despite the inherently positive claims made. Case 2 was useful in addressing this question because the findings suggested that recruiting volunteers from the UK may have had a negative effect on girls' developing their empowerment and in some cases lead to their

disempowerment. The narratives and documents suggested that donor-recipient relationship was reproduced by privileged Western volunteers who maintained power over the girls participating because they were positioned as the ‘experts’ of knowledge. As a result, some girls may have experienced a lack of control over the knowledge they received. Arguably, this is what Foucault referred to as ‘docile bodies’ where girls’ bodies and actions are effected by dominant discourses. This is of concern for SDP programming because it might reproduces the notion that knowledge and expertise is something which only comes from the West, and leaves no room for girls to create their own knowledge. In contrast to the findings about UK volunteers from Case 2, Case 1 findings illuminated the positive role of recruiting local Rwandan people to work as coaches in KPI. The data highlighted that Rwandan coaches could help girls develop their critical consciousness (interactional dimension) by sharing personal stories and experiences which girls were able to relate to. This meant that discussions and activities in the programme were based on addressing the local realities of the issues girls experienced. The findings suggested that practitioners, paid and unpaid, might benefit from engagement in critical self-analysis about their position in programmes because they have a direct effect on the programme and girls developing their individual empowerment. Failure to engage in critical self-analysis could lead to practitioners fostering girls’ disempowerment within programmes.

8.4 Research objective three: To provide critical insight into the programme mechanisms that operate within SDP programmes to foster (dis)empowerment for girls in Rwanda.

To achieve this research objective, Chapter Three of the literature review began to examine the possible mechanisms currently being employed in SDP programmes. It emerged in the literature that there were two different types of mechanisms which may affect girls’ (dis)empowerment, programme mechanisms and contextual mechanisms. Data from both case studies shed light on possible programme mechanisms related to SDP programming which may have affected girls’ (dis)empowerment. Chapter Three critiqued the simplistic pedagogies evident in some SDP programming, especially those which have been conceptualised in the Global North but delivered in the Global South. While some studies have examined pedagogy in SDP (see Jeanes and Spaaij 2016; Mwaanga and Prince 2016), a gap was identified concerning the empowering

and disempowering potential of education approaches adopted in SDP programmes. The findings suggested the necessity for SDP programmes to employ a critical pedagogy. To foster girls' empowerment, KPI demonstrated a critical pedagogy and suggested programme mechanisms including debates, role play and conversations which enabled girls to enhance their interactional dimension of individual empowerment. Research participants narratives implied that girls may be able to change their conditions if they acquire knowledge about why their condition is the way it is. This knowledge, as Freire (1976) argued, enables them to transform and improve their realities.

In CWB there was limited evidence of critical consciousness raising or using programme mechanisms to develop girls' interactional dimension. It was implied that the pedagogy only promoted surface level learning where girls were only encouraged to memorise and repeat terms related to HIV/AIDs. The findings also suggested the type of messages being put forth in SDP programmes, particularly the 'abstain' message in CWB which has received heavy criticism within the literature. Prioritising the message of 'abstinence' within CWB could mean that moral judgements were being made about the way girls should live their lives. Rather than providing girls with all the necessary knowledge to make their own decisions, certain information was withheld on how to prevent contracting HIV/AIDS and subsequently may have taken away their control leading to disempowerment. Hence, the way the curriculum is designed and delivered within SDP programmes ought to be carefully considered.

The data from CWB and KPI shed light on possible advantages of mixed-gender programming in SDP. While, CFT acknowledged the potential of boys to have a positive effect on girls' participation in the programme, there was an absence in the literature which examined the role boys could play in fostering girls' empowerment. The findings suggested that delivering mixed-gender programming was a likely programme mechanism which facilitated girls' empowerment. In KPI boys and girls were encouraged to share their experiences and daily challenges with each other, which may have resulted in some girls enhancing their interactional dimension because they learned to critically understand their environment through boys' stories. This might have been achieved through critical pedagogical approaches which emphasised dialogue and learning about each other's realities. The evidence also pointed to boys facilitating girls behavioural dimension. Outside the programme boys

were encouraging girls to take action and complete chores traditionally reserved for boys. The findings suggested that SDP programmes could be used as a site to build alliances between boys and girls because of the unique proximity when participating together. Because boys are in close proximity to girls in the programme, they may become susceptible to learn about girls' realities and can begin to empathise with them.

Unlike the above programme mechanisms targeted at ideological changes, the data from Case 1 also suggested how some tangible resources may also facilitate girls' empowerment. The empowering potential of SDP was critiqued in the literature based on the simplistic notion that removing physical barriers to girls' participation would lead to their empowerment (Chawansky 2015). However, the findings from KPI illuminated how providing tangible resources, such as menstrual products, may mean that girls who participate in the programme could take greater control over aspects of their life outside of the programme. Providing girls with access to sanitary pads and a private latrine in the field where the programme is delivered, may have enabled girls to take control over their participation in sport. It meant they might not need to miss sessions and their formal education because they were now able to attend school during menstruation. The SDP programme might have also provided a site to educate girls and boys and talk openly about menstrual hygiene and challenge the myths surrounding it. Equipping girls with the necessary information to maintain good hygiene means girls could reduce their chances of infections and take greater control over their health. In this vein, there were two possible programme mechanisms present, the first was providing the menstrual products to girls and the second involved critical discussions between boys and girls about menstruation and hygiene within the programme.

As discussed in research objective one, the sport adopted in SDP programmes could also be considered a programme mechanism. As demonstrated in this study, some sports might be more aligned with facilitating girls' empowerment than others because of the gendered assumptions associated with certain sports. The findings in Chapter Six highlighted the accessibility and inclusivity of some sports for girls which offer new opportunities for fostering girls' empowerment.

The findings also suggested that it could be the convergence of multiple programme mechanisms which fostered girls' empowerment. Embedding a critical pedagogy is just one part of programmes and is more effective when delivered by local individuals working as coaches and is delivered in a programme environment which is safe and supportive for girls. There are also ongoing contextual mechanisms at the same time as programme mechanisms, such as family and cultural philosophy, which are simultaneously effecting girls' developing their empowerment. This is supported by Porter (2015) who argues that it is rare for a single mechanism to lead to change and so it is important to recognise that there are multiple mechanisms in operation.

Given the relative small scale of this research, it is important to note that this research has not uncovered *all* of the possible programme mechanisms which can lead to girls' (dis)empowerment in SDP programmes. Some programme mechanisms may be unobservable and others may not have emerged in research participants' narratives. Nevertheless, this research provides a platform for future studies to conduct research into programme mechanisms which may foster individuals' and groups' (dis)empowerment.

8.5 Research objective four: To identify and explore the contextual factors external to SDP programmes and how they implicate girls' attainment of (dis)empowerment.

To achieve the final research objective, the external factors of SDP programmes that implicate girls' developing their empowerment were examined. The literature analysis brought to the fore the tendency for programmes to ignore issues of structure and how contextual mechanisms may implicate girls' abilities to act. Focussing solely on agency and placing responsibility on girls to change their behaviour could lead to person blaming and disempowerment. The first possible contextual mechanism that emerged from the findings was in relation to girls' family's and whether family members facilitated or hindered girls' developing their empowerment. Within the findings, it surfaced that parents tended to hinder their daughter's development of the behavioural dimension of individual empowerment. This may have been frustrating for girls who have developed their intrapersonal and interactional dimensions because they may already possess the psychological capabilities and the critical awareness of their environment but were prevented from taking action. Mothers, in particular, were

concerned about their daughters participating in the programme because boys were also participating and playing sports was perceived as an activity reserved for only boys. These findings begin to respond to an earlier question posed in Chapter Three, to examine whether contextual mechanisms conflict with programme mechanisms. The parents of girls participating in the programme constituted part of the wider structure (contextual mechanism) and the sport component that caused conflict was an example of a programme mechanism. Other contextual mechanisms might also include gender and cultural structures which promote certain ideologies and expectations in relation to families which conflict with the notion of girls' participation in SDP and subsequently effect girls' agency.

A crucial component to analysing the relationship between families and girls' empowerment was to decentralise the importance of SDP in girls' lives. When SDP is centralised, it assumes that participation in SDP is the most important aspect of girls' lives and overlooks how contextual mechanisms might be of greater importance. Rather than assuming families negatively interrupt SDP programming and girls' empowerment, the perspective shifted to argue how SDP programmes negatively affect other parts of girls' lives such as their family life. Centralising family life when examining girls' (dis)empowerment was useful for understanding the efficacy of SDP programmes approaches for managing families' involvement in SDP. KPI partnered with a local organisation to deliver a workshop and invited parents and other members of the community to learn more about what the programme was trying to do. The research participants expressed the positive influences the workshop had directly on parents and their daughter's participation in the programme. The narratives suggested that girls experienced greater freedom in completing household chores traditionally reserved for boys. By having the ability to complete tasks they were previously unable to do, girls could begin developing their behavioural dimension of empowerment. This involved guiding girls through a process of taking action and reflecting on that action to critically reflect on their experiences.

In addition to the workshop, KPI also sought to enhance girls' communication skills. This was to ensure girls had the capacity to have conversations with their parents about the challenges they faced and to educate them about new ideas regarding gender expectations. The findings implied that this approach required girls to already have developed their intrapersonal dimension so that they had the self-confidence to speak

to their parents. Their interactional dimension was also necessary to ensure the conversation was a proactive and constructive one. This finding began to address a question posed in Chapter Three, to show how participants negotiate changing contextual mechanisms such as their family (Houlihan 2008).

The second possible contextual mechanism which emerged from the findings involved examining the cultural philosophy of Ubuntu embedded in rural Rwandan communities. Chapter Two posed questions about the relationship between Ubuntu and girls' empowerment because it challenged the relationship of the individual developing themselves while tending to the needs of the collective. The findings suggested that embedding tenets of cultural philosophies into programmes, which are already present within other aspects of community life, may create a more coherent environment for girls to develop their interactional dimension of empowerment. The findings suggested the possibilities of combining existing cultural values, such as mutual support, with mechanisms such as a critical pedagogy in programmes to develop girls' interactional dimension of empowerment by gaining greater awareness of their environment. This contrasted with neoliberal approaches in SDP which tend to emphasise individual responsibility and success (Rossi and Jeanes 2016; Darnell 2012; Coakley 2011). Instead, cooperation, support and reciprocity, that are valued in collectivist communities, were advocated during the programme. Subsequently, NGOs in the future could begin designing programme mechanisms which reflect the cultural values and beliefs of the community (contextual mechanisms) without imposing Eurocentric beliefs or norms which have little, if any, value to girls living in a Rwandan community.

Additionally, embedding a cultural philosophy within SDP programmes highlighted the potential for programmes to develop their own unique community and ecosystem. Both cases emphasised mutual support as an important part of their programme and a feature of Ubuntu, but each programme focussed on different ways of developing a supportive environment. Although KPI demonstrated a different version of Ubuntu to CWB, both may have been underpinned by the same cultural philosophy, i.e. KPI practitioners observed girls' self-realisation whereas CWB practitioners described how girls bonded over sharing stories and experiences.

It was suggested in Chapter Seven that individualism and collectivism were not mutually exclusive. This might mean that girls may experience both individualism and

collectivism at the same time to foster their individual empowerment. However, it ought to be acknowledged that the relationship between the individual and the collective is complex and may not always work in the best interest for girls' empowerment. To this end, those programmes that ignore contextual mechanisms, such as cultural philosophies, might be harmful to girls because it creates conflict between spheres of girls' lives that could lead to them being alienated from their community.

8.6 Research contributions and implications

This research project has made a number of contributions to knowledge about girls' empowerment to progress theoretical understanding and advance policy making and practice in SDP. The following section discusses these contributions to knowledge and the implications of this research.

8.6.1 Theoretical contributions

This study drew on Mwaanga's application of Zimmerman's (1995, 1990) framework to examine individual empowerment in the SDP context. This study builds on the existing body of knowledge of sport empowerment (SE) to bridge the gaps between theory and practice in relation to girls' (dis)empowerment. Adopting Mwaanga's and Zimmerman's conceptualisations of individual empowerment have brought to the fore new ways of conceptualising individual empowerment in relation to gender and SDP. Based on the findings of this research, an extra layer of understanding how individual empowerment has been conceptualised and applied to SDP has been interpreted. Additionally, this study adds to the existing body of knowledge by making sense of girls' disempowerment including the identification of possible disempowering programme mechanisms and contextual mechanisms. This research builds on Mwaanga's and Zimmerman's work because it highlights additional factors that ought to be addressed in relation to gender and *girls'* (dis)empowerment in particular.

8.6.2 Intrapersonal dimension

The findings suggested that the intrapersonal dimension provides a foundation for girls to develop the interactional and behavioural dimensions by enhancing their psychological capabilities such as self-confidence. There were structures and

contextual mechanisms at play which might perpetuate harmful gender ideologies about girls' position in society which constrain the type of activities girls do. Generally, girls experience the perception of powerlessness because of gender norms and roles which have effected their beliefs in what they can and cannot do. In the context of girls' lives, developing psychological constructs in the intrapersonal dimension might therefore be crucial to resist dominant gender discourses because girls needed to develop belief in their own abilities to take control.

It was implied that the intrapersonal dimension might operate in tandem with 'power within' and may help shift perception away from the feeling of powerlessness and towards the belief that girls have power. However, the findings illuminated some caution when examining psychological concepts in SDP. The literature analysis highlighted self-confidence as a buzzword within SDP and, as shown in the findings, the term means different things to different people even within the same programme. Some research participants referred to self-confidence as girls needing to have a voice and others referred to girls needing to believe in themselves. Nevertheless, what was implied was that psychological concepts such as self-confidence might be crucial for girls' empowerment and providing a foundation for other dimensions to be developed. This research has made clear that stopping conceptualising girls' individual empowerment at the intrapersonal dimension would be a disservice to girls' participating in SDP. Failure to go beyond this dimension might result in an overly individualistic conceptualisation of (dis)empowerment that may unwittingly advance "single measures of competence and trait-oriented conceptions of empowerment while failing to consider environmental influences; organizational factors; or social, cultural, and political contexts" (Zimmerman 1990, p. 173).

8.6.3 Interactional dimension

The findings suggested that for girls to be labelled as empowered they should understand what choices they can make in different situations. As part of this process, encouraging girls to develop a critical and holistic understanding of their environment is essential. The findings suggest that SDP programmes could provide an effective space for girls to develop these skills in two ways. When programmes employed a critical pedagogy, and moved away from didactic and banking educational approaches, some girls began developing a more sophisticated understanding of their environment. This may have been achieved through various critical pedagogy

programme mechanisms including discussions, storytelling, debates and sketches. A key part of this pedagogy involved discussions around gender, equity and equality to encourage questioning about day to day social structures which might have increased girls' critical consciousness. This was enhanced by mixed-gender sessions in programmes which promoted this development as it provided a space for girls and boys to work together and learn about each other's challenges and inequalities.

SDP programmes may have also created a supportive environment where girls felt comfortable to share their personal experiences and stories via participation in a critical pedagogy. As a result, girls could expand their interactional dimension of individual empowerment by listening to and sharing their own experiences within the programme. Conversations and dialogue between girls and boys and the programme coaches may have also simultaneously developed girls' intrapersonal dimension and their self-confidence. Increasing critical consciousness and the interactional dimensions may mean that girls can also begin to understand their environment critically so they can learn to negotiate structures and contextual mechanisms which may constrain them from acting (behavioural dimension). Research participants' narratives suggested that some girls negotiated gender issues by challenging the status quo. They did this by wearing shorts in public and other girls had conversations with their parents who were concerned about their participation in the programme.

The adoption of a critical pedagogy in SDP implied that individual empowerment is a process that requires active participation from girls. Girls needed to take part in discussions and participate alongside boys to begin challenging dominant beliefs embedded in social structures. To participate in critical consciousness-raising activities, girls may need to have developed their intrapersonal dimension, i.e. girls require self-confidence to speak up and participate effectively in programme activities. The acknowledgement that the intrapersonal dimension should be the foundation of developing individual empowerment is reinforced. Additionally, the development of critical consciousness could be considered as a skill in and of itself. Critical consciousness could be developed by girls' as a skill which they might use throughout their lives. This presents a shift away from other approaches in SDP that emphasise retaining and memorising information but has little application in girls' dynamic and changing lives. If girls develop critical consciousness and their interactional

dimension, that skill might stay with them despite aspects of their lives changing or being put in different situations.

8.6.4 Behavioural dimension

The behavioural dimension refers to how girls perceive, understand or use social processes, relationships and structures to exert desired control and gain control of things of individual importance. As acknowledged in the interactional dimension, SDP programmes could encourage girls to question and analyse structures so they can negotiate structures and act on structures which implicate their lives. Being environmentally aware and engaging in critical reflection is considered the precursor to critical action (Watts et al. 2011). The findings suggested that KPI encouraged girls to test out what they have learned during the discussions within the programmes. This was followed by reflecting on the action they have taken to continue the learning process. SDP programmes ought to encourage girls to learn through acting in the real world rather than limiting learning to that of the SDP programme. For example, girls may take action in other spheres in their life such as school as a result of what they have learned in the SDP programme. It should also be acknowledged that action might occur long after they have left the programme. In terms of agency, meaningful agency might not simply be about turning girls into development agents but involves encouraging girls to think and act in their own interests and critically examine structures that enable and constrain their thinking and action. Their ability to make decisions and act are framed within broader structures and contextual mechanisms.

Central to the behavioural dimension is that behaviour and action is purposeful and involves active and deliberate engagement from individuals. This goes against the trend in SDP where empowerment is being done *to* people rather than *with*. Therefore, SDP programmes should ensure active and intentional engagement of girls within and outside programmes. Despite this, the findings suggested that some dimensions are more likely to be fostered than others in SDP. The majority of programme mechanisms examined in this research led to girls' developing their intrapersonal and interactional dimensions more than their behavioural dimension of empowerment. These findings might therefore provide some indication as to the type of dimensions SDP programmes are more capable of facilitating, rather the claim that participation in SDP programmes are *entirely* empowering.

The literature review critiqued claims made by some policies and campaigns that empowered girls can change their communities (see section 3.10.1). This study has shown there is potential to achieve this claim if girls were negotiating and educating with their families. Case 1 implemented programme mechanisms such as workshops to transform the family contextual mechanism into an empowering mechanism as opposed to a disempowering one. Similarly, KPI also attempt to change the gender expectations of community members by delivering the programme using a field in the centre of the community and inviting them to workshops to learn about the programme. These findings highlight the potential for SDP programmes to not only have the capacity to facilitate development of individuals' agency, but also to influence community systems positively.

One reason this may have been possible is that the SDP programme became a system to counter other systems. Individuals often do not have the ability to change systems by themselves, but when individuals collaborate to form a system together they have potential to challenge other systems. The recent '#MeToo' movement is a useful analogy to describe this process. The movement received traction when more women came to the fore about sexual harassment and the assault they had experienced in the film industry. As more women came forward, the #MeToo campaign gained international momentum reaching celebrities and members of the public. The #MeToo movement created a new system which could challenge the existing system that lead to the inequalities women experienced.

Even though the #MeToo analogy is based in a different context and is concerning different gender related issues, the underpinning principle is the same, that systems can only challenge and transform other systems. Systems are moveable, dynamic and can be changed. Unlike contextual mechanisms which may only be negotiated and managed, NGOs have greater control over programme mechanisms such as staff, activities, curriculum and sports. Therefore, in thinking about the future of SDP programming and girls' empowerment, SDP programmes have the potential to create a positive system with the appropriate programme mechanisms and negotiation of contextual mechanisms at play. The SDP programmes could become a system which challenges gender and cultural systems which effect girls' (dis)empowerment. However, challenging systems is not straight forward. Other systems will be opposing and competing against other systems at the same time, for example, there will be groups resisting the delivery of SDP programmes in favour of preserving cultural

traditions as was suggested in the findings. As such, the claims made that SDP programmes can transform communities are much more complex than envisaged in policy and practice.

8.6.5 Disempowerment

This study has also examined disempowering contextual mechanisms and programme mechanisms which may lead to girls' disempowerment. Disempowering contextual mechanisms involved the limited access to menstrual hygiene and the ahistorical contextualisation of HIV/AIDS. Without access to menstrual hygiene products or facilities, girls are likely to be disempowered because they are unable to take control over their participation in multiple spheres including school and the SDP programme. SDP programmes, therefore, could design programme mechanisms to help girls manage contextual mechanisms and take greater control over their lives. In the KPI programme, programme mechanisms involved giving girls menstrual products and appropriate facilities so they could take control over their participation in SDP programmes and attend school while on their period.

Failure to account for historical accounts which effect modern day issues might lead to girls' disempowerment. Transmitting HIV was among the weapons used to inflict pain and suffering during the genocide, and so, greater consideration is needed to examine the history of inequalities and issues such as HIV/AIDS. CWB failed to develop a contextualised understanding of HIV/AIDS and subsequently their programme mechanisms may have had limited relevance and effect for facilitating girls' empowerment and instead may have led to disempowerment. If SDP programmes possess greater understanding of the historical factors which have led to inequalities in the present day, they can tailor their programme mechanisms appropriately to encourage girls to negotiate and manage complex contextual mechanisms. CFT was useful for acknowledging the intersectionality of girls' lives in relation to their disempowerment. An understanding of the intersections of girls' lives may highlight how the intersections of historical events, gender and high poverty levels means that HIV/AIDS issues are intensified. Subsequently, creating appropriate programme mechanisms which help girls manage and negotiate these intersections in relation to HIV/AIDS is critical.

Other programme mechanisms which may have led to girls' disempowerment included the recruitment of Western volunteers. Volunteers in CWB were in a position

of control despite not having the necessary skills or qualifications to help girls to develop dimensions of their individual empowerment. This was reinforced by 'voluntourism' and the commodification of SDP programmes which led some volunteers to view their volunteering as an opportunity to travel rather than acknowledging the effect they have on girls' participating in SDP. Even though their intention was to 'make a difference' (Smith 2014), their desire to help others was based on moral and ethical issues that must be confronted when making the decision to volunteer in the Global South. As such, this research cautions the usage of Western volunteers in SDP programming in communities with multi-faceted and complex factors such as Rwanda.

While this study sheds light on the value of locally trained Rwandan staff who used their personal stories and experiences to foster girls' individual empowerment, because of the limited time spent collecting data it is difficult to see the long-term effects of Western volunteers in the same space. Lindsey et al (2017) highlighted in their study in Zambia that when volunteers from small Northern charities spent a longer time in the field they developed an enhanced understanding of the local contexts and built rapport with staff from the Zambian NGOs. Thinking in this way could shift the way NGOs recruit volunteers to focus more on the volunteer's prior experiences working with marginalised groups, or in health education rather than solely sport coaching qualifications. This process could be supported by participation in training which encourages volunteers to reflect on their position and think critically about the context within which they are working in. In this vein, there is likely to be an opportunity for them to be said to be a mechanism that empowers girls. Building on this study, longitudinal research might assist in understanding the effect of Western volunteers on girls' (dis)empowerment to examine volunteer's perceptions prior to volunteering, what happens after they leave the programme and their effect on the programme if they volunteered for longer periods of time.

This study acknowledges that an individual can be empowered and disempowered in different spheres in their life, at home, school and in SDP programmes, but that these different spheres come together to contribute to an overall level of empowerment or disempowerment. Therefore, girls might be empowered and disempowered at the same time and their engagement with multiple contextual mechanisms outside participation in SDP may also lead to their disempowerment. Participation in SDP

programmes may be disempowering, but that doesn't necessarily mean that girls are entirely disempowered because they might be empowered in other parts of their life such as with their family, at school or at church. It is likely that not just one programme or contextual mechanism leads to a girl's overall individual empowerment or disempowerment, it is multiple, dynamic, interacting and changing mechanisms which foster agency and assist them to negotiate structures which determine their overall (dis)empowerment.

8.6.6 Theoretical implications and recommendations

The theoretical contributions of this research are likely to be of relevance and concern to academics researching SDP, empowerment, gender and development. This research edges the existing body of knowledge forward by contributing a breakdown of the dimensions which may be associated with girls' (dis)empowerment in the SDP context. Within those dimensions (intrapersonal, interactional, behavioural), programme mechanisms and contextual mechanisms have begun to be identified and examined to show their potential role in developing individual empowerment and disempowerment. Empowerment has been understood as a process and outcome and has revealed the complex relationship between individuals and the collective. In this study, girls' individual empowerment has been framed within the broader structure, which is made up of contextual mechanisms, and must be fostered with other people in the form of support and alliances.

To build on this research, greater insight is needed into the relationship between individual empowerment and collective empowerment and whether SDP programmes are able to extend their reach into the broader community and political levels. While this research suggested some evidence of community level changes in systems, there was no evidence of change at the political level where collective empowerment may have the potential to do so. However, the research reinforced the findings of similar studies (see Lindsey et al. 2017) by highlighting the conflict between individuals and their negotiation of the 'self' within the collective. The literature review discussed the limitations of Zimmerman's framework in focussing too much on the individual, so in edging the discussion forward about the complex relationship between the individual and collective, future research could pay greater attention on how the individualised self may reside in the collective. Studying the relationship between individual and collective empowerment over longer periods of time may be more appropriate for

future studies because girls' might enact their empowerment as they grow older and in different situations (outside of SDP) which effect collective or political levels. This perspective is reinforced by Lindsey (2011) who advocates for more longitudinal research approaches.

Adopting critical feminist theory (CFT) in this research has enabled a deeper analysis into gender in SDP, especially focusing on the relationship between the Global North and Global South and the way programmes have been conceptualised, implemented and researched. Future research could refine and apply CFT into other countries and contexts that have previously only been studied using Western forms of feminism. For example, this version of CFT drew on African Feminism and applied to Rwanda, whereas future research studying girls' (dis)empowerment in other contexts such as Europe and Asia (broadly speaking) may identify and draw on alternative localised forms of feminism. Researchers planning to conduct cross-cultural research must therefore be mindful of the variety of feminist, and non-feminist, perspectives and how they shape research.

Darnell et al (2018) called for academics to pay greater attention to the research process and methods considering that most academics are 'outsiders' to the research communities they are collaborating with. Being an 'outsider' to the research community and being a researcher from the Global North does not mean they have no legitimate right to research SDP in the Global South (Coalter 2013). To progress the field, developing strategies and approaches which counter dominant perspectives and assumptions are crucial. This research has begun to respond to this call by identifying practical strategies employed by a white, female, Western researcher when researching in the Global South. As a point of personal reflection, the process of managing reflexivity in this research was a key learning experience as a researcher. In Chapter Four, the complex questions began to be addressed about reflexivity, morality and ethical considerations beyond standard procedures which provide a basis for future research. Hence, more research is needed to develop strategies which encourage and support researchers to develop their critical reflexivity when exploring complex, multi-faceted phenomena, such as empowerment, and especially in communities which diverge from the researcher's own experiences. One way of completing this, as Darnell et al (2018) and Schulenkorf et al (2016) have argued, may be to encourage

researchers to collaborate with institutions from low and middle income countries on research projects and producing peer-reviewed publications.

While this research has made some contributions to knowledge, it is important to reiterate the limitations of this research. Although attempts have been made to mitigate and manage the limitations of the research design and process, ultimately the research is small in scale. For example, there were a limited number of interviews conducted, the length of time spent in the field was short and the context of the research was only focussed on two NGOs in Rwanda. Therefore, although some findings may be transferable in other contexts, the limitations of the findings more generally must be acknowledged.

Despite the limitations, these concluding points provide some steps and recommendations for understanding girls' (dis)empowerment in SDP. Knowing and understanding more about what works and doesn't work is crucial for guiding policy making on a global and local scale. That way, the mythopoeic claims about sport's transformative ability can cease, and instead NGOs can focus more on realistic, relevant and long-term changes to girls' lives and assist them with negotiating the structures which surround them.

8.6.7 Policy contributions and recommendations

This research has important implications for future policy making in relation to SDP and gender development more broadly. Empowerment is a buzzword, frequently used when discussing girls' development in international policies such as the Sustainable Development Goals, but the term has rarely been defined or articulated in relation to girls and in the context of SDP. Subsequently, policies and agendas have largely been developed on the assumption that girls' participation in sport is empowering, without examination of what constitutes empowerment, what leads to empowerment and whether participation in SDP causes disempowerment. Empowerment need not become equitable with other terms like wellbeing, quality of life or health (Tengland 2008). Instead, "we need to be more precise about the construct and research it as thoughtfully as other psychological constructs or it will forever remain a warm and fuzzy, one-size-fits-all, concept with no clear or consistent meaning" (Perkins and Zimmerman 1995, p. 572).

This study, which aims to critically examine and unpack the claims made by policy makers and practitioners that participation in SDP is ‘empowering’, represents one attempt to systematically make sense and unpack the nature of girls’ (dis)empowerment in the context of SDP. This research suggests three possible recommendations and contributions for future policy making as detailed in the following tables.

Table 4 Policy contribution and recommendation 1

1. Issue	Empowerment is a buzzword which is rarely defined in policies.
Rationale	Clear definitions of empowerment may help practitioners and NGOs to conceptualise programmes and consider more closely what they mean when they refer to ‘empowerment’ in their aim or objectives.
Contribution	This study has built on previous studies defining ‘sport empowerment’ (see Mwaanga, 2012) and demonstrated that empowerment is a multi-level construct which operates at individual and collective levels, has multiple dimensions (intrapersonal, interactional, behavioural) and is a process and outcome that is affected by broader gender structures and ideologies. This study has also begun to make sense of disempowerment and shed light on the relationship between empowerment and disempowerment. For clarity, the terms ‘girls’ (dis)empowerment’ and ‘gender (dis)empowerment’ are used. ‘Gender (dis)empowerment’ refers to the broader relationship between gender ideology and (dis)empowerment and includes men and boys whereas ‘girls’ (dis)empowerment’ is used when specifically talking about girls’ experiences.
Recommendation	Provide a general overview and breakdown of empowerment in policies, listing some of its key concepts and explain complexity and challenges when working with empowerment. It is also important to be aware of disempowerment in policies to emphasise that not all aspects of interventions and programmes are disempowering and some guidance on what programme mechanisms and contextual mechanisms could lead to disempowerment and suggestions for preventing and alleviating them. The term ‘gender empowerment’ could also be adopted in policies to involve girls and boys and refer to broader gender ideologies, discourses and social structures at play.

Table 5 Policy contribution and recommendation 2

2. Issue	There is a disconnect between policies designed in the West and the realities of girls in the Global South.
Rationale	Policies have largely been conceptualised in the Global North for implementation in the Global South and there has been a tendency for policies to be based on Western discourses, assumptions and beliefs about girls' lives in the Global South (see Darnell and Hayhurst 2011).
Contribution	This study has examined some of the limitations of adopting solely Western forms of analysis when formulating policies and has sought to adopt non-Western forms of knowledge and assumptions by drawing on CFT which embeds multiple feminist perspectives including postcolonial feminism and African feminism to examine concepts related to (dis)empowerment. Key elements of Foucault's work were useful for examining dominant discourses and their effect on programme end-users.
Recommendation	Policy makers could collaborate with researchers and practitioners delivering programmes and interventions in the Global South during policy formulation to accurately conceptualise the issues that reflect the realities faced by girls. Spivak (1999) also called for centralising local and indigenous voices to learn about their experiences and ideas. Drawing on alternative feminist lenses using CFT can assist with this process.

Table 6 Policy contribution and recommendation 3

3. Issue	Conceptualisation of girls in the Global South as 'victims'.
Rationale	The dominant development discourse has largely been that women and girls in the Global South need to become less submissive and more assertive to transform their lives and become empowered (Forde and Frisby 2015; Wilson 2011). Yet, this depiction of women and girls in the Global South as being submissive, powerless victims is too monolithic and a misrepresentation of the strength of women and girls globally.
Contribution	An African woman's power of being silent in the home towards her husband could be misrepresented as being passive, yet her silence is an indication of her strength and womanhood (Clark 2011). Thus, Western conceptualisations of empowerment which emphasise autonomy and individualism may not apply in non-Western contexts. For example, African feminists have advocated that collectivism and "culturally linked forms of public participation" (Mikell 1997, p. 4) is a key part of life in many rural African communities (Edwin 2006).
Recommendation	Adopting CFT and non-Western perspectives might shed light on alternative conceptualisations of key concepts which can begin to shift the dominant discourses that all females in the Global South are 'victims' and all females in the Global North are 'empowered'.

8.6.8 Practice contributions and recommendations

Even though this research has examined cases within Rwanda, there are some concepts and approaches which can be explored at the universal level and applied to similar communities and SDP programmes globally. The following tables identify and discuss four main contributions and recommendations for future SDP programming which have emerged from this study.

Table 7 Practice contribution and recommendation 1

1. Issue	Ambitious claims made by NGOs that participation in SDP programmes can lead to empowerment.
Rationale	NGOs have made the claim that their programmes can empower girls and develop communities, but it is unclear whether NGOs actually have the capacity to achieve what they are claiming they can do.
Contribution	This study suggested that NGOs delivering SDP programmes have the potential to contribute to girls' overall empowerment and disempowerment. The findings implied that some dimensions of individual empowerment were more developed than others. There was some evidence of girls developing their intrapersonal and interactional dimensions which involved increasing self-confidence, addressing feelings of powerlessness and developing critical consciousness.
Recommendation	NGOs could develop their programmes with much clearer aims and objectives. To do this they might focus on one or two dimensions of individual empowerment rather than focussing on girls' 'empowerment' which is too broad. The choice in dimension(s) could be in response to the girls' participating in the programme and their realities, i.e. girls might already have developed their intrapersonal dimension and need to develop their interactional and behavioural dimensions. Programmes should approach using the term 'empowerment' with caution when discussing their aim and could avoid using the term in programme objectives because 'empowerment' is too broad considering that objectives should be measurable, realistic and specific. Instead, programmes could focus on developing objectives which relate to concepts within the dimensions of individual empowerment such as critical consciousness. This means that programme mechanisms may be clearly designed to attempt to develop certain dimensions of individual empowerment.

Table 8 Practice contribution and recommendation 2

2. Issue	The efficacy of SDP programmes and how they foster (dis)empowerment remains unchallenged.
Rationale	To date there are few studies which have made sense of the (dis)empowering effects of girls' participation in SDP programmes and what happens in programmes that leads to an increase in girls' empowerment. Failure to examine whether participation in SDP is disempowering is important because participation in SDP might be doing more harm than good in girls' lives.
Contribution	This research has begun to examine the efficacy of SDP programmes and has identified possible programme mechanisms which may lead to girls' (dis)empowerment such as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the type of education adopted in programmes • participation in a critical pedagogy • employing local practitioners with expert information about the context of the programme • creating a space for boys and girls to participate in dialogue • creating a supportive environment to foster mutual and peer support • selecting an 'appropriate' sport depending on the gender education and messages intended to be delivered in the programme to name a few programme mechanisms
Recommendation	Given that NGOs have greater control over designing and implementing programme mechanisms, they must ensure they consciously make decisions about each component of the programme (i.e. the staff, sport, education, gender messaging) while also keeping in mind the context of the programme and the girls participating. NGOs should also be aware that not all programme mechanisms are observable and are encouraged to involve the staff delivering the programme when examining programme mechanisms as they are in a unique position to offer insights about the programme and participants.

Table 9 Practice contribution and recommendation 3

3. Issue	NGOs work is often isolated from the communities they are located and delivered in.
Rationale	There is the tendency for NGOs and their programmes to focus on developing girls' agency but this often comes at the expense of overlooking that agency is framed within the social structure and the social structure is made up of contextual mechanisms. Such contextual mechanisms may have existed long before the SDP programme begun and therefore may conflict with the structure which could cause issues for girls' pursuing their agency.
Contribution	This research has identified some of the possible contextual mechanisms in girls' lives which effect their development of empowerment when participating in SDP programmes. These may include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • gender ideology, norms and expectations • the role of family • cultural philosophy • menstrual hygiene

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • historical factors <p>The findings suggested that SDP programmes have little control over contextual mechanisms but might help girls manage and negotiate the contextual mechanisms to facilitate their individual empowerment and prevent disempowerment.</p>
Recommendation	<p>When conceptualising and designing programmes, NGOs could decentralise the importance of SDP programmes in girls' lives. Assuming that SDP programmes are the <i>most</i> important aspect of girls' lives means overlooking other components, such as family, which are likely to be more important. This is problematic for empowerment, because empowerment is about taking control over what one deems important in their life. The findings suggest that there is scope for SDP programmes to be embedded into communities, but this requires NGOs to possess a critical understanding of the environment to develop programmes that work <i>with</i> existing contextual mechanisms and structures.</p>

Table 10 Practice contribution and recommendation 4

4. Issue	Mythopoeic status of sport (Coalter 2009).
Rationale	Sport has been hailed as a social vaccine to wider policy issues but there is limited evidence about <i>how</i> participation in sport programmes are empowering. This point is exacerbated given the historical and cultural baggage associated with sport which is a male dominated institution.
Contribution	<p>This research has highlighted that the 'sport' component in SDP programmes may provide some unique features to foster girls' empowerment over other activities. This might include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • boys and girls can participate in the same activity together • the programme forms its own ecosystem • creates a space to discuss taboos • sees female coaches resisting traditional gender roles • counters beliefs about menstruation • can introduce 'gender neutral' sports
Recommendation	It is important for NGOs to carefully consider the type of activities and sport they are selecting and why. While sports may have some unique features that foster individual empowerment, it is important for NGOs designing programmes to be realistic with sport's potential to facilitate empowerment. NGOs should also acknowledge that participation in 'sport' was a factor which may also lead to girls' disempowerment. Hence, NGOs should be aware when designing their programmes that participation in sport isn't inherently positive.

8.7 Concluding remarks

The research reported in this thesis has critically examined girls' (dis)empowerment in SDP. The final chapter discussed how each of the research objectives have been met and outlined the theoretical, political and practical contributions of the study.

Zimmerman's (1995, 1990) individual empowerment and Mwaanga's sport empowerment (2012) were used as frameworks to build this study on. This study highlighted the limitations of previous qualitative studies which tended to overlook the nuances related to gender and how gender ideology, norms, roles and expectations heavily influence girls' (dis)empowerment. For instance, local gender discourses influenced girls' beliefs and assumptions about their agency and environment. Some programme mechanisms reinforced these perceptions of powerlessness where as other programme mechanisms encouraged girls to challenge the dominant discourses and perform roles outside of traditional gender roles and consequently may have increased their empowerment. Likewise, the unique features of SDP were revealed to demonstrate some of the novel ways 'sport' might be used to foster girls' empowerment despite its cultural and historical baggage.

The transferability of this study was also discussed in this chapter, including the potential for programme mechanisms and contextual mechanisms to be studied in similar ways but in different contexts, cultures and NGOs. Several future research studies were proposed to examine girls' (dis)empowerment in other countries including, the relationship between individual empowerment and collective empowerment and how to develop strategies to encourage critical reflexivity when exploring complex and multi-faceted phenomena as an 'outsider'.

Overall, this study has begun to make sense and uncover the programme mechanisms and social processes that may enable girls to increase their capabilities to improve control over important life matters as well as those which might disempower girls because of participation in SDP. In light of the primary findings, this study advocates the requirement for NGOs to develop a critical and holistic understanding of the culture and context when conceptualising and delivering SDP programmes because of the potential effects it has on girls' (dis)empowerment.

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Appendices

Appendix A Mapping exercise

Programme	Location(s)	Overview	Possible programme mechanisms
Coaching for Hope	Botswana South Africa	Uses football based activities as a means of teaching life skills.	Mentoring young women to become volunteers.
Slum Soccer	India	Uses football to tackle gender equality.	Daily football sessions for women only.
Fempower	Nigeria	Targeted at gender equality through football. Focus on fair play, social interaction, respect and discipline.	Provide education, physical fitness training. Training on finance and career opportunities. Basic lessons on HIV/AIDS.
*Kids Play International	Rwanda	Uses after school sports education programmes to teach life skills. Aims to increase girl's confidence. Advocates that girls need empowering and boys need educating.	Provides sport equipment and builds sport structures. Focuses on creating partnerships with local schools. Emphasises girls and boys participating together.
*CWB	Rwanda	Uses cricket to promote HIV/AIDS prevention awareness.	Emphasises girls and boys participating together. HIV/AIDS education is embedded within cricket drills.
Burguruni Youth Centre	Tanzania	The programme is targeted at women and girl's capacity building educationally and economically through football.	HIV education using the Kicking Aids Out framework. Opportunities to train as coaches and become peer coaches. Leadership training. Form support groups where girls can discuss the challenges they face.
Mt Elgon Timz	Kenya	Focuses on training girls in life skills to help reduce cases of violence. Football is the primary sport used.	Boys also receive training with girls.
Box Girls	Germany Kenya South Africa	Boxing is used as a tool facilitate social change. Tagline is 'strong girls strong communities'. Emphasises confidence through strength.	Girls receive leadership training and participate in boxing sessions. Life skills focus to include education and gender role debating. Opportunities for becoming licensed coaches and referees are also provided.
Action Breaks Silence	India South Africa	Uses physical self-defence skills. Aimed at educating and protecting women and girls who are vulnerable to sexual and gender-based violence. "participants leave our workshops with improved confidence and practical personal safety skills"	The programme facilitates 'motivational discussions' for girls. Interactive workshops delivered for boys to provide empathy towards women and girls and, in the longer-term, prevent abusive or violent behavior.
Us Girls	United Kingdom	Designed to increase and sustain young women's participation in sport and physical activity within some	Girls only programmes. They use loyalty cards, two for one deals and prizes as incentives for recruitment. The sessions are structured so the first hour is

		of the nation's most disadvantaged communities.	dance and fitness and the second hour is crafts such as nail art, hair, fashion and video making activities. Music is also continuously played in the background.
Ujamaa Africa	Kenya	Focuses on women's self-defence training as a way to combat gender-based violence. The programme views life skills as something which is ineffective.	Boys are involved in some elements of the programme and there is an emphasis on a boy's curriculum. Girls take part in self-defense training.
Go Sisters	Zambia	Programme targeted at girls empowerment through sport. Football is the main sport used within the programme.	The programme delivers workshops around gender equality, public speaking and peer leadership training. Boys are involved in the programme as well as parents who are invited to attend parent support meetings.
Guerreiras Project	Brazil	Programme which uses football as a way for discussing civil rights and gender equality.	Workshops are used to discuss and challenge gender norms and masculinity and femininity. Girls are trained to become ambassadors to act as role models to girls and boys within the community.
UPAM Tanzania	Tanzania	Provides self-defense training for women and albinos.	Participants take part in Karate sessions in order to build their physical strength so they can protect themselves from gender-based violence.

*NGOs which provide the cases for this research

Appendix B Participant Interview Guide

Interview Guide: KPI

This document will be used to guide the in-depth one-to-one interviews with practitioners working for Kids Play International.

I want to thank you for taking the time to meet with me today. My name is Sam Prince and I would like to talk to you about your experiences working for Kids Play International. Specifically, as one of the components of this study, we are trying to explore gender development through sport to capture knowledge and lessons that can be used in future interventions.

The interview should take around an hour and thirty minutes to answer the questions. I will be taping the session because I don't want to miss any of your comments. Although I will be taking some notes during the session, I can't possibly write fast enough to get it all down. Because we're on tape, please be sure to speak up so that we don't miss your comments.

All responses will be kept confidential. This means that I will ensure that any information I include in our report does not identify you as the respondent. Remember, you don't have to talk about anything you don't want to and you may end the interview at any time.

Are there any questions about what I have just explained?

Are you willing to participate in this interview?

.....
Interviewee

.....
Date

The contact details you provide me with now will be kept confidential. Your real name will not be used and your age will be altered slightly to maintain your confidentiality. Any document with your real name on will be password protected and/or locked away in a cabinet in my desk in the university.

Name:

Age:

Gender:

Nationality:

Job title: **at Kids Play International**

Tell me about yourself.

Prompt: Family, job, community

Question 1

Please tell me about your role within the programme.

- a) How long have you worked in this programme for?
- b) Why did you decide to work for KPI?
- c) What are your responsibilities in KPI?

Question 2

What type of experiences do you want the players (girls) to have from KPI?

Prompt: knowledge, support network thinking skills, education, employment skills etc.

- a) **Why** these types of experiences?

Question 3

What do you do in the sessions to encourage gender development?

Prompt: boys and girls play together...

- a) Can you tell me some stories or examples that show this?

Question 4

Do you think that girls who participate in KPI have an advantage over those who don't?

Why?

- a) Can you tell me some stories or examples to elaborate?

Question 5

What messages does KPI promote to girls about gender?

- a) What does the programme say about the way girls should look like and act like?

Question 6

What happens in the programme to promote and address gender development?

Prompt: what activities?

Question 7

Why is KPI not a girls' only programme?

- a) Do you see any limitations by solely focusing on girls?

Question 8

Where do you get the ideas to decide what should be delivered in the programme?

Prompt: from previous experience, seeing other programmes, funding or partnerships, participants etc.

Question 9

What are the challenges some girls have faced because they play in KPI? Stories/examples?

Prompt: negative comments or reactions from the community, family (mother, father, siblings), friends, peers, feelings

Question 10

How does KPI manage cultural expectations of gender norms, roles and values?

Question 11

What sport(s) do you play in KPI?

- a) Why these sports?
- b) Do you think some sports are better at addressing programme goals? Please explain why?

Question 12

If you were to give advice to a girl who didn't come to KPI, what would you say?

- a) If you were to give advice to a *boy* who didn't come to KPI, what would you say?

Question 13

What motivates you to stay involved in KPI?

Do you have any other comments that you would like to add that I have not covered?

Thank you for your time, I will now stop recording.

Appendix C Journal Entry: The term 'empowerment'

17th Feb 2016 - Reflection on interview guide

This evening I had a 2 hour Skype call with Mayer the gatekeeper and programme manager at KPI. We spoke about a number of things related to sport and development in general as well as this research (see page 6 for full Skype meeting notes).

We spoke about the interview guide which I had previously emailed her for her feedback and review.

One comment from her feedback, which stood out and was worthy of further examination, was that the term 'empowerment' shouldn't be used because Kwadan interviewees would not understand that word/term.

This prompted a number of questions such as:


Is empowerment a Western term used by dominant interest groups to maintain power?

Is empowerment simply a 'policy' term part of rhetoric with no 'real' application to grassroots/real world?

??

Q. Should we even use the term 'empowerment'?
→ or is it too vague and unfit for implementation in programmes?

- Western term that reproduces ideas/notions/diseases that girls in Global South are not empowered?

- Reproduces notion GN girls are empowered 

- Rhetoric and evangelism surrounding 'empowerment' has infiltrated NGOs whose head offices are in the GN



But programme end-users who are being 'empowered' have no idea

This isn't to say 'empowerment' isn't happening, but it has been held hostage by dev orgs

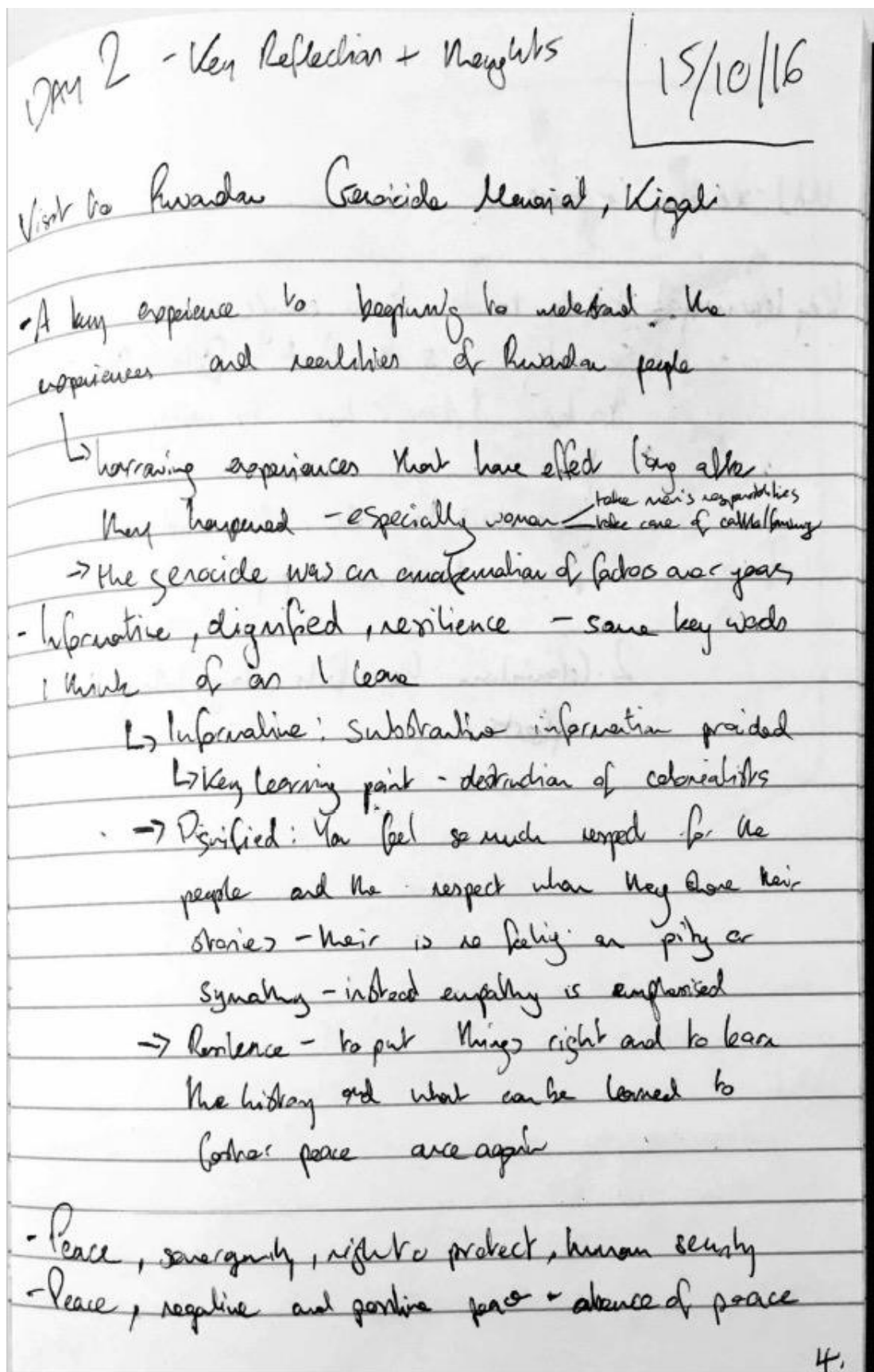
↳ e.g. the dimensions of empowerment might be being developed but just with different terms i.e. critical consciousness but not termed empowerment.

So... should future policy/programmes remove the term 'empowerment' and focus on dimensions/components instead???

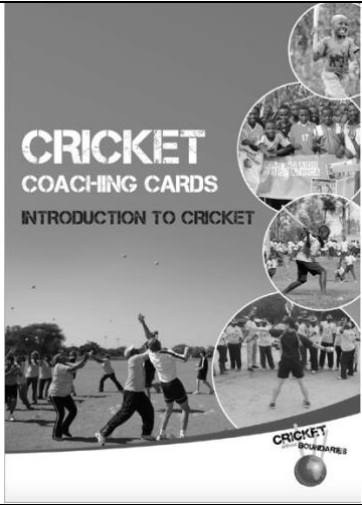
Appendix D Interview Details

	Date of Interview	Pseudonym	Duration of interview	Age	Interview type	Gender	Case (NGO)	Position	Paid/unpaid	Length of time working	Nationality	Ethnicity
1	19/10/16	Michelle	59.54	24	Face-to-face	F	CWB	Coach	Unpaid	4 years	Rwanda	Black
2	22/10/16	Annet	42.42	32	Face-to-face	F	KPI	Coach	Unpaid	1 year and 9m	Rwanda	Black
3	23/10/16	Gervais	1.16.26	29	Face-to-face	M	KPI	Coach (former participant)	Unpaid	6 years	Rwanda	Black
4	23/10/16	Wellars	1.18.28	27	Face-to-face	M	KPI	Coach (former participant)	Unpaid	6 years	Rwanda	Black
5	24/10/16	Marie	2.07.34	33	Face-to-face	F	KPI	Programme and Partnership Manager	Paid	7 months	Canadian living in Rwanda	White
6	25/10/16	Eugene	1.14.41	34	Face-to-face	M	KPI	Programme Coordinator	Paid	5 years	Rwanda	Black
7	26/10/16	Vestine	48.27	31	Face-to-face	F	KPI	Coach	Unpaid	5 years	Rwanda	Black
8	22/1/17	Samantha	1.15.15	30	Face-to-face	F	KPI	Programme Coordinator	Unpaid	1 year and 7m	US but lived in Rwanda	White
9	20/1/17	Tim	1.20.1	48	Skype	M	CWB	Country Manager	Unpaid	3 years	British	White
10	20/1/17	Louis	1.05.3	44	Skype	M	CWB	Head of Delivery	Unpaid	1 year and 6m	British	White
11	21/1/17	Sarah	55.12	63	Face-to-face	F	CWB	Coach	Unpaid	1 year	British	White
12	3/2/17	Derick	52.55	DNS	Phone	M	CWB	Coordination/Coach	Unpaid	7 years	British	White
13	21/1/17	Jack	1.01.39	36	Skype	M	CWB	Coach and social media manager	Unpaid	1 year	British	White
14	22/1/17	Hannah	55.14	23	Skype	F	CWB	Coach	Unpaid	1 year	British	White

Appendix E Journal entry: Kigali Genocide Museum



Appendix F Document Analysis Example

<p>Case: Cricket Without Boundaries</p>	
<p>Document name: Cricket Coaching Cards: Introduction to Cricket</p>	
<p>Year created: 2016</p>	
<p>Document reference: A</p>	
<p>Document Summary Coaching guidance and 16 cricket games and activities. The document is targeted at coaches to support their delivery of the programme.</p>	
<p>Who is the document written by?</p>	<p>Project coordinator of CWB and a Rwandan cricket ambassador who is also a coach for CWB.</p>
<p>How is the programme conceptualised?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sport is centralised as the primary tool for addressing HIV/AIDS. • The guide lists sixteen cricket games and drills which embed different HIV/AIDS messages. The messaging is symbolised and delivered by movements performed when playing cricket. For example, moving a bat in front of a body is attached to the message of ‘protecting yourself’. • Girls and boys receive the same education and messaging in the programme. This could be problematic as girls often experience intensified stigma and marginalisation because of their gender (see Gourlay et al. 2013). • The guide encourages the coaches to focus on ‘fun’ and ‘enjoyment’ as a method to facilitate learning key messages. • ‘Inclusiveness’ and ‘respect’ are highlighted as key values to be applied in cricket. • A diagram is provided on page 2 which outlined the different stages in the coaching method including introduction, demonstration, activity, feedback and so on. A point which connects all the stages states “Ensure A, B, C & T messages throughout”. There is no indication or guidance on how the messages should be applied. Further, the information is presented as a side note that is easy to accomplish and that the sport element is the priority over embedding HIV/AIDS messages.
<p>What terminology is used and what are the implications of that terminology on girls’ (dis)empowerment?</p>	<p>The guide describes 6 messages ‘A, B, C, T, S’: “A - Abstain from sex B - Be faithful to your partner C - Use a condom/protect yourself T - Test yourself for HIV, know your status S - Stigma, cricket is for everyone” (p. 1)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Abstain’ and ‘use a condom/protect yourself’ are the most commonly applied message to the games. Emphasising ‘Abstain’ implies hierarchy and prioritisation of certain messaging. • This is agreed by some scholars who have critiqued the usage of ‘abstinence-only’ programmes (see Fonner et al. 2014). Placing greater emphasis on abstain also suggests imposing moral judgements about how girls should act

	<p>rather than focusing on practical prevention of disease (Barnett and Parkhurst 2005).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abstinence-only programmes advocate delaying sex until marriage (Fonner et al. 2014). The argument against abstinence-only programmes is that it withholds important information from programme end-users about other ways of protecting themselves from diseases such as HIV/AIDS. On the other hand, other organisations have argued that abstinence is the only way to protect from contracting diseases and provides greater control to the individual who chooses when, where and with whom they have sex, even though this view does not acknowledge that not all women and girls are able to make that decision. • ‘Testing’ and ‘stigma’ messages are not embedded into any of the games in the guide. This reinforces the emphasis on promoting certain messages such as ‘abstain’. • It could be argued that withholding certain information from girls means that they are unable to take control and are subsequently disempowered. Without possessing critical awareness and a critical understanding of the issues, girls will also be unable to fulfil the behavioural dimension of individual empowerment. This is important because some Rwandan girls become infected by engaging in transactional sex to obtain clothing and school fees or goods for improving appearance such as body lotion and makeup (Michielsen et al. 2014). Therefore, if programmes prioritise certain health information over others, some girls are not receiving the education they need to take control over their life, including the decision to not engage in transactional sex and be at a higher risk of being infected with HIV/AIDS.
<p>Does this document agree or disagree with the research participants’ responses from the semi-structures interviews?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tim, a programme coordinator disagrees with the emphasis on ‘abstinence’ which he openly critiques: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ “CWB at the present time in my opinion, is at a crossroads in relation to its methods of delivery and objectives. Recent international academic criticism ... has shown that the ABC messaging method is only partially effective in that ‘abstinence’ from sex is an unrealistic message which potentially threatens the effective delivery of more appropriate educational messages such as using condoms.” • Tim is the only research participants who critiques the type of education which should be delivered. • The emphasis on cricket over HIV/AIDS is also reinforced in Document E where CWB state that they are looking for ‘sport enthusiasts’ and HIV/AIDS or health related qualifications take a back seat in favour of sport coaching experience and qualifications. • Very few research participants discussed ‘stigma’. Goffman provides a useful definition that breaks down stigma into three parts. • <i>“First there are abominations of the body-the various physical deformities. Next there are blemishes of individual character perceived as weak will, domineering or unnatural passions... homosexuality, unemployment, suicidal attempts, and radical political behaviour. Finally there are the tribal stigma of race, nation, and religion”</i> (Goffman 1963, p. 5) • The document doesn’t discuss the exact mechanisms which are used to address stigma and testing but other documents and research participants observed that by girls and boys participating together will address stigma. This is very weak programme theory, there is no indication in the data that by participating together leads to a reduction in stigma. • The research participants’ responses and the documents suggest there is a weak programme theory that fails to identify how mixed-gender participation will lead to a reduction or an education around stigma. While this programme mechanism does not result in girls losing control over their lives and their disempowerment, the mechanism doesn’t facilitate dimensions of empowerment either.

Appendix G Participant Information Sheet (English)

Hello, my name is Sam Prince, a research student from Bournemouth University in the United Kingdom, and I would like to invite you to take part in a research project because of your involvement in Kids Play International.

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Take time to decide whether or not you wish your child take part. Please feel free to contact me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information (my details are at the bottom of the page).



Research Project title

A critical examination of girls (dis)empowerment in sport for development and peace

What is the purpose of the research?

The aim of this research is to learn more about how sport can empower girls and asks questions such as what are the different types of empowerment? How does empowerment happen? And what effects developing empowerment?



Why have I been chosen?

You have been invited to participate in this research because you are currently working for Kids Play International who delivers a programme that uses sport to address social issues such as gender inequality. Between 5 and 10 people involved in this programme will be invited to participate in the study in total.

What do I have to do?/ What will happen to me if I take part?

Participants who would like to be involved in the study will be asked to do the following:

- Take part in a one-to-one interview with the researcher (me, Sam Prince) which will last approximately 1 hour.
- The interview questions will be open ended and related to your involvement in the programme.
- Some questions may involve you to discuss your experiences in-depth, particularly about your participation in the programme.
- All interviews will be digitally recorded (audio only).
- Participants may withdraw their information up to the point where the data is anonymized.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Whilst there are no immediate benefits for those people participating in the project, it is hoped that this work will be of use to understanding empowerment through sport that will then help to develop the programme you work with.

Will taking part in this research be kept confidential?

All the information that we collect about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. You will not be able to be identified in any reports or publications. Here is how we endeavour to keep your information confidential:

1. Data collected throughout the entirety of the research process will be anonymised to protect the identities of participants.
2. Pseudonyms will be used and years added to participants ages.
3. In instances that participants describe a unique experience, the final thesis will not show the original quote, instead the quote will be summarised so it cannot be attached to the participant.
4. All digital recordings will be deleted once they have been transcribed. The transcribed data will be used to conduct data analysis and may appear in academic publications such as conferences, books and articles (anonymously).
5. You will not be able to be identified in any reports or publications. All data relating to this study will be kept for 5 years on a BU password protected secure network and appropriate secured storage.

What will happen to the results of the research?

The results of the research will take the following different forms:

- Some results may be published for journal articles or book chapters.
- Some results may be presented at conferences.
- Results will also form part of a report which will be given to the Let's Play Fair programme.

Participants' real names and ages **will not** appear in any published documentation.

Kids Play International will receive a copy of the findings and any publication if they wish. Participants will also be directed to any publications that are released.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

It is up to each participant how detailed they wish to be when discussing your personal stories or experiences from participation in the programme. However, talking about personal stories or experiences may cause emotional stress if the experience was a negative one. Should you become anxious or distressed during the interview the interview will be stopped and you will be referred to Maya the programme manager.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether you take part in this research. If you do decide you want to can take part you will be given this information sheet to keep (and be asked to sign a consent form).

Who is organising/funding the research?

This research is formed in partnership with Kids Play International and funded entirely by Bournemouth University.

In the event that you would like to make a complaint, contact Professor Stephen Page Deputy Director of Research via email on spage@bournemouth.ac.uk, telephone 01202 962306 or address Dorset House D236a, Talbot Campus, Fern Barrow, Poole, BH12 5BB.

Thank you for taking the time to read through this information.

Appendix H Participant Consent Form (English)

Title of project: A critical examination of girls' (dis)empowerment in sport for development and peace

Researcher Details

Name: Sam Prince
Position: Lead researcher
Email: sprince@bournemouth.ac.uk

Address: Faculty of Management, Bournemouth University, Fern Barrow, Talbot Campus, Poole BH12 5BB

Supervisor Details

Name: Andrew Adams
Position: Senior Lecturer
Email: aadams@bournemouth.ac.uk

Address: Faculty of Management, Bournemouth University, Fern Barrow, Talbot Campus, Poole BH12 5BB

	Please Initial Here
I confirm that I have read and understood the participant information sheet for the above research project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.	
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw information up until the point where data is anonymised without giving reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question(s), I am free to decline.	
I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and they will not be identified or identifiable in the report or publications, papers or presentations that result from the research.	
I agree that I can take part in the above research project.	

Name of participant

Date

Signature

Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the participant information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be kept with the project's main documents which must be kept in a secure location.