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**Sports Participation among Girls and Women in Mount
Frere, South Africa**

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Photo by Ina Andreassen

The regular practice of sports offers invaluable lessons essential for life in our societies. Tolerance, cooperation, integration are necessary to succeed in both; sports and everyday life... Sports teach life skills. Sports remain the best school of life...

Adolf Ogi¹

¹ United Nations Special Adviser on Sport for Development and Peace. (Grujoska and Carlsson, 2007:2).

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Abstract

This study focuses on women and sports from sports and development perspective. The purpose of this study is to examine various aspects of female sports in a rural town in South Africa, called Mount Frere, with particular attention to experiences from sports involvement as well as facilitating sports for females.

In order to contextualize the project, a brief background of the South African history has been given an account of, as well as issues related to and the organization of sports in South Africa. Furthermore, various concepts within sports and development that revolves around sports as a development tool and values within sports are presented, as well as the differences between plus sport and sport plus perspectives. Moreover, theoretical perspectives cover gender theory, socialization and empowerment.

In order to get a deeper understanding of the local people's perspectives and viewpoints, this study employs qualitative methods: interviews as well as field observations have been conducted during the fieldwork in Mount Frere. The interviewees, who range from people in the departments to female athletes, express various experiences about their sports involvement. The findings of the study is divided into two chapters, hence two research questions, where the first one discusses the local community members' motives and experiences for being involved in Mount Frere women's sports and the second one present and discusses barriers that can prevent women from being involved in sports.

The findings show that the interviewees' motives are more or less related to utilitarian values of sports, rather than intrinsic values of sports. Women in sports experience several barriers, such as general attitudes in the community, which could lead to dropout. Women essentially experience unequal distributions regarding economical resources, such as facilities, transportations and equipment, compared to their male counterparts.

List of abbreviations

AIDS: Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome

ANC: African National Congress

CGE: Commission on Gender Equality

EMIMA: Stands for Elimu: Michezo na Mazoezi (Education, Sport and Physical Activity)

HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus

KAO: Kicking Aids Out

MDG: Millennium Development Goals

MPP: Mass Participation Program

NSC: National Sport Council

NGO: Non-Governmental Organizations

NOSCA: National Olympic Committee for South Africa

NP: National Party

SANREC: South African National Recreation Council

SASC: South African Sport Commission

SASCOC: South African Sport Confederations and Olympic Committee

SASCOS: South African Council on Sport

SCORE: Sport Coaches' Out Reach

SDP: Sport for Development and Peace

SRSA: Department of Sport and Recreation South Africa

UN: United Nations

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

WASSA: Women and Sport South Africa

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1. Introduction

1.1 Theme

The theme for my master thesis is sports and development with particular focus on gender issues. I have mainly investigated the degree of women's sports participation in Mount Frere², a small town in the province of Eastern Cape in South Africa.

There has been an increased trend in the use of sports as a development tool in the last decade (Kidd, 2008). The sports and development concept uses the platform of sports for furthering of various areas, like Sports and Education, Child and Youth Development, Sports and Peace-Building, Sports and Health and Sports and Gender³. In this thesis, I will primarily concentrate on the category of Sports and Gender.

The purpose of this study is to explore how girls and women's sports in Mount Frere are organized and community members' perceptions towards girls and women's sports as well as the participants' own experiences. I am seeking to examine various aspects of female participation in sports at a grass-root level. Focusing on how the situation is for women participating in sports, the data is discussed in relation to two dimensions: first, perceptions of those who arrange and coordinate girls and women's sports, and second, the girls/women's perceptions of women's sports and their experiences from sports involvement.

1.2 Scholarly contribution

Concerning aid and development work, there is extensive literature on the topic. On the other hand, literature on development through sports is more limited, but the numbers of scholarly contributions are gradually increasing (Levermore and Beacom, 2009; Coalter, 2010). The theoretical perspectives on gender issues and scholarly material around gender and sports development have, in general, strongly increased within academia over the past years. In the case of sports in South Africa much attention is directed towards the relationship between sports and politics (Jones, 2003). Concerning women and sports in South Africa the contributions are, however, largely invisible

² See appendix 1 for maps of South Africa/Eastern Cape and Mount Frere.

³ For more information, see <http://www.sportanddev.org/> and <http://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/sport/home/sport>.

“since [it is only in] the late 1990s that scholars have begun to research the various histories around females and sports in South Africa” (ibid.:131). Despite the “late” attention towards women and sports in South Africa some scholars have, however, found interest in this topic (Saavedra, 2004; Hargreaves, 1997; Burnett, 2006; Pelak, 2011; Meintjes, 2005). A common aspect in these studies is the focus on constraints within women’s sports.

As there are today limited number of empirical studies targeting women and sports in South Africa, there is an increasing need to fill the study gap on female sports participation in developing countries at grassroots-levels, which this study seeks to contribute to. I will not focus on grassroots sports from an elite level perspective, but rather focus at recreational mass participation sports. Besides data and knowledge providing for my master thesis, the project itself may hopefully be valuable for the organizations and governments that support sports for women and conduct development projects on a local and international level. Because of that, the thesis is written in English.

Referring to Giddens’ structuration theory, the division of the society is a relationship between agency and structural issues⁴ (Ritzer, 2010). Whereby the agency level is related to social interaction amongst individuals (i.e. symbolic interactionism), the structural level is seen as an orientation with a broad focus of social structure (i.e. structural functionalism). In relation to sports and development in academia, there is an on-going debate on whether sports and development issues should be seen from a ‘bottom-up’ perspective, where the local community-based perspective must be mobilized in order to contextualize international ‘movements’ (Lindsey and Grattan, 2012), or a ‘top-down’ perspective, where hegemony theory concerning North-South relation is central (Darnell and Hayhurst, 2012). This thesis is occupied with the agent-oriented academic studies, where the perspective is bottom-up, both within the sports for development concept and gender theory.

⁴ ”What is thought of in the United States as the micro-macro issue is the agency-structure issue in Europe” (Ritzer, 2010:176).

1.3 Research question

According to Kidd (2008), the concept of Sports for Development and Peace (SPD) is part of the growing efforts to assist sports development in disadvantaged communities in the world. When addressing issues related to “sports development”, Kidd refers to programs that are designed to assist those engaged in organized sports, such as athletes, coaches, officials and administrators, and which seeks to strengthen the infrastructure of facilities and institutions where organized sports take place. Bodies, which are running these programs, such as governments and local, national and international NGOs, may be in cooperation with other bodies in order to develop targeted areas.

In relation to South Africa and Mount Frere, the Department of Sport and Department of Education have established programs (also in collaboration with others) in order to develop areas mentioned by Kidd (ibid.), which I will also give an account of, especially in relation to female athletes (White Paper, 2011).

On the basis of the foregoing material, this thesis will explore various aspects of female sports in Mount Frere, South Africa, with particular attention to experiences from sports involvement as well as facilitating sports for females. The study raises two main research questions:

- 1) What are the local community members' motives and experiences from being involved in Mount Frere women's sports?*

- 2) What barriers have to be overcome within the women's sports?*

1.4 Thesis structure

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. The next and second chapter will provide a background for the study in order to contextualize the project. In chapter three, I will illuminate the research questions through two theoretical perspectives: conceptual clarifications of sports and development, and gender theory.

The fourth chapter discusses the methodology used to obtain data and information as well as presents Mount Frere. Chapter 5 and 6 present and discuss the findings of the study. Chapter 7 gives a summary of the study and presents some concluding comments.

2. Background

In this chapter, I will first give a brief account of the history of South Africa, focusing on the Apartheid era given that the years of colonization and segregation are important influences on sports from 1948 to the present. Second, South African sports and its organization will be described including South African women's sports.

2.1 South African history - the history of Apartheid

“The history of South Africa in the second half of the twentieth century was dominated by Apartheid⁵ and the resistance it evoked” (Worden, 2007:1). Apartheid refers to the “system of racial and white political domination adopted by the National Party (NP) while it was in power from 1948 to 1994” (Beck, 2000:125). Although the Afrikaners⁶ came into power in 1948 and Apartheid was implemented, the White population was superior in segregationist laws and practices earlier in the century. Thompson (1995) describes the four ideas that were at the heart of the Apartheid system like this:

First, the population of South Africa comprised four “racial groups”– White, Coloured⁷, Indian and African – each with its own intrinsic culture. Second, Whites, as the civilized race, were entitled to have absolute control over the state. Third, white interests should prevail over black interests; the state was not obliged to provide equal facilities for the subordinate race. Fourth, the white racial group formed a single nation, with Afrikaans- and English-speaking components, while Africans belonged to several (eventually ten) distinct nations or potential nations – a formula that made the white nation the largest in the country (p. 190).

The White population, who were at the top of the social class structure, eliminated step by step all forms of interaction and power from the African population, who were negligible compared to the other “racial groups”. During Apartheid, the South African society was partly industrialized with deep divisions based on legally prescribed biological criteria, whereby the color of one's skin determined one's position on the social ladder. Beck (2000) divides the apartheid era into three phases. The first phase began in 1948 when the NP won the election and the Apartheid ideology became law.

⁵ Apartheid means “apart-ness” or “separate-ness” in the language Afrikaans.

⁶ Afrikaners refers to all White Afrikaans-speaking people: northwestern European settlers during 1600.

⁷ "Coloured" South Africans (the label is contentious) are a people of mixed lineage descended from slaves brought to the country from east and central Africa:

<http://www.southafrica.info/about/people/population.htm#ixzz1Y2SVqa28>.

The White government began to transform the administration of the African population immediately after coming into power. The government “Afrikanerized” every state institution, such as the civil service, army, police and state corporations, as well as medical and legal professional associations (Thompson, 1995). “The government could ban any organization, prohibiting the holdings of meetings of any sort and prevent organizations from receiving funds from abroad” (ibid.:199). In order to display their Afrikaner “status” in the society, the government also abolished the only official countrywide African institution, the Natives Representative Council, in 1951.

The government did not only focus on institutions, but the “Whites only” notices appeared in every conceivable place. Laws and regulations confirmed or imposed segregation for transportation, ambulances, parks, church halls, town halls, cinemas, theaters, restaurants, and hotels, as well as schools and universities. The facilities were consequently a priority at the White schools and universities. In addition, the Africans were paid less than Whites even when they had the same qualifications within the same profession. In order to strengthen the boundaries between the races, laws like The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) and the Immorality Act (1950) were created (ibid). At the same time, the African National Congress⁸ (ANC) was formed in 1955, a coalition representing a broad spectrum of South African society to organize a campaign in order to win the sympathy of the outside world. The Freedom Charter⁹ was designed the same year to endure at the basic policy statement of the ANC. “The charter started with the ringing assertion that ‘South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White, and no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people’” (ibid.:208).

The second phase of the Apartheid era, which started in 1959, witnessed the implementation of separate development. Beck (2000) claims that this period was the high point of the Apartheid state. A circular in 1967 made it clear that the non-productive, such as old people, people incapable of employment and women with

⁸“The ANC is a national liberation movement. It was formed in 1912 to unite the African people and spearhead the struggle for fundamental political, social and economic change”. See also: <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=172>.

⁹ “The Freedom Charter was the statement of core principles of the South African Congress Alliance, which consisted of the African National Congress and its allies the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats and the Coloured People's Congress”, see also: <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=72>.

children, should be transferred to so-called “homelands” (Blom, 1993). The government clustered these homelands into eight (eventually ten) territories. Each territory became a homeland for a potential African “nation” administered by an African chief who, however, controlled on the premises of the White government. “In this Homeland, an African ‘nation’ was to ‘develop along its own lines’, with all the rights that were denied it in the rest of the country. Nearly every homeland consisted of several pieces of land, separated by white-owned farms” (Thompson, 2000:191). In the cities, Africans were placed in different “townships”, making sure that Black South Africans were segregated from White areas. As people tried to make a difference, the White-centered government responded with even more segregation, making the Black people less privileged, such as eliminating “Black spots”, meaning that areas previously occupied by Blacks were zoned for Whites and consequently, urban areas were formed (ibid.).

The third phase started in the early 1970s and witnessed a shift away from complete racial segregation and the granting of limited political rights to other “racial groups” prevailed. The government received after the mid-1970s increasing economic and political pressure from anti-apartheid groups both inside and outside the country (Beck, 2000). The economic stagnation in the whole world also affected South Africa. The economy was structurally unsound and South Africa was in deep recession (Thompson, 2000). In addition, oppositions began to come from distinct “racial groups” – Africans as well as Whites. As a result, the heyday of Apartheid began to break down and the Africans started to gain power.

Apartheid came to an official end with Nelson Mandela’s election as the South African president in 1994. This was the first democratic election in several decades and Mandela became the first leader in the “New South Africa” where ANC could now rule the country as a “Rainbow Nation¹⁰” on the basis of the Freedom Charter. International countries were now waiting for the new South African government to take responsibility and be a respected member of the “international community”. The

¹⁰ “South Africa's Rainbow Nation title refers to the incredible diversity of its people, from the original Bushmen inhabitants of the land to the people who migrated and settled here over the years. The term Rainbow Nation of South Africa found popular appeal from the moment Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu first used it to capture the multicultural nature of the country”. From <http://www.southafrica.net/sat/content/en/us/full-article?oid=16667&sn=Detail&pid=732&South-Africa-s-Rainbow-Nation>.

making of the new Constitution of Republic of South Africa affirmed the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom. The same year, the government formed the “White Paper” of South Africa, where the aim was to: “describe the nature of contemporary peace missions and to provide clear and concise inter-departmental policy guidelines on South African participation in such missions”¹¹.

During the following years, fundamental rights were in focus, emphasizing the protection of individuals from being discriminated against on the basis of race, gender, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, or language (ibid.). Eleven official languages became official on the basis of the different groups and populations within the country, English, Afrikaans, African languages: isiNdebele, Sesotho sa Leboa, Sesotho, siSwati, Xitsonga, Setswana, Tshivenda, isiXhosa, and isiZulu (ibid.). Some projects, such as the building of new houses, achieved notable success. As a result, electrification in townships as well as clinics and water supplies in remote rural areas were established (Worden, 2007). As Beck (2000) describes, South Africa is both a developed and a developing nation today.

2.2 South Africa and sports

The Apartheid ideology occurred within different areas, from the institutional structure to social divisions and like most parts within South Africa, it also greatly influenced sports. During the Apartheid era, an official policy was created to prevent interracial contact in sports. All national sports teams had to represent Whites only and White only competitions (Nauright, 1997). Pressure from the international countries was also experienced in sports. In the 1964 Summer Olympics, South Africa was banned because of their ideology. In 1992, the country returned to Olympics for the first time since it was barred and in 1995, South Africa hosted the Rugby World Cup and won. Although thirty years of Apartheid did some damage to South African sports, cricket, rugby and football are today the three biggest sports in the country¹². Even though cricket and rugby are still dominated by the White population, football is now one of the most played sports, locally as well as nationally, and in 2010 South Africa hosted its biggest event in the history, the World Cup.

¹¹Drawn from the government of South Africa’s website:
<http://www.info.gov.za/view/DownloadFileAction?id=70438>.

¹²Drawn from the website: <http://www.safrika.info/about/sport/sportsa.htm>.

2.2.1 The structure of South African sports

Alongside new rules and legislations, sports have been used to rebuild the South African nation as a whole. During Apartheid, the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) was established in 1973 as the main body for non-racial sports within the country (Hargreaves, 1997). In 1990, the National Sport Council (NSC) was established as the umbrella body for South African sports. In addition, the South African National Recreation council (SANREC) was formed, as the umbrella body for recreation, as well as the National Olympic Committee of South Africa (NOSCA) (Jones, 2003). In 1999 the establishment of South African Sport Commission (SASC) was another key development within sports in SA (ibid.).

Today, the structure of South African sports can be divided into school sports on one side and the local community sports on the other, divided into departments and non-governmental boards, such as the South African Sport Confederations and Olympic Committee (SASCOC). As the head of the South African sports, the Department of Sport and Recreation South Africa (SRSA) looks for ways to use sports and recreation as a tool in promoting development and peace in close collaboration with the relevant departments (White Paper, 2011). SRSA created the “White Paper”¹³ regarding sports and recreation, where the purpose is:

“To pronounce clearly Government’s policy regarding sport and recreation in the Republic of South Africa. This White Paper sets out Government’s vision for sport and recreation and details the impact it would like to achieve by investing in particular outcomes and strategic objectives. It provides clear policy directives for promoting and providing sport and recreation” (ibid.:18).

In line with the Constitutional imperatives, SRSA intend to develop national policies and programs, where sports and recreation are used to address these issues (ibid). While the Department of Education is dealing with school sports, SRSA as the governmental board is focusing on local community sports. Even though these bodies have close collaboration, they also have their own aims and visions.

¹³ Drawn from the website: <http://www.srsa.gov.za/pebble.asp?reid=811>.

Focusing on the Department of Education, the organization map¹⁴ is set up as shown in figure 1 below, starting from the District Management Office:

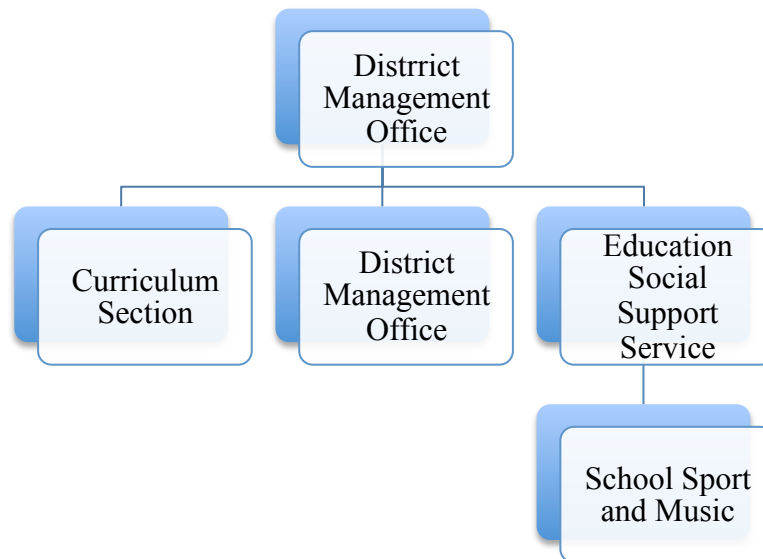


Figure 1.

On the other governmental side, SRSA¹⁵ is organized as shown in figure 2:

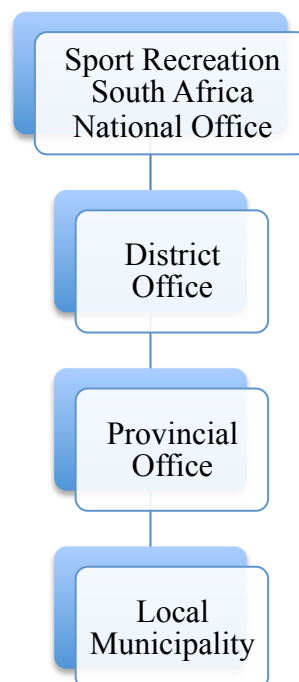


Figure 2.

¹⁴ The three organization maps are drawn from the obtained information through the fieldwork in Mount Frere.

¹⁵ The whole organization map is showed in: “Sport and Recreation South Africa Strategic Plan”, 2012:16.

SASCOC¹⁶ is an important national board of the South African sports, as it is working with different associations from national to local level. The organization of SASCOC is shown in figure 3:

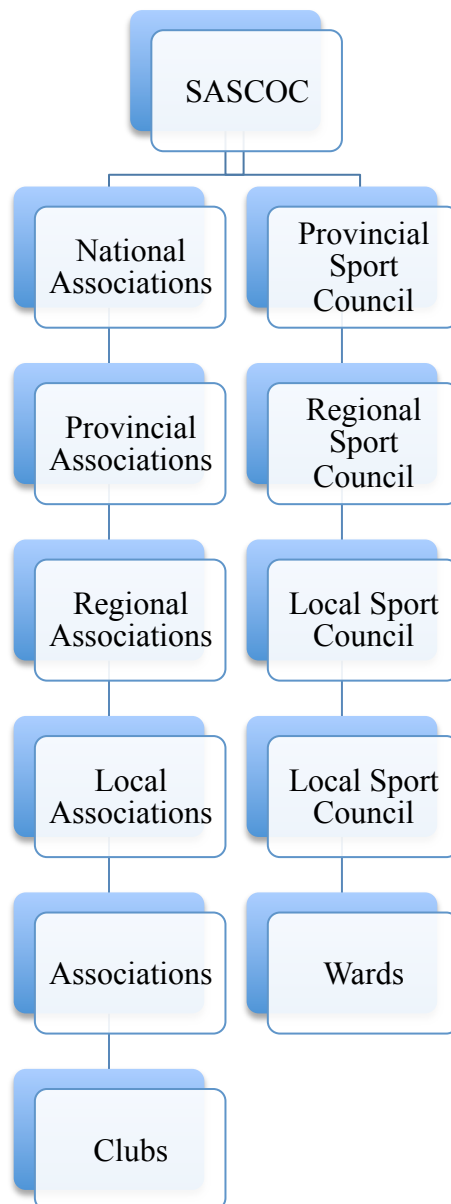


Figure 3.

2.2.2 *Girls and women in sports*

South African women's participation within the South African society was limited during the Apartheid regime. Women were supposed to be the head of the household and the idea of having a gender equal society did not exist. During Apartheid, the vision for a gender equal society was embedded in the social and political movements worked for the new democracy (Meintjes, 2005). These negotiations led to a new constitutional

¹⁶ For more information, see www.sascoc.co.za.

dispensation in South Africa in the early 1990s and “building new post-apartheid institutions meant developing them from the artifacts of past struggles for democracy and future visions of the ‘good life’- the hopes and dreams, the values, principles and practices that drove the change in the first place” (ibid.:260). Chapter Nine of the South African national Constitution addressed this and as a result the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) was established in 1997 (ibid). According to Meintjes, the CGE mandate was to “promote the idea that society should change in ways that would re-order public and private power to become more gender equal and just” (ibid, 2005:260).

Like other parts of the society, gender divisions also existed within sports and especially Black African women were not involved in sports during the Apartheid regime. Despite a focus on democracy, women were systematically discriminated and consequently, they had to negotiate dominant ideas and structures in order to participate in sports (Grujoska and Carlsson, 2007; Hargreaves, 1997). As Jones (2003) describes it, NSC created a structure in 1992 for promoting sport amongst females in the country. By December 1996, NSC facilitated the formulation of a national strategy for Women and Sport South Africa (WASSA), which is still an all-female structure. “WASSA was the first structure ever to be established in South Africa for the sole purpose of promoting sport amongst women and girls and its mission is to ensure that women and girls have equal access to opportunities and support at all levels of sport” (National Strategy, 1997 In: ibid.).

3. Conceptual clarifications and theoretical perspectives

In this chapter, theoretical framework is elaborated. Within the theoretical framework, the first part will focus on sports and development perspectives. This part starts with definitions of sports and development, followed by looking at sports as a development tool. The second part will describe notions within gender theory. This part will elaborate on the difference between sex and gender, followed by the concept of socialization and how social interaction shape societal “norms”, also within sports.

3.1 Sports and Development – definitions

3.1.1 Development

The term *development* is broadly described as a process in which people increase their freedom and their standards of living, such as health, sanitation and education. The basic objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives¹⁷. Furthermore, (human) development is a process of enlarging people’s choices, especially in terms of access to education, health facilities, political freedom etc. (Human) development has two sides: the formation of human capabilities, such as improved health, knowledge and skills for leisure, and being active in cultural, social and political affairs¹⁸.

International bodies, such as the United Nations (UN), create a platform to discuss and act upon development issues. The UN secretary-general from 2001 to 2006, Kofi Annan, stated in 2002 that the Millennium Summit was the biggest gathering of leaders the world has seen, held by the United Nations in September 2000. On that occasion, the Millennium Declaration was adopted, which is a landmark document for the twenty-first century and intend to give a blueprint for action to achieve freedom from fear, freedom from want and protection of all resources¹⁹. The Declaration was adopted by 189 nations and formed the basis of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), which is now prevailing around the world. The world’s countries and leading development

¹⁷ Drawn from http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr_1990_en_chap1.pdf.

¹⁸ Ibid.:10.

¹⁹ Drawn from Kofi Annan’s speech: “Right to play belongs to everyone’ secretary-general tells forum”, 2002.

institutions²⁰ agreed on eight MDGs, which range from halving extreme poverty to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education. These goals lay the foundation of governmental strategies around the world and intend to be reached by the end of 2015. Not only have several nations considered MDGs through their development work, but also donor agencies, private actors, international financial institutions, UN-agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs)²¹ adapt the MDGs to their programs.

3.1.2 Sports

The concept of *sports* as a leisure activity “has the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire. It has the power to unite people in a way that little else can. Sport can awaken hope where there was previously only despair” (White Paper, 2011:15)²². In 2002, Kofi Annan advocated “play” as a fundamental human right, claiming that sports participation is an incredibly beneficial experience that builds self-esteem, leadership skills and breaks down barriers between communities²³ (Levermore, 2008). Sports has consistently been regarded as “character building”, developing personality traits, such as discipline, honesty and integrity as well as certain personal and social skills (Coalter, 2010). As a result, the UN declared 2005 as the International Year of Sport and Physical Education. From this year, there has been a significant expansion in the use of sports (broadly defined) as a tool for initiating social change (Levermore and Beacom, 2009).

When the focus on sports was accentuated in 2005 by the UN, the aims was to: “facilitate better knowledge-sharing among different stakeholders, to raise general awareness, as well as creating the right conditions for the implementation of more sport-based human development programs and projects”²⁴ (Grujoska and Carlsson, 2007:4). Sports then, at the elite and community level, are increasingly being used in a variety of ways to promote social inclusion, prevent conflict and to enhance peace within and between nations. Although sports alone cannot prevent conflict or build peace, it can

²⁰ From: <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/bkgd.shtml>.

²¹ The term “NGO” is being used as a collectively for organizations in the civil society or within social movements, separated from the government and which is non-profit (Hasselgård, 2008).

²² Drawn from Nelson Mandela’s Laureus World Sports Awards Ceremony, 2000.

²³ Drawn from Kofi Annan’s speech: “Right to play belongs to everyone’ secretary-general tells forum”, 2002.

²⁴ Drawn from United Nation (2005), Concept, International Year of Sport and Physical Education, p. 4.

contribute to broader, more comprehensive efforts in a number of ways.

3.1.3 The utilitarian and intrinsic values of sports

When talking about sports and development, it is appropriate to mention the importance of intrinsic values and utilitarian values of sports. Intrinsic values signify various experiences one can get when participating in sports. Valuable experiences constitute a steady outline in leisure activity. This means that the actual sport activity have a value itself. Utilitarian values represent the values of sports as a tool to reach goals outside the actual activities (Loland, 1998). It is emphasized that utilitarian values are related to health benefits, individual development, equality, peace and conflict solutions, economic development and increased volunteerism. Hence, it is intrinsic values within activities that must allure sports participation. Whilst intrinsic values are to find within the activity itself, utilitarian values are products of the actual activity, where the values are placed outside of it. Therefore, Loland (ibid.) argues that intrinsic values are primary for sports participation and consequently, utilitarian values follows naturally in a sense that utilitarian values significantly depends on intrinsic values.

In developed countries, such as Norway, several sports organizations emphasize intrinsic values and the joy of being involved in sports as the basics of their sports projects. Hasselgård (2008) highlight these values within peace and development work, whereby sports are highly being used as a development tool. Maximum intrinsic values provide maximum utilitarian values within peace and development projects. Most aid organizations that use sports as a part of their work, do therefore not necessarily focus at the actual activities, but use activities to attract participants.

3.2 Sports as a development tool

There has been an increased trend in the use of sports as a development tool during the last decade. The SDP concepts evolved from a growing recognition of well-designed sports-based initiatives that from the beginning incorporated sports within powerful, practical and cost-effective tools in order to achieve development and peace objectives. Sports are viewed as valuable in itself and as a means for achieving broader aims for development and peace²⁵. Through 1960s-1970s, the European Council and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) brought sports at

²⁵ Drawn from the South African Sport and Recreation White Paper, 2011:7.

the agenda through the international charter, which stated that: “the practice of sports and physical education is a fundamental human right for all”²⁶. It addresses that every person is allowed to participate in sports including women and young, elderly and disabled people.

Kidd (2008, In: Coalter, 2010) suggests that there are three broad, overlapping approaches for the evolvement of sport-for-development. During the first phase (in the 1980s), traditional sports development were initiated, in which the provision of basic sports coaching, equipment and infrastructure, were central concerns. The Norwegian Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF) serves as an example for initiating sports-for-development projects within their programs and started in 1984 to support a pilot project in Tanzania, called Sport-for-All. This type of development aid consisted of providing facilities and equipment to communities. Throughout the years, the emphasis shifted to capacity building, organizational development and sustainability, whereby their work was further extended to Zimbabwe and Zambia. This brings us to the second phase of Kidd’s (ibid.) approaches. Subsequent development work focused on humanitarian assistance in which fund-raising in sports were used to provide forms of aid assistance, frequently for refugees. “The rapid development of broad-based sport-for-development movement occurred in the late 1990s along with the establishment of organizations such as Edusport Foundation, Zambia (1999), Magic Bus, Mumbai (1999), EMIMA, Tanzania (2001) and the Kicking Aids Out (KAO) network in 2001” (Coalter, 2010:299). Furthermore,

“These represented an attempt to achieve a comprehensive and co-ordinated strategic approach to tackling the issues of development, and were based on a more precise definition of priority areas for investment. Significantly, many of these were focused on personal and ‘social inclusion’ issues that, in the late 1990s, had become associated with sports policy in the more economically developed societies (Coalter, 2007) – strengthening education, improving community safety and social cohesion, helping girls and women and youth at risk, and addressing issues of public health” (Kidd, 2008 In: Coalter, 2010:301).

Focusing on humanitarian assistance, Olympic Aid was established by the Lillehammer Olympic Organizing Committee in 1992 as part of its preparations for the 1994 Olympic Winter Games. In partnerships with other Norwegian aid organizations, Olympic Aid used sports characters and networks to raise funds and contribute to a

²⁶ Report from the UN Inter-agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace.

range of humanitarian projects in war zones such as Sarajevo, Afghanistan and Lebanon (Coalter, 2010). As a result, the organization Right to Play²⁷ evolved out of these events and has played a pivotal role in the development aid sector. “In 2003, Olympic Aid re-branded itself as Right to Play and extended its direct delivery remit, becoming more specifically a ‘sport-for-development-and-peace’ organization and a major player in the new burgeoning ‘movement’” (ibid.:11). In 2003, UN claimed for the first time that sports exists as a tool to promote health, education, development and peace (Hasselgård, 2008). Continuously, the third phase was rather named the SDP-movement, which covers a wide range of organizations and loose coalitions. “It is probably the case that most organizations and projects tend to be more concerned with individual and community development, rather than the amorphous and ill-defined goal of ‘peace’” (Coalter, 2010:297).

3.2.1 *Sport Plus – Plus Sport – Sport First*

Looking at sports as a phenomenon itself, the contribution of sports to one person, or whole societies, could have an important role and be a tremendous changing factor. Bearing this in mind, we are now looking at two distinctive concepts, yet quite similar to each other: development *of* sports and development *through* sports. Coalter (2009) explains: “Development *of* sports; that is an activity designed to enhance participation and performance in sports as an end in itself, and development *through* sports; that is activity designed to use sports as a vehicle to achieve a range of other social, economic and political objectives” (p. 8). He also makes a distinction between the notions of sport plus and plus sport:

”*Sport plus* programs give primacy to the development of sustainable sport organizations, programs and development pathways. However, even within such organizations sport is also used to address a number of broader social issues (e.g. gender equity; HIV/AIDS education). *Plus sport* gives primacy to social and health programs where sport is used, especially its ability to bring together large number of young people, to achieve some of their objectives” (ibid.:58).

According to Coalter (2007, In: Grujoska and Carlsson, 2007), claims that sport plus is when sports are adapted in order to maximize their potential and achieve developmental objectives. On the contrary, plus sport is when sports’ popularity is used as a type of

²⁷ For the history of Right to Play, see <http://www.righttoplay.com/International/about-us/Pages/History.aspx>.

“fly paper” to attract youth to programs of education and training.

3.2.2 Development aid organizations

By using sports as tool for development, we now see an expansion of aid agencies (whether or not involved in sports), using the platform of sports to create development and peace (Hasselgård and Straume, 2011). Coalter (2009) claims that: “the benefits of sport’ involvement in development processes are slowly being acknowledged by experienced policy makers in the development process” (p.2). During the past ten years, there has been an increasingly national and international interest for sports as a tool for development and peace, where the UN-bodies, sports associations, aid organizations and national governments are some of the interested agencies (Straume and Hasselgård, 2011; Hasselgård, 2008).

3.2.3 Sports and development South Africa

When it comes to developing countries like South Africa, initiatives like SRSA is looking at ways to use sports and recreation as a tool in promoting development and peace in close collaboration with relevant departments (White paper, 2011). In addition, sports and physical activity have globally gained recognition as a simple and low-cost activity. However, this low-cost activity has an effective means of achieving social- and individual capital. Furthermore, it will have a great impact on the achievement of the MDGs (ibid.).

Although developing countries cooperate within the MDG-network, they also face challenges to implement sports and recreation activities in achieving the MDGs. A report from Right to Play stated that: “the key challenge for South Africa is finding the financial and human resources it needs to bring its programs to scale and struggles with lack of sporting facilities” (p.140). Furthermore, the report emphasized that the access to sports facilities in South Africa is larger than in most African countries, but this is seen, however, in former White areas.

Bearing this in mind, “Black communities” are therefore target groups for development organizations in South Africa, such as SRSA, in order to engage the SDP concept. In order to achieve gender equality alongside racial equality, Black empowerment is therefore conductive parts of the government’s strategy (Hargreaves, 1997). After the

UN general assembly declared 1975 as the International Women's year and 1975-1985 as the UN-Decade for Women, it became a greater awareness of the need to integrate gender analysis not only in policy-making issues, programs and projects, but also in research (Meier, 2005; Blom, 1993). This is not only a part of the national governments, it is also an absolute international concern and priority. Aid- and development programs are increasingly targeting the MDG goal number three: to Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women. "The role of sport in promoting gender equality and women's empowerment has increasingly become a key concern within the development 'industry'" (Engh, 2010). The platform of sports is one arena where women face different challenges and experience prejudices and social constraints. Grujoska and Carlsson (2007) claim that sports are also used in order to strengthen women's position in society through sports. As a contribution to achieve the MDGs, "increasing access for women and girls to physical education and sport helps build confidence and promotes stronger social integration. Involving girls in sport activities alongside boys can help overcome prejudice that often contributes to social vulnerability of women and girls" (Adriaanse, Fasting and La Riviere-Zijdel, 2007:4). However, even though the international board has put women at the agenda, there's still a long way to go in many countries in terms of equal rights (Blom, 1993). Gender differences and inequalities in most developing countries, including South Africa, often show a "disadvantaged and weaker position of women and girls in social, political, economic, legal, educational and physical matters" (Meier, 2005:5).

3.3 Gender theory

First, I will start by describing two terms; "sex" and "gender" The conception of *sex* "refers to the physical and anatomical *male* and *female* bodies from each other. These include differences in their chromosomes, reproductive organs and physical appearance" (Fulcher and Scott, 2003:161). This means that sex is ascribed by biology, such as anatomy, hormones and physiology.

"Sex is a determination made through the application of socially agreed upon biological criteria for classifying persons as females or males... placement in a *sex category* is achieved through application of the sex criteria, but in everyday life, categorization is established and sustained by the socially required identificatory displays that proclaim one's membership in one or the other category" (West and Zimmerman, 2002:4).

Gender, in contrast, is the conception of appropriate activities and attitudes in one of the sex categories. In a particular society it is the conceptions of what it means (what is the right behaviors and attitudes) of being a man or a woman. “It is a managing situated conduct in one sex category or the other” (ibid: 5). While sex refers to the man or the woman’s biological means, gender is socially constructed through gendered practices situated within a specific, local system within our everyday lives. “Gender refers to differences in the way that men and women in a particular society are expected to feel, think and behave” (Fulcher and Scott, 2003:161). Connell (2009) defines gender in this way: “Gender is the structure of social relations that centers on the reproductive arena, and the set of practices that bring reproductive distinctions between bodies into social processes” (p. 11). Our femininity and masculinity is therefore the product of social doings of some sort.

Gender is what is considered masculine or feminine in a group or society, where the two genders are expected to feel, think and behave in a masculine way and females in a feminine way (Fulcher and Scott, 2003). Gender is in that way being produced, reproduced and constructed through social situations and interactions, which is constructed through psychological, cultural and social means. Social interaction refers to communication and relationships between humans, in all parts of life. Lorber (1999, in: Meier, 2005) defines gender as “process of social construction, a system of social stratification, and an institution that structures every aspect of our lives because of its embeddedness in the family, the workplace, and the state as well as in sexuality, language and culture” (p. 6). Furthermore, a person’s gender is therefore not an aspect of what one is, but it is something that one *does* in interaction with others. “*Doing gender* means creating differences between girls and boys and women and men, differences that are not natural, essential, or biological”. (ibid.:13).

Referring to Jarvie (2006), sports carriers assumptions about gender and gender differentiation, like many areas of social life. Furthermore, he argues that gender refers to “female and male differences created by social, cultural, historical and political expectations about behavior, interests, abilities and attitudes” (p. 309), which is especially related to men and women in sports.

3.3.1 Socialization

Gender differences emerge over time and goes on while human beings are developing through socialization. Kimmel (2008) explains the socialization process like this:

“Men and women are different because we are taught to be different. From the moment of birth, males and females are treated differently. Gradually we acquire the traits, behaviors, and attitudes that our culture defines as ‘masculine’ or ‘feminine’ (...) we are not necessarily born different, we become different through its process of socialization” (p.3).

As we grow up, we build a biography through interaction with others. Socialization is, according to Fulcher and Scott (2003), “a lifelong social experience by which individuals construct their personal biography, assemble daily interactional rules and come to terms with the wider patterns of their culture” (p. 151). Socialization is a process of dissemination and learning of skills, which means that the newborn child will through interacting with people, such as the family and preschool, develop a personality. Connell (1987) explain socialization by saying that “a new born child has a biological sex, but no social gender. As it grows older, society provides a string of prescriptions, templates or models of behavior, appropriate to the one sex or the other” (p. 191). Through socialization, the child’s result would be the individual’s unique history of thinking, feeling and acting. As we share a certain culture while remaining individuals, we develop a set of traits and behavioral aspects of being a boy/ man or a girl/woman. Socialization, as a lifelong social process of learning cultural patterns, behaviors and expectations, is more or less constructed as they now learn how to become girls and boys, growing up to be women and men (Stolley, 2005; Meier, 2005). Connell (2009) further writes: “being a man or a woman is not a pre-determined state. Is a becoming, a condition actively under construction” (p.5). In this matter, we recognize a person as a man/boy or a woman/girl and we consequently arrange everyday business around these distinctions.

In relation to socialization and sports, Theberge and Birrell (1994) writes that sociological analyses of women in sports began in the late 1970s, where the discussions about social and cultural conditions that structure, constrain and gave meaning to women’s sports experiences, took place. They divide two topics that received considerable attention: socialization *into* sports and socialization *through* sports, whereby the latter looked at “the effects of sports participation on the development of

attitudes, values and orientations” (p. 325). These two topics were specially confined within the study of girls and women. Today, sports are seen as “a cultural form that is embedded in and constituent of sociopolitical forces of culture (ibid.:326).

As a result of the previous reflections, we are therefore given a certain role or display within the society, where certain criteria have to be fulfilled when being a woman or a man. “The notion of gender as a role obscures the work that is involved in producing gender in everyday activities, while the notion of gender as a display relegates it to the periphery of interaction” (ibid.). The so-called gender-role socialization is the process of learning to take on socially approved roles for males and females (Stolley, 2005).

According to Fulcher and Scott (2003) gender roles is explained in this way:

“Gender-roles specify the ways in which men and women are expected to feel, think, and behave. They prescribe not only the kinds of work that men and women are expected to do but the feelings they can express and everyday aspects of their behavior, such as the way that they speak and dress”.

These roles are learned through the process of socialization, starting from family relations and continues through education and, indeed, throughout life. Gender roles refer to learning and performing socially accepted characteristics for a given gender. The contents of this may differ enormously across cultures and even within a culture.

As a result of the “distribution” of gender roles, it could tell us, according to Kimmel (2008), that men and women are taught to devalue women’s experiences, perceptions and abilities, and therefore have in mind to overvalue men. Masculinities and femininities can be described as a social constructed category, which involves roles, expectations and responsibilities that are not biologically determined. When social gender roles are generated, various stereotypes and prejudices against one role or the other may be established. The notion of gender stereotypes can be defined as beliefs about certain attributes that differentiate women and men. Stangor (2000) believes that gender stereotypes reflect perceivers’ observation of what people do in daily life. Furthermore, he says that if people in societies often “observe a particular group of people engaging in a particular activity, they are likely to believe that the abilities and personality attributes required to carry out that activity are typical of that group of people” (p. 142). He gives an example about women: “if perceivers consistently observe

women caring for children, they are likely to believe that characteristics thought to be necessary for child care, such as nurturance and warmth, are typical of women.” (ibid.). Consequently, when women and men are being observed with diverse social roles, and the activities required to these social roles, gender stereotypes will arise.

3.3.2 *Hegemony*

The concept of gender within the socialization process could display the different behavior between women and men (Fulcher and Scott, 2003). When speaking about gender, the concept of patriarchy, hegemony, power and inequality emerge (ibid.; Kimmel, 2008). According to Korsnes (2008), hierarchy within sociology is used to determine a certain group’s position at the social ladder. The term denotes a power relationship; the higher your position is within the hierarchy, the more power you have.

Hegemony and patriarchy can be associated with hierarchy and lead to power relations, which are organized along lines of gender, race, ethnicity, class, age and sexual preference (Costa and Guthrie, 1994). Patriarchy derives from the Greek word “patria”, meaning father, and “arché”, meaning decide. According to Connell (2009), patriarchy is “the idea of men as a dominant ‘sex class’, the analysis of rape as an assertion of men’s power over women, and the critique of media images of women as passive, trivial and stupid” (p. 76). In this sense, patriarchy is a comparable term, which originally meant “domination by the father and was used by social anthropologists to describe family structures where the father rather than the mother dominated” (Fulcher and Scott, 2003:164). Moreover, gender stratification is a common term when speaking about patriarchy, which refers to a society’s unequal distribution of wealth, power and privilege between the sexes (ibid.).

Hegemony then, is “the social dominance of a certain group, exercised not through brute force, but through a cultural dynamic which extends into private life and social realms” (Giddens 2006:462). Alongside this, the “hegemonic masculinity” is always constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to women (Connell, 1987). Referring to gender roles and domination, this means firstly that the man is superior to the woman. Secondly, it means that within masculinities there is precedence between the different forms of masculinities in the society. “All forms of masculinity in this society are constructed in the context of the overall

subordination of women to men” (ibid:186).

When discussing gender and gender domination, Kimmel (2008) argues that domination is “the outcome of the different cultural valuing of men’s and women’s experience” (p.3). This means that domination, social hegemony and patriarchy are different conceptions of which gender is constructed within society and in this sense, gender is not simply a system of classifications of men and women into equivalent roles, but rather expresses the universal inequalities between women and men (ibid.). However, even though women and men *are* biologically different, it does not mean that the power relation between men and women should be determined from their biologically sex category. This also involves gender inequality. Kimmel (ibid.) argue that “gender differences are the product of gender inequality, and not the other way around, and it is the difference that causes dominance” (p. 4). Furthermore, he says that it is through the idea of difference that inequality is legitimated. Giddens (2006) argues that gender inequalities are an important issue within gender theory and state: “gender inequalities refer to the differences in status, power and prestige enjoyed by women and men in various contexts” (p. 478).

In relation to sports, gender power relations are embedded in sports in various ways, such as the idea of promoting beliefs that women’s sports are not as valuable as men’s sports or that men are better. Furthermore, hierarchical and institutionalized practices in sports as well as embodied practices resulting in physical activity are also significant aspects of power relations in sports. This shows that the gendered sports stories are not different from other areas of social life (Jarvie, 2006). Socialist feminists recognize both patriarchy and capitalism as problems for women in sports and give example on how patriarchy “promotes sexism and controls the sporting experience for women through formal organizational bodies and informal practices that are dependent on male bonding”. (Costa and Guthrie, 1994:247).

3.3.3 Intersectionality

Although there are social divisions between women and men, there are also interrelationship between the different class, race and ethnicity within societies. According to Yuval-Davis (2006), social divisions exist in the ways people experience their daily lives in terms of “inclusion and exclusion, discrimination and disadvantage,

specific aspirations and specific identities” (p.198). This also includes what people think about themselves, their communities and also people’s attitudes and prejudices towards others.

The American jurist Kimberlé Crenshaw, as one of the first to adopt the term, wanted to emphasize that Black women in America were exposed for sexism and racism, whereby gender and the skin on ones color could not be separated within the analysis of Black women’s social situation (Korsnes, 2008). “Since the 1990s, gender, queer and postcolonial studies have taken an interest in the interaction of dimensions of inequality – such as gender, class, race or sexuality. For this endeavor the term ‘intersectionality’ was coined” (Winker and Delege, 2011:51). Therefore, the concept of intersectionality is on its way of becoming a new paradigm in gender and queer studies. Winker and Delege (ibid.) bring out the importance of this concept and argue that the comprehensive intersectionality approach “has the potential to look beyond the different theoretical currents and offers up further perspectives for constructive development and utilization” (p.51.)

Intersectionality, which refers to the intersection of different social relations and various power hierarchies, such as gender, ethnicity, class, sexuality, age and disability, interact and affect the power relations in a society, which work together and results in determined social identities, relations and practices (Korsnes, 2008). Gunarsson (2011) gives an example and argues that when studying gender through an intersectional lens means “emphasizing that women are not only women, but also black, white, rich, poor, heterosexual, homosexual, etc.” (p. 25). Intersectionality therefore, as a hegemonic “ideology”, determines one’s wealth in the society. In relation to South African history, this may reflect the Apartheid era, where the White supremacy was given an advantage in the South African society and the Black population was perceived as a minor priority group.

3.3.4 Empowerment

Right to Play (2008) stated that self-esteem is defined as a person’s overall self-appraisal and feeling of self-worth. Furthermore, it is argued that self-esteem is “essential to mental health and well-being” and low self-esteem can be “a contributing factor to health risk behaviors such as drugs, alcohol and tobacco abuse, suicide, early

and unsafe sexual activity, teen pregnancy, and anti-social behavior” (ibid.:143). Stereotyping and gender norms can often lead to inadequacy and lack of confidence, which can result in women feeling disempowered, lacking the strength and confidence to embrace goals and possibilities, and to make the choices necessary to realize them (ibid.). The concept of empowerment is therefore essential to give an account of, as the concept is seen as critical issues for girls and women and moreover, women are the targeted group when referring to empowerment (ibid.).

According to Czuba and Nanette (1999), empowerment is a “process that challenges our assumptions about the way things are and can be. It challenges our basic assumptions about power, helping, achieving, and succeeding” (p.x). They argue that essentially the concept of empowerment is the idea of power and furthermore believe that empowerment is a multi-dimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives. Deveaux (1996) describes empowerment as *freedom* and disempowerment as *nonfreedom*. Empowerment is a “process that fosters power in people for use in their own lives, their communities and in their society, by acting on issues they define as important” (Czuba and Nanette, 1999:x). In addition, they state that since power is created in relationships, implications, power and power relationships can change. Empowerment as a process of chance, then, becomes a meaningful concept (ibid.).

Deveaux (1996) enlightens “personal empowerment” where “individuals should be acting collectively to set an agenda for change” (p. 232). Referring to girls and women, empowerment involves the increased ability to make strategic life choices in contexts where this ability was previously limited (Right to play, 2008). Women’s “freedom” does not simply refer to subjects’ objective possibilities for maneuvering or resisting within a power dynamic, but rather concerns as to whether a woman *feels* empowered in her specific context (Deveaux, 1996).

3.3.5 Women and sports

The previous mentioned terms could also be seen in relation to women and sports. Beliefs about gender are not only taking part within social interaction, but it is also becoming institutionalized, such as within sports. It is said that “sports reflects the society”, which means referring to gender relations in sports as in the society in general,

men have had and still have a dominating position. Furthermore, this means that women's entry to sports must first and foremost be seen in relief of societal changes (Sisjord, 1994). Within official positions, as well as in sports, women have been marginalized as a result of gender constructions. "Ideas and beliefs about gender are a crucial part of the foundation on which sports are organized, promoted and played" (Coakley, 2009). Stereotypes, which are recognized as unilateral and exaggerated often leads to prejudices about all individuals within a certain group of people, which are deeply ingrained in people's perceptions and contradictory information rarely have an impact (Korsnes, 2008). Referring to stereotyped sports, these can be related to sports as "masculine" or "feminine", which could contribute to a marginalization of women in sports and are seen especially within the "male-sports" such as football, rugby and other sports, where physical strength is required. Women sports are not considered "real" sports, where women's sports are played within feminine norms. This can cause a marginalization of female athletes where women are seen as deviant. Sports have proven to be one of the key institutional sites for the study of the social construction of gender.

Adriaanse et al. (2007) states that: "Stereotypes can greatly affect the attitudes of men towards women and their role in sport" (p. 16). It could therefore be reasonable to refer to social constraints towards women, which is seen as an obstacle to access and participation in sports and physical education for girls and women. According to Adriaanse, et al. (ibid.), the perceptions of women's physical capabilities and responsibilities imposes constraints on women's involvement in community activities, including sports.

What follows the gender constructions are challenges that get women more disadvantaged not only within their families, but also in the society as a whole, such as within sports. This is especially seen within the matter of equal rights, access to resources and exploitations of different possibilities, for example work related issues. Compared to Western societies, norms and attitudes could be slightly different from African communities. Challenges particularly in African societies are explained by Manyonganise (2010), who did a research in Zimbabwe where she described the relationship between *public spaces* compared to *safety zones*. Several girls slightly get access to public spaces, for example at sports arenas, schools, in the community etc. In

that way, girls have few opportunities to get involved in the society as a whole, since social and traditional norms and attitudes says that girls should remain within the safety zones, for example inside the house, where the parents can control them. “The public sphere refers to a space where people can freely discuss matters of general importance to them as citizens” (Fulcher and Scott, 2003:364). However, public spaces is “a place for men”, while women should remain in the house. Girls and women get taught from early age that they should be doing house chores as a woman, which results in boys/men getting more spare time and can focus on other activities outside the house. However, women entering the sports field can give women access to public spaces which allows them to gather together, develop social networks, discuss problems on a regular basis (Meier, 2005).

The perceptions previously mentioned may lead to gender inequities. According to Meintjes (2005), the struggle for gender equality is about changing gender power relations in society, providing space for women and “changing ideas about who should make decisions and the roles traditionally assigned to women and men” (p. 273). The path to gender equity appears significant. However, according to Coakley (2007), gender equity “will never be complete without changes in how people think about masculinity and femininity and in how sports are organized and played” (p. 277). He argues that women are nowadays more than ever involved in sports, either as participants or work-relations in sports organizations. However, he claims, “gender inequities continue to exist in participation opportunities, support for athletes, jobs for women in coaching and administration and informal and alternative sports” (ibid.).

3.4 Summary

I started this chapter with conceptual clarifications, as the first part, by giving brief definitions of sports and development as well as definitions of two distinct values; the intrinsic and utilitarian values. Furthermore, I have given an account of sports as a development tool and moreover elaborated this concept by explaining the differences between sport plus and plus sport perspectives. The last section aimed at aid and development organizations as well as the SDP concept in relation to South Africa and gender.

The topic on South Africa and gender led us to the theoretical perspectives of gender

theory. In this part, definitions of the terms “sex” and “gender” were given. I furthermore concentrated on the concept of socialization and how the socialization process leads to gender roles and stereotypes. These terms may also be seen in relation to the notions of hegemony, intersectionality and empowerment. These notions are also seen within sports, which I have elaborated on above. These theoretical aspects are significant to have in mind when further discussions in Chapter 5 and 6 are carried. Considering the foregoing material, we have got a grasp of the South African background and the theoretical perspectives that are fundamental in this thesis.

4. Site and Methods

This chapter discusses the methodology of the study, which is based on fieldwork and interviews. The first part starts by presenting the project design. Furthermore, the completed fieldwork and interviews will be described, followed by the process of transcribing and analysing the material. My role as a researcher, as well as the validity and ethical considerations of the study, are also discussed.

The reason for choosing Mount Frere was a result of my former experience as sports volunteer through the organization Sport Coaches Out Reach (SCORE) in 2008/09. Here I experienced the challenge of getting girls involved in sports and projects, and this has significantly increased my interest in questions concerning women and sports from an academic perspective rather than merely a practical one. Before discussing methodological considerations, I will shortly describe the site.

4.1 Site

Mount Frere is situated in the Transkei homeland and populated mostly by an underdeveloped community with lack of economical resources (Lemon, 2004). The town is home to the Bhaca, Hlubi and Mpondo people, which are divisions of the isiXhosa-speaking people in the country. Eastern Cape, with a population of approximately 6,7 millions²⁸, is divided into several districts. Mount Frere falls under Umzimvubu Local Municipality, which is part of the Alfred Nzo District Municipality.

Mount Frere town center is located at the main road N2, which stretches from Cape Town to Durban. The estimated population of Mount Frere in total is about one million²⁹. The town itself has a small population and most people originate from surrounding villages (about 222 villages³⁰). These rural villages, also called locations, are spread from 50 km to 70 km from the town center. Locations are divided into circuits or wards, when running sports programs in the rural areas. The town consists of municipality headquarters, a post office, a hospital, a police office, shops, petrol stations and restaurants. In the villages one will only find some small shops, houses and schools

²⁸ Stat.co.za: General household survey, 2010:15.

²⁹ "A report of the study and community needs analysis of Mount Frere, Transkei", p. 3.

³⁰ Ibid.

(primary, secondary and high schools), however most of the houses are without electricity (about 40 %³¹). People from neighboring towns come to Mount Frere and use official services, such as banks and offices, which are mainly available in this town.

Concerning recreational facilities, schools have more or less their own sports facilities. There are no indoor facilities in the town or in surrounding areas. In the villages, there are fields used as sports facilities while the town has a stadium. This stadium is situated a walking distance from N2 and is equipped with goal posts for soccer and rugby teams, in addition another two goal posts are used by netball and basket teams. As I have observed, cricket teams also use the stadium.

4.2 Qualitative Research

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the focus of this thesis is seen from an agency perspective. I wanted to get an understanding of the local people's experiences and perceptions about women's sports participation through interacting with various people. Hence, I chose to obtain data through qualitative research.

Traditionally, qualitative methods are considered as a type of research that encompasses close contact between the researcher and what is being studied (Thagaard, 2009). It is envisioned to achieve an understanding of social phenomenon by analysing and interpreting what is studied. By using qualitative methods, I was able to get descriptions and explanations of the social phenomena "from the inside" through observations, interviewing and analyzing documents (Rapley, 2007; Marshall and Rossman, 2006). Within qualitative research, various types of designs are used and this thesis is based on an interpretive qualitative study, explained by Merriam (2002):

"Several key characteristics cut across the various *interpretive* qualitative research designs (forms, types or genres by other authors). The first characteristic is that researchers strive to *understand the meaning* people have constructed about their world and their experiences. (2) The researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and data analysis, (3) the process is inductive: that is, researchers gather data to build concepts, hypotheses, or theories rather than deductively deriving postulates or hypotheses to be tested (as in positivist research). (4) The product of a qualitative inquiry is richly descriptive" (p. 4).

³¹ *ibid.*

4.3 Project design

As mentioned earlier, the study design is a fieldwork comprising observations, interviews and documents, which according to Hammersley and Atkinson (1987) are seen as the most important data-sources within field methodology. The fieldwork lasted for six weeks³². The study design is showed in figure 4:

INTERVIEWS	OBSERVATIONS	DOCUMENTS
<p>11 interviews:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - One representative from the Department of Education - Department of Sport (focus group interview: three attended) - One representative from the regional Football Federation - One representative from the local Sport Council - Two coaches (one male and one female) - Five players (four soccer players and one cricket player) 	<p>Observations are divided into:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Direct observations</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At matches, training sessions, tournaments and other sports events in local and school sports - <i>Observations</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In shops, NGO's, at the streets and so forth <p>During observations it was also conducted:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Formal conversations/meetings</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With the departments, the Football Federation and the Sport Council - <i>Informal conversations</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • During both direct observations and observations in general 	<p>Documents are obtained from the:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Department of Education - Department of Sport - Sport Council - Football Federation

Figure 4.

All in all, I did eleven interviews. Four of the interviewees represented, respectively, the Department of Sport³³, the Department of Education³⁴, the Football Federation³⁵ and the

³² See appendix 2 for a detailed overview of my fieldwork.

³³ The Department of Sport in this thesis represents the Alfred Nzo District Municipality.

³⁴ The Department of Education in this thesis represents the Umzimvubu local municipality.

³⁵ The interviewee from the Football Federation in this thesis represents the Regional Level.

Sport Council³⁶. One male and one female coach were also interviewed. I deliberately searched for women who were in some way involved as leaders or coaches in the community. During my fieldwork I met three women and interviewed one of them, on the basis that she had the most relevant experience and had been involved in local sports for many years, both in school sports and local sports. Several of the interviewees had various roles in Mount Frere, such as working as teachers while being coaches voluntarily in the community, which therefore gave them comprehensive knowledge about the women's sports in the area. Four female soccer players and one cricket player were also interviewed. Ten of the interviews were "formal" conversations between the interviewee and me. The interview with the Department of Sport was a focus group interview where three employees participated. This interview was from the beginning meant to be a "formal" conversation with one person. However, when I arrived at the Department of Sport's office, I saw two more people also ready to be interviewed. I then had to change my preparations and had a focus group interview instead.

The observations include direct observations and other observations in general. Direct observation was conducted, with particular attention to matches, tournaments and training sessions. I also followed a women's soccer team through matches and trainings. Other direct observations were conducted during school sports programs. Furthermore, other observations were conducted in the community in general, such as at the streets, in stores, visiting local NGOs and so forth. Through observations, formal conversations and meetings were conducted with people from the departments, the Football Federation and the Sport Council. I had informal conversations with community members; coaches, players, principals and teachers during trainings and matches in local sports and school sports, as well as NGO-members and contact persons from previous stay. This was an essential part of my fieldwork.

Through gaining insight into documents, information on how and what types of sports are running in Mount Frere, as well as the organization of sports, was acquired through document research³⁷. Documents, which can be divided into public, private and government-based documents (Rapley's, 2007), were obtained through mentioned

³⁶ The Sport Council cooperates with the Departments in a way that the Council implements the local sports projects, hand in hand with the Departments.

³⁷ See Chapter 2.

interviewees from departments, the Football Federation and Sport Council, after the interviews were conducted. However, information such as policy documents and records of participating boys and girls in local sports and school sports were not available. On many occasions, therefore, interviewees were required to write down necessary information. What I observed in the community is that information is normally presented verbally, either among local people, departments, schools and other institutions. Because of the “non-existing” documents, several days were spent trying to gather information, which is normally documented.

4.4 Entering the field

Having stayed in Mount Frere for a year as a volunteer I see as an advantage when returning as a researcher. I already knew the place and how I would reach there. I arrived Mount Frere the 5th October 2011 and started my research work the following day. During my former stay, I already had established relationships with people active in sports in Mount Frere, such as people from the Department of Education, local NGOs, teachers and coaches, which provided easier access to the field. Before I left Norway, I called some of my contact persons and informed them about my study. The mentioned contact persons further helped me to connect with other contact persons both within NGOs and the Departments, which were relevant and useful for the study.

Although I previously knew several people active in sports in Mount Frere, I enlarged my network through the project. During my fieldwork, I experienced a “snowball-effect”, also called “chain sampling” (Patton, 2002), in terms of getting in contact with potential interviewees. As I had informal conversations or interviews with people, these people could know someone else relevant to contact concerning my topic. I went from one person to another who provided me with valuable information and it was therefore easy to choose the most relevant persons to interview. Building trustworthy relationships before and after fieldwork is important (Thagaard, 2009). As I had common contact persons with most of the “new” people I got in contact with, they were not skeptical at all and I gained their trust earlier than expected.

4.5 Fieldwork

Accommodation with a host family I knew from my formal stay was arranged prior to arrival. During the first days after arrival I had informal conversations with my previous

contact persons as I tried (with their help) to get in touch with other relevant interviewees. I met with local people involved in sports casually at supermarkets and shops in town, at sports fields and in schools. I carried my “fieldwork diary” everywhere so that I could note interesting events and information I came across during informal conversations, meetings and observations. Field notes were in some situations noted while I was at various meetings. In other situations, some essential viewpoints revealed through informal conversations were noted when I had come home. Registered field notes consisted of minutes and descriptions of what the local people said and did in specific situations they were found (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1987). Through asking, listening, participating and observing, field notes were written in order to document “descriptions” in the field and hence being able to ask follow-up questions during the interviews as well as contextualizing the findings in the analysis.

When observing in a foreign society, the researcher must try to understand the culture by taking part in activities of the people being observed. On one hand, being an “outsider” could be an advantage as it may be easier for the researcher to ask questions on issues which otherwise are normal for the community members. On the other hand, it is necessary to be conversant with the culture in order to understand it (Thagaard, 2009). My familiarity with the culture and local language skills may be one reason for why I got “accepted” when interacting with the local people. In addition, by knowing the culture and the community, I could easily understand what the local people tried to convey, thereby reducing lots of confusions during discussions.

As already mentioned, I did direct observations where one particular team was followed, which is further in this thesis referred to as the “Soccer Team” or “Team”. Since soccer is one of the most common sports in Mount Frere and other teams, such as the netball teams, had not yet started the leagues during my stay, the “Team” was therefore observed. This team is participating in the highest division in the area, called the SASOL Provincial League, which was also a contributing factor when choosing a team to observe. The “Soccer Team” had competitions far from town and it was therefore a challenge to observe the team, as I did not have my own means of transport.

Local people hitchhike³⁸ or use a so-called “quqa” or “bakkie”³⁹. Public transportation is either by bus or local taxi which only run when they are at full capacity. For safety issues, I was fortunate to get a ride with the “Team’s” coach.

4.6 Interviews

In order to collect information about the community’s experiences, opinions, feelings and knowledge, interviews were an essential part of my research (Patton, 1990). The purpose of qualitative research interview is to understand diverse aspects through the interviewee's daily life, from his or her perspective (Kvale, 1996). In-depth interviews were in this thesis semi-structured. By using a semi-structured interview, I followed an interview guide⁴⁰ with central themes, elaborated from the research questions. Patton (1990) indicates that the general interview guide approach involves outlining a set of issues that the researcher wants to explore. In several interviews, the order of questions varied and new questions appeared along during interviews, which according to Hammersley and Atkinson (1987) is a normal procedure when using an interview guide in informal interviewing.

As results from the mentioned “snowball-effect”, I got in contact with leaders and coaches by phone. After the phone calls, I could then meet them and conduct interviews. I got in contact with the “Soccer Team’s” players via their coach as he chose four female athletes from the team to be interviewed. I had a tape recorder at hand to all the interviews. Interviews with the people from the departments took place at their offices. As interviewees from the Sport Council and the Football Federation did not have any office, we met during a tournament in town. As the coach for the “Soccer Team” was teaching at a school in one of the locations, I then had to interview him in his car when he was available in town. I interviewed the female coach at the reception in the Municipality headquarter, as she didn’t had any office. Interviews with players from the “Soccer Team” were conducted during a training session, which took place at a

³⁸ Hitchhiking is a common way of transportation in Mount Frere, whereby persons tries to catch rides with anyone who drives in the same direction as they are going, in exchange of an amount of money that is paid.

³⁹ A quqa or a bakkie can be described as a privately owned pick-up truck with an overload luggage (private persons can buy a pick-up, or taxi, and start his own business) going from the villages to town in the morning and back in the afternoon, waiting for the quqa to be filled with people and groceries. The word quqa is taken from the isiXhosa word ukuquqa, which literally means to vagabond (move up and down).

⁴⁰ See appendix 3.

school in one of the locations. As the “Team’s” coach was both coaching the team and teaching at the school, we could use his office to conduct the interviews. The interview with the cricket player was also conducted at the reception in the Municipality headquarter.

The interviewee from the Department of Education had been involved in local sports and had worked for the department for many years. I also met him during my former stay and he recognized me when we met. He contributed with extensive information for my research and I don’t think our previous relationship influenced his answers. The focus group interview with the Department of Sports was quite different from the other, because I had to relate to three persons at the same time. The interviewees started by explaining their work focus within the sector and then the interview guide was followed. Essentially, group interviews can contribute to deepen the discussed themes, as the participants can follow up each other’s answers and give comments throughout the discussion (Thagaard, 2009). The interviewees had a good dialogue, commented on what the others said and didn’t talk all at once. However, when four people are talking together, it is easy to “move away” from the topics. I then had to hold back the reigns and lead them towards the topic we were concentrating on. One of them was several times referring to national and international settings, while my focus was directed towards Mount Frere. As the “manager” showed a sort of authority, most of the answers came from him. Since he was the head of the department, the other two interviewees allowed him to talk whenever he wanted and they mostly commented (or added) on what he said. I tried to involve the other two as well by looking at the person I wanted to the answer from, for example with questions related to their working area within the Department.

As the departments are responsible for several local and district municipalities, it was sometimes difficult to understand what interviewees were talking about during the interviews, as Mount Frere is included in all of the areas where the departments are working. Whether people in the departments were talking about Umzimvubu (the local municipality), Alfred Nzo (the region) or Mount Frere only, was something I frequently had to clarify. For example, if they told me that the facilities around Mount Frere are in proper standard, they could say: “yes, we do have some good facilities”, which occasionally referred to the new artificial grass in the neighboring town Mount Ayliff.

The population in Mount Frere does not benefit from the facilities in Mount Ayliff, due to long distances, and I repeatedly tried to have the interviewees focus on Mount Frere. When talking to people from the departments, the Sport Council or the Football Federation, I principally had to ask them as to whether the conversation was about women or men's sports. If I questioned about sports in the community, most interviewees talked about many teams, which I throughout conversations realized referred to boys'/men's teams.

The persons from the Sport Council and Football Federation were, as mentioned earlier, interviewed during a tournament. As there were no indoor facilities and offices nearby, we had to sit next to the soccer field where the tournament took place. As we were next to a place where other people were present, this could interfere with the answers from the interviewees, however I felt that I got the answers needed for the study. It was not a suitable place for conducting an interview, especially because wind could affect the recording. I brought my fieldwork diary and took notes during the interview, which was an advantage in this case. I managed to establish a good relationship with the "Soccer Team's" coach. He had several years experience and I felt that he was comfortable with elaborating on topics that is not commonly discussed. As we had the interview in his car, it did not interfere with the recording and we were at a place where nobody could disrupt his reflections and stories. On the contrary, when interviewing the female coach at the reception in the Municipality office, bypassing people frequently interrupted her. I don't think it affected her perceptions and what she wanted to answer, but I often had to remind her about what she previously was about to say.

The female athletes were interviewed one by one. The interviews were mainly held in English. As the population in Mount Frere learns English at school, most of the female athletes did not have difficulties talking English. Two of the female athletes seemed, however, nervous about being interviewed and were very "cautious". Whether this was because of the language, or because they were being interviewed, is difficult to say. For some people in Mount Frere, English is not practically used, so I allowed the interviewees to talk in isiXhosa when needed and then the coach interpreted. As we were in a rural location far from town, it was not possible to find another interpreter and I thought that the female athletes would "speak open" to someone they knew. On the contrary, having an interpreter who knew the interviewed athletes and who served as a

sort of authority person in terms of being their coach was also a challenge, especially when the female athletes had difficulties with expressing themselves, even in isiXhosa. The interpreter suggested examples of answers and consequently, the athletes answered what he already said.

Interviewing the cricket player was quite interesting. She seemed relatively shy and often answered “yes” or “no” to what I asked. When I asked her to elaborate or give examples, she only replied with few sentences. Since we also sat at the reception in the Municipality headquarter, it could affect her answers as people frequently passed us. All interviews lasted between 30 and 60 minutes, except for the focus group interview, which lasted for one and a half hour.

4.7 Transcription and analysis of the obtained material

In order to analyze the recording (interviews), transcriptions must be completed. Interviews were transcribed during my stay in South Africa. To transcribe means, according to Kvale (1996), to transform, whereby the researcher change one product (speech) to another (text). The “speeches” during interviews were recorded and I transcribed the interviews to “text” shortly after interviews were completed in order to remember the interview context and interviewees’ body language and expressions. In this matter, further questions were raised and could be elaborated in the next following interviews.

When interviews were transcribed, the material was saved in my laptop and an external hard drive. When I came back from my fieldwork, I printed the written material. I then started the analytical process, which is often characterized by operating back and forth between theory and the empirical material (Thagaard, 2009). First, I started the process by identifying the analytical “units”: one sentence, several sentences or a whole section. Furthermore, I interpreted the “units” one by one without external information. Second, I classified the “units” into various categories and sub-categories, which is important in order to identify central themes and pattern within the material (ibid.). Third, discussions and personal interpretations of the varied categories were done in relation to relevant theoretical terms.

4.8 My role as researcher

As a young woman in Mount Frere coming from another side of the world, I experienced certain obstacles. Representing another culture and approaching a culture totally different from mine, could have been a challenge. In some situations I also found it challenging not speaking the local language. Coming from a wealthy nation, my appearance in a developing community could have caused tensions. I was fortunate to know four of the interviewees from my previous stay, which made it easier for me to gain their trust. Although I wanted to “be part of the community” and understand the culture, I tried to be as “objective” as possible during the fieldwork.

Although I did have some challenges coming from outside of the community, interviewees and local people saw me as a young woman who was looking for answers regarding her interests in the matter of sports and women. Despite the cultural differences, I believe my gender contributed to my approval by the community. However, as the interviewees knew I was a student, coming from “over seas” made the community members believe that I could be of economical assistance to them. All the interviewees ended the interviews by asking me to give their given information further to my school, country, organization etc., in the hope that someone could sponsor the “Team” or sports generally in Mount Frere, with money or other equipment. The female athletes also asked me where they could get scholarship to continue schooling within a sports subject.

4.9 Validity

Marshall and Rossmann (2006) argue that interviewing has limitations and weaknesses. Furthermore, they elaborate that personal interaction can become a weakness if the “interviewees may be unwilling or may be uncomfortable sharing all that the interviewer hopes to explore, or they may be unaware of recurring patterns in their lives” (p. 102). As mentioned earlier, I used an interpreter in two of the interviews with the female athletes. Although I saw it as an advantage by having an interpreter who the athletes were familiar with, the whole “setting” may have influenced their answers, which could limit the research data’s validity. The athletes may not be used to this kind of conversations, as some of them may not have met a young woman from Europe before. By having an interpreter may also be distracting for them. As the interpreter sometimes suggested answers to the athletes, they might have thought that their answers

were not “good enough” and therefore repeated what he already said. In this case, this may affect the data’s validity.

Thagaard (2009) argues that the question of validity is as to whether the researcher have any relations to the studied environment, or if he/she is coming from outside. Being a previous volunteer made me in some way related to the environment, which may influence the comprehension I developed throughout the project. However, as I am coming from outside of the targeted community and having a totally different background and culture, I rather consider my previous stay as an advantage, as mentioned earlier.

I had however a challenge in collecting policy documents and other documents that could be valuable for my research. As some “documents” collected were hand written and not filed, the information may be more or less valid. All the information I got from the departments, Football Federation and Sport Council, were verbal. I am therefore not convinced that the numbers of teams and various sports that they claimed are currently in Mount Frere, are hundred percent valid.

4.10 Ethical considerations

Throughout the project, ethical considerations were taken into account. Before I went to South Africa, I had to report on my project to the Norwegian Social Science Service (NSD)⁴¹ as the responsible body for approval of social science projects.

As mentioned earlier, I used a tape recorder in each of these interviews. Rapley (2007) claims that it is important to seek permission to make recording and get consent for any use or disclosure of information, as well as “give participants adequate information about the purpose of the recording when seeking the permission” (ibid:25). I therefore brought a consent form⁴². As all of the interviewees were above 16 years old, I did not need to obtain parental consent. I got in contact with all leaders by phone and arranged meetings with them. The first time we met, I informed them about the research and showed them the consent form. The second time we met, the interviewees signed the paper of consent. All interviewees got a copy each so that they know what their rights

⁴¹ See appendix 4.

⁴² See appendix 5.

are regarding this research. After they signed the consent form, the interviews were conducted.

5. What are the local community members' motives and experiences from being involved in Mount Frere women's sports?

In this chapter, I will present the first research question of the study. I will elaborate on data retrieved from interviews regarding interviewees' various experiences, perspectives and visions related to their sports involvement in Mount Frere. Firstly, in order to gain insight in Mount Frere sports, I will describe how sports are organized in the community, and secondly, I will focus on interviewees' reflections around essential outcomes from participating in sports, by dividing the chapter into the intrinsic and utilitarian values of sports.

5.1 The organization of sports in Mount Frere

As mentioned in Chapter 2, sports organizations in Mount Frere are based on cooperative Departments and Federations⁴³. In the section below, I will give describe the organization of sports, based on empirical data, by dividing the section into three parts: 1) the school sports, 2) the local sports and 3) how school sports and local sports are interwoven.

5.1.1 School sports

Sports, and its rules and skills, in Mount Frere are commonly introduced in school, rather than in the local community. Based on my observations, field notes and interviews with the people from the Department of Education, the schools in Mount Frere follow a sports calendar. This implies that various sports are played in various seasons⁴⁴ during the year, which is organized by the Department of Education. In addition, schools are allocated funding from the local government on a yearly basis to use on materials, transport, sports equipment and so forth. The interviewee from the Department of Education emphasized that the amount of money is distributed into various sections, such as transportation, sports and other specific subjects within the school, however several schools use the purposed money for sports within other

⁴³ See the organization map in Chapter 2.

⁴⁴ The various sports seasons is divided in the following way: Athletics from January to Marc, ball games from April to June, summer games (such as volleyball, indigenous games etc.) from August to September, and so-called separate games (such as table tennis etc.) from September to December.

sections. Furthermore, he explained that despite the small amount spent on sports in schools, pupils play regularly and teachers are improvising with the equipment and resources they have available.

For children who are attending school, the pupils start to participate in sports when they are ten years old. A survey done in South Africa in 2010 stated that the Eastern Cape had the highest proportion, a percentage of 2, 4 %⁴⁵, of children (from 7-17 years) who were not attending school. Based on my observations and meetings with people from the Department of Education, soccer and athletics were two of the most popular school sports among boys and girls, although several other sports were also played. Boys are the dominant group within school sports, but girls' sports participation is, however, increasing. The male dominance still remains in sports like rugby, whilst females dominate netball. According to my observations, most schools were lacking facilities and through informal conversations with teachers, it is evident that existing sports in schools are quite varied, given that sports are to a large degree dependent on schools facilities and resources.

In the most popular sports, like athletics, pupils are involved from age ten in primary school, up to the age of 23⁴⁶ in high school. When several pupils are involved in the same type of sports, the schools organize the participating pupils into different age groups⁴⁷. These age groups, within the various sports, start training when the school seasons begin or when teams prepare for a tournament. Teachers are responsible for coaching the teams within the various sports, meaning that once the sports seasons start, teachers take on this dual role. Coaches are concentrating on sports they are familiar with and some are responsible for several teams within the school. Teams' preparations for various competitions and tournaments take place within the school hours, led by their coach.

⁴⁵ Statssa.co.za: Survey of activities for young people, 2010:10

⁴⁶ As the school system in Mount Frere give grades for each subject, some of the children could fail and repeat the subject the year after. Besides, some parents cannot afford to send their children to school one year, which can delay the child's transition to the next grade. Consequently, age difference in class can occur.

⁴⁷ These age groups can start from U10 (Under 10 years), and continue with U12 (Under 12 years), U13 (Under 13 years), and so forth.

5.1.2 Local sports

Sports in the local community also follow a sports calendar within the various sports, which is determined by the respective federations. Teams take part in leagues, which are also set up by federations, while tournaments, on the other hand, can be arranged in different ways than only through a federation. One such way is through individuals that occasionally take initiative to create an event, which is particularly common within the male-dominated sports. Interested teams pay a fee in order to participate in a given tournament and the winning team is awarded the highest percentage of the tournament's total amount of money, followed by second and third placed teams, which also receive a share. In terms of a team's finances, there are only selected teams that are supported by their federation or a league sponsor and hence, many teams are dependent of their own resource mobilization. One way of getting support is by being one of the best teams in the league, or being recognized in the community for their skills. Although some teams have a sponsor, most teams cater for themselves, from their own pockets to cover the team's expenses (both during trainings and matches), which is further described below and in Chapter 6.

Within the local sports, youth from different age cohorts compose teams that participate in leagues and tournaments. One of the coaches explained:

Outside school, you just let them play, you don't mind about the ages, because there are no associations⁴⁸ for the different ages. We just let them play, and then you will dribble the age for that particular tournament at this age.

Local sports do not start at the age of ten, like sports in school. According to the interviewees, children apparently start participating and compete in local sports from the age of 13, as a part of an "all-aged" team, which varies from age 13 and above. Soccer seems to be dominating in the local sports, for both boys and girls. Although the interviewees from the Department of Sport claimed that several sports are played in the area, soccer trainings and competitions were observed more frequently than other sports.

5.1.3 Relationships between school sports and local sports

Although school sports and local sports are dissimilar in many ways, such as

⁴⁸ The term "associations" is used as an age group.

establishments of age groups and finance, they are also interwoven. Firstly, most children in Mount Frere are introduced to sports in school and when they reach the “competitive” age (13 years), they will participate in local sports. This means that the same children who play for a local team, also play for a school team. Secondly, several teachers act as coaches in school and, voluntarily, in local sports. As children are introduced to sports in school and socialize with their peers involved in sports, they may be influenced by their teacher and join a local team. The impression from interviews with representatives from the departments and the Sport Council was that opportunities within sports in Mount Frere are relatively wide-ranging. Drawing on observations and informal talks with the local people, however, gave the opposite picture that opportunities were quite limited outside school sports. Opportunities seem less available when pupils leave high school, especially in other sports than netball and soccer. Several informal conversations with the locals revealed that they were only involved in sports when they attended school. One of the coaches also pointed out that “only in school [through programs from the Department of Education] they [the pupils] will do all the kinds of sports, but then they will stop outside school”.

According to the interviewee from the Football Federation, local women’s soccer was a non-priority for local people. He, as well as teachers from various schools in Mount Frere, created a league in 2003 within school sports, where schools played against each other. However, fixtures had to be played outside school hours, as many teachers did not support the initiative. Yet, numerous teams were established and the league became a part of local sports. It now consists of three leagues on local, regional and provincial level, stretching from age 13 to adult players.

The “Soccer team” presented in the method chapter is one example that shows relationships between school sports and local sports. This team was established eight years ago when their coach, who was also their teacher at that time, introduced the pupils to soccer and started a girls’ soccer team at his school. The coach is still a teacher at the same school and still engages players from the school team to the local team.

5.2 The intrinsic values of sports

People are involved in sports for many reasons in Mount Frere. The wide range of motives for sports involvement relates to enjoyment, better health and financial

objectives. All interviewees indicated that their involvement in sports was based on positive experience, through which the intrinsic values of sports are appreciated, and that they play for the “love of the game”. The issue of *play* is a significant factor in sports. Gruneau (1999) claims that we play games for fun, fantasy and excitement, whereas Loland (2007) notifies that the quality of play is the experience of joy, excitement, challenges and fellowship with others. Huizinga (1938 In: Loland, 2007) states that play is primarily considered as a voluntary activity. Playing is not undergone by force, but the basis of play is the freedom to choose between participating or not. We choose to play because the play provides valuable experiences and therefore, we say that play first and foremost has an intrinsic value (Loland, 2007).

Several interviewees associated the positive experiences in sports with valuable aspects. The female athletes associated their positive experiences with the development of personality traits, such as gaining respect (from opponents within sports and people outside of sports) and “to learn how to be responsible”. This statement may indicate that the interviewee could achieve something without getting help from others. She could be responsible for herself and, more specifically, her choices and actions in life. The girl possesses herself a certain character through her sports participation. Weinberg and Gould (2007) claim, “character is not caught, but taught, in sport, exercise, and physical activity settings” (p. 557). Furthermore, they refer to Ewing, Seefeldt, and Brown (1996) who states:

“Character refers to an array of characteristics that can be developed in sport. Those who espouse the character-developing benefits of sport contend that participants learn to overcome obstacles, cooperate with teammates, develop self-control, and persist in the face of defeat” (p. 552).

Sports are also seen as an influential aspect of a person’s overall well-being. One of the female athletes from the “Soccer team” said: “when I play soccer, it always makes me feel good. For example, if I have a stress, I go and train and I’m not stressed anymore”. Stress may arise before (or during) a competition, but also result from other aspects in life. According to Weinberg and Gould (2007), uncertainty is a second major situational source of stress, and the greater the uncertainty, the greater the stress: “often we cannot do anything about uncertainty. Athletes and exercisers can experience stress as a result of uncertainty in their life in general” (p. 84). The girl quoted above may experience stress in her life in general, which could be related to family circumstances, or an

uncertainty whether she could attend college/university or not. She may face an uncertain future, which might be a considerable factor that causes stress. In this manner, sports could contribute to stress release.

Interviewees from the departments, community leaders and coaches also highlighted the positive experiences from sports participation. Throughout the interviews, aspects of intrinsic values were frequently referred to. The interviewees explained that girls' participation in sports would enhance their well-being and self-esteem. This is in line with Weinberg and Gould's (ibid.) contention that regular exercise and sports participation has shown to be related to developing self-confidence, which is defined as the beliefs that one can successfully perform a desired behavior, where the common factor is that one must believe in getting the job done.

However, the community leaders' visions were relatively double-edged. Despite their wide focus on the intrinsic value of sports participation, the utilitarian value was considerably important, which is elaborated below. The interviewee from the Football Federation considered these aspects as important in order to develop proper behavior as well as "all those small things that make a person grow holistically". Developing personality traits in sports might bring about a positive attitude, behavior and values outside of sports. In other studies, the appropriations of "personal abilities and skills" are discussed (as a common term within sport for development) as "Life Skills" (Ellingsen, 2006; Mwaanga, 2003). From the coaches' point of view, the social aspect of being involved in sports was perceived as particularly valuable for girls. The coach from the "Soccer Team" regularly invited different people to their soccer practice, so that "the girls learn different things and different skills from other people outside".

By socializing through sports, children develop social competence, meaning the ability to interact with others and in doing so they will create strong networks of social support (ibid.). The coach argued that if the girls play sports and socialize with others, they would gain knowledge and various personal skills, which may also help in other aspects of life. For example, the coach and assistant coaches regularly discuss with the female athletes about how to behave in a proper way and gain respect from other people. Moreover, socialization, which is "a process of learning and social development, occurs as we interact with one another and become familiar with the social world in which we

live” (Coakley, 2009:92). This process exists through sports as well as within other activities in people’s lives. According to Coakley (ibid.), “research indicates that playing sports is a social experience as well as physical one” (p.120). Similar findings are also reported in Reitan’s (2000) study, where it was shown that the female athletes in the Sport for All-project in Harare, Zimbabwe, enjoyed sports because of the interaction with other people.

5.3 The utilitarian values of sports

Since the intrinsic value of sports does not tend to serve any particular extraneous objectives, it is seen as less important and less serious (Loland, 2007). Loland (ibid.) argues that some activities serve as means to achieve goals outside the actual activity. Therefore, we often see the reason for sports by specifying the utilitarian values and as a means for attaining other and more important goals. As mentioned above, the female athletes emphasized that the positive experiences was the reason for their sports participation. However, when elaborating on the topic of “positive experiences”, most of the responses were related to the utilitarian value of sports. One of the athletes highlighted that she gained travel experience. Without participating in sports, she would not have been able to travel as much as she did and learn how to travel on her own. Another athlete emphasized issues of health when participating in sports, where the focus on fitness seemed essential. Other central aspects from the interviews were related to sports as a means for social prevention as well as perspectives on professional careers.

5.3.1 Sports as a platform for social prevention

Interviewees revealed various meanings of sports participation beyond solely playing, particularly issues of social prevention in terms of crime, teenage pregnancy, sexual abuse and HIV/Aids. Previous findings have also shown that the usage of sports as a platform to tackle social issues is relatively effective (Maro, 2008).

A priority according to interviewees from the departments was to involve more women in sports. One interviewee from the Department of Sport stated that “sport caters a lot of things, such as running away from sex abuse, prevent teenage pregnancy and taking away drugs and HIV/AIDS”. The vision from the Department’s side seems related to the utilitarian values of sports, as they believe that participating in sports can prevent

social misbehavior. The interviewee from the Sport Council (who also serves as coach in the local sports), informed about the female athletes on his team who had started playing in 2004: “not even a single girl has become pregnant and sport stands as the reason for that”. He further stated that avoiding pregnancy by participating in sports would ensure a positive future for the girls since “they are always committed and after a soccer practice, the girls would be tired and just go to sleep”. One of the female athletes reveals a similar perception:

I am still 22 years, and I can't have a child, and then I don't have the money to use the drugs, and then always when I'm coming to school and do the training, I go and take a bath after that.

These statements indicate that there are strong beliefs among many people involved in local sports that participation contributes to a positive future. Female athletes also asserted that sports affect their everyday lives, implying that girls are “dependent” on sports participation in order to develop personality traits.

To keep the youngsters “occupied” through being involved with a positive activity is another dominant aspect from the interviews. Coaches argued that girls have to be involved in sport so that they would not have time to “do something they should not do”. Although sports in Mount Frere is played because it is amusing, sports can, on the other hand, be perceived as a “fly paper” to attract girls and women (Coalter, 2010). For many girls, being active in sports may be seen as a routine and something that gives content and keeps them active in the everyday life. Similar findings are also reported by Legat (2007) and Mwaanga (2003) and by being involved in sports, the children may be “off the streets” and “avoid bad habits” (Burnett, 2010; Matafwali, 2010). One of the coaches claimed: “we believe that sports are the only thing which can stop crime and prevent pregnancies and all those things, going straight to HIV/Aids. If people can be involved in sports, we would not have those problems”. He worried about youth who, in a lack of appropriate activity, occupation and routines to hold on to, might be tempted to fill their days with taking drugs or alcohol, which may result in criminal actions. As the coach said: “the crime we have in the country right now is caused by the fact that the people are not working”.

As South Africa has one of the highest crime rates among the countries in the world

(Burnett, 2010), unemployment seems to be a major factor of concern. The previous referred statistics about school attendance can also indicate that several children, neither working nor going to school, spend their time at home, or in the streets. This may be seen in relation to poverty and financial problems, as shown in another survey where more than two-thirds (36, 4%)⁴⁹ of individuals in South Africa explained lack of money as a barrier for not continuing with further education. As there are lacks of personal finance, the crime rate may increase in the society, like the coach was worried about.

5.3.2 The focus on talents

The Department of Education as well as the teachers explained that school tournaments are played from a sub-ward level up to a provincial level over a time-span of two months. In tournaments in Mount Frere, rather than various schools having their own team and going further to the competition, only selected pupils are promoted to the next level. So-called scouts track the best players to compose a new team of “preferred” players who goes further in the tournament. If one is selected, it means playing with peers from other places than your hometown. Teachers and representatives from the Department of Education believe that talents will be identified through this process with the aim of producing as many talents as possible. According to representatives from the Department of Education, pupils who are not selected go further in the process and play friendly competitions arranged within the various schools. Through informal conversations with teachers and meetings with the Department of Education, it was emphasized that friendly competitions are played neither with scouts searching for talents, nor any rewards for winning. This may indicate that the Department of Education’s focus is not to encourage pupils to participate in sports, but on the aspect of competing and winning.

As previously mentioned, some children in Mount Frere do not attend school and are thus not eligible for participating in a school tournament. However, as explained by the interviewees from the Department of Education, schools nevertheless scouted for talented children from local sports who were not attending school. Because of the children’s talents, they can join school teams even though they are not school registered. The Department of Education perceives these exceptions as a way of encouraging all children to play.

⁴⁹ Statssa.co.za: General Household Survey, 2010:23.

The Department of Sport sector is divided into two subdivisions: the Mass Participation Program (MPP) and Sport Development. According to SRSA's White Paper (2011), mass participation "represents the lower section of the sports development continuum and includes efforts to improve participation opportunities in sport and recreation. Initiatives are focused on introducing as many people as possible to a wide range of sports and recreation activities" (p. 6). The interviewees from the Department of Sport described MPP as focusing on children of all ages, in all kind of sports, while subdivision of Sport Development is concentrating on competitive sports, in cooperation with various federations and their teams. The two subdivisions also collaborate regarding youth participation in sports, as described from a representative from the Department of Sport:

In mass-participation, irrespective of age, I start at grade one, that's the entry to sports, that's recreation, that's modified sports, sports for juniors. When they are at a certain age, maybe at the competition level, maybe at 12-13 years, it is where I challenge them to play. Then they move to being involved in competitive sports. We also do competitive sports, but the difference between the competitive sports and the MPP is that I hold the masses, where he [points at his colleague] is working with the federations. I deal with them, everybody. You know, when they go for competitions, the information that I have given, they are going to transfer that knowledge now, to their award.

Although the intentions of the MMP are to involve the masses, children involved in the programs will at some point be involved in the elite sports:

They will still be playing netball, football, athletics etc. at the mass-participation level, when they come to Mr Clark⁵⁰, he is looking at take them to the elite, now, what characterises there, it will be competition with the aim of winning and talents are going further and they will be pushed to the elite.

This interviewee further said that medals and trophies within their MPP programs were given in order to motivate the participants. Giving medals might encourage the children to participate in sports. However, as the Department of Sport encourages mass participation, the main objective could be to develop talents. In this manner it therefore shows that the Department has a twofold perspective, where they focus on elite sports on one hand and mass participation on the other. The interviewee from the Department of Education explained that there are some children who perform better in sports than in

⁵⁰ Fictitious name.

school. He emphasized that talented children can get work through sports so that taking part in sports can also be seen as an investment. In other words, they want players from their area to reach far and see them at a national level. “Maybe ten years from now we see our learners in the SA squad in soccer and netball, hopefully we can see them after ten years, that is our vision”, he said.

Based on informal conversations, it appears that teams from Umzimvubu have participated in tournaments in Europe. Interviewees from the Department of Sport asserted that the community has “remarkable results in women’s sports”. What the interviewees related to “remarkable results” was the teams’ performance, such as playing in Europe. The interviewees affirmed that when teams in the community are performing well (especially when going abroad), they might receive financial support from the Department. The interviewees may not think about the number of women involved, but rather focus on the quality of players’ performance and consequently, grass-root mass participation sports may be perceived as a non-priority. The major focus on building talents and to become professionals could be views that entail the utilitarian values of sports.

Similar perceptions are also revealed in interviews with coaches. One coach, also being part of the Sport Council, boasted about the boys and girls who are representing Mount Frere at a provincial, national and international level. From the female athletes side they are representing the province through the SA-games⁵¹. The coach also believed that sports in Mount Frere have a lot of potential, but referring more to the elite level, than the number of players. The interviewee from the Football Federation also highlighted Mount Frere’s representation in SA-games. He asserted that since local players have appeared on national TV, local sports have made progression.

The female athletes themselves also believed that by possessing talent and showing the community that they have skills comparable to boys, they will be recognized and will gain increased “publicity”, which can result in interest from sponsors. Two of the athletes also occasionally practice with the boys to develop their skills and get “fit as a boy”. This may imply that the female athletes perceive themselves as better than their

⁵¹ A SA (South African)-game is a national competition where the best players in each province form a team and play against other provinces.

teammates. An interesting observation is that female athletes compared their “fitness” with the boys’, which could be interpreted as the community “requiring” a certain fitness and skill level from female athletes that should be similar to males.

5.3.3 Professional athletes and career building

In Mount Frere, the sports community also perceives sports as a means to a livelihood. Interviewed coaches said that they attempt to raise girls’/women’s status by keeping them involved in sports and therefore enable them to build a career in terms of either athletic success or through employment within sports administration.

When asked about the positive experiences in sports, most of the female athletes’ responses were associated with becoming a professional player. One athlete stated that her most positive experience in sports was when she was selected⁵² on the basis of her talent to compete in another town in Eastern Cape in 2007. Other positive experiences were related to “play tournament and get elected to national teams and earn money”. A part of one conversation with one of the female athletes illustrates this:

Interviewer: in general, what are your experiences about playing sports? What is your main reason for playing sports?

Interviewee: because I want to be famous, to have money.

Interviewer: so you think you can earn money by playing sports?

Interviewee: I want to go to the national team.

Interviewer: so you are not thinking about getting an education?

Interviewee: yes, all this things at the same time.

The dialogue may be interpreted in a way that a professional career in sports is seen as an easier way to success. At the same time, the athletes also want an education, inter alia, to be eligible for scholarship. If the athletes can win a scholarship they can also join a college-team, but given that the universities in South Africa are costly, athletes find it hard to attend. Some of the female athletes also stay with a single parent, commonly unemployed. Although there are few chances to get a scholarship, it is shown that “good football skills could open up new opportunities for a girl and her household in terms of educational support” (Clark and Burnett, 2010:150). As the path of academia seems unrealistic, the focus is rather to become a professional. This is also supported by the Department of Sport who claims they produce professional athletes

⁵² The players can be selected from their area to represent a collected team from various areas to compete in a higher level.

despite the lack of facilities in the community.

According to Coakley (2009), sports is often seen as a sphere in which people from low-income and poor backgrounds can experience upward social mobility⁵³. “Rags-to-riches stories are common when people talk about athletes” (ibid.:316). Many athletes, both girls and boys, in Mount Frere express strong desires to become a professional and earn money from something they enjoy. Career and mobility opportunities could, however, exist in sports in terms of athletic success and through employment in sports organizations. Sports may be seen as an investment, as the female athletes want to become professionals and earn money. Through winning a competition, teams may get financial benefit and pay players. The difference between the populations in Mount Frere compared to other places, however, is that some of the players in Mount Frere are dependent on the money they get, as it will be their only financial income. The focus on financial income may be an important factor when playing sports in Mount Frere, which may indicate that the utilitarian values of sports are more prioritized. However, for athletes, these opportunities are often scarce and short-lived, and they reflect patterns of class, gender, and ethnic relations in society (Coakley, 2009), which will be elaborated below.

5.3.4 Limitations for girls and women to become professional athletes

Female participation in sports is a relatively new phenomenon in South African history. During Apartheid, women’s participation in sports was less prioritized, particularly for Black African women. However, women have long been involved as spectators and supporters (Hargreaves, 1997). The development around women and sport began in the late 1980s (Jones, 2003), coinciding with the democratization of South Africa and unification of different sports cultures in the country.

There are nevertheless still barriers existing for the girls in Mount Frere, which affect progress in their sports career. Although sports have seen a positive alteration since the end of Apartheid, traditional attitudes towards women in sports may still be encountered as barriers to participation. According to empirical evidences, traditional attitudes still has a stronghold among parents in the Eastern Cape Province, which may privilege boys

⁵³ Social mobility: “changes in wealth, education, and occupation over a person’s lifetime or from one generation to the next in families, and can occur in downward and upward directions” (Coakley, 2009:336).

and discourage girls from participating in sports. As the traditional attitudes expect women to do house chores and stay home, this can then be related to the concept of socialization. Through socialization, individuals learn various social roles, which means social defined requirements and expectations an individual should fulfill (Giddens, 2003).

The statistics indicate that the highest proportion of children involved in at least one household chore was found among children in Eastern Cape, where 90,2% of children aged 7–17 years were engaged in such activities⁵⁴. Children between the ages of 15 and 17 years (93,8%) were more likely to be involved in household chores than children aged 7 to 14 years. Furthermore, when the children are reaching an age period where important choices are to be taken, they try to fulfill their potential in several aspects of life. By attending school, doing homework from school and additionally house chores, sports will therefore become a second alternative, or maybe the last. Cheryl Roberts (1992 in: Pelak, 2005), a former elite athlete and sports advocate, argues that “the gendered division of household labor, which burdens women and privileges men, is a critical factor in limiting South African women’s access to sports” (p. 58). While the girls are still expected to do house chores, some interviewees asserted that they do their house duties, but still have time to play. According to Skard (1995), girls in African countries do house chores from the age of five-six years old and it is not rare to see girls from ten to 14 years old use seven hours more than boys at the same age, daily.

“Given the historical constraints on women in sport, South African women’s participation in ‘female-typed’ sports such as netball is far more acceptable than their participation in ‘male-typed’ sports such as soccer” (Pelak, 2010:63). The female athletes I interviewed were, however, mostly involved in soccer. Based on empirical evidences, inequalities between men and women are still to be found. As several of the female athletes come from families with many family members, the athletes also asserted that the support from their parents was directed more towards boys, as illustrated here:

I think the parents think that it is only the boys who should play, which is why they do not buy equipment for us. When *they* want it, they buy, but when *we*

⁵⁴ Statssa.co.za: Survey of activities for young people, 2010:22.

want the boots, they don't buy.

This may imply that girls will be less prioritized compared to boys, which could be seen as a barrier to their sports career.

It should also be taken into account, in this sense, that many parents are unemployed and that financial restraints play in to explain why boys are mostly prioritized. In South Africa, the Black Africans' monthly earnings in 2010 were substantially lower than their white counterparts. Black Africans earned 22% of what the White population earned⁵⁵. The salary for people in Mount Frere may therefore be low, as the population in Eastern Cape consists of 87, 6% Black Africans⁵⁶. This could be interpreted in relation to intersectionality, which is "conceptualizing interrelationships of gender, class, race and ethnicity and other social divisions" (Yuval-Davis, 2006: 193). Coming from an underprivileged family and being a woman, the intersection between class and gender is displayed through sports in Mount Frere.

Despite financial aspects, the various meanings from the parents seem to be double-edged. Although parents apparently encourage girls to go and play, only a few of the female athletes expressed that parents come to see them play matches. The expression of less interest in females' (soccer) competition was also prevalent during other interviews. The interviewee from the Department of Education explained that boys have more spectators because parents enjoy more seeing their sons play. He also expressed that "boys get the first information and we prioritize boys because around 80 % of the sports in our area is for boys, which is the reason why we take the boys as a priority". By providing males information first, for example about tournaments, it indicates that males are the target group for different initiations. Consequently, males receive more interest and publicity, whereas the sports performance is seen as a priority to watch and support local teams. This is a common phenomenon across cultures, as Coakley (2009) refers to sports in general: "statements like 'Women play sports, but they are not as good as men and people want to see the best' assume that 'real' sports involve 'manly' things, such as intimidation, violence, and physical domination over others and that is what the spectators want" (p. 245). Consequently, women's sports become a second-

⁵⁵ Statssa.co.za: Monthly earnings of South Africans, 2010:8.

⁵⁶ Statssa.co.za: Community Survey, 2007:26.

rate.

Economic inequalities between males and females are also seen as contributory factors that prevent females from becoming professionals. Referring to Desai (2011), who writes about women footballers, argues that women receive very little resources and emotional support “in a context that is generally poor and deprived” (p. 127).

Interviewees expressed that they mainly experienced disparities in terms of financial support from various stakeholders, such as federations, in Mount Frere. One of the coaches explained that: “once you say it’s a ladies team, they would say that they couldn’t support those because they can’t play”. Another coach said: “the boys are the ones who are usually lucky because they are sponsored. The business people usually sponsor the boys. So with the girls, they are unlucky”. Scholars have shown that the issue of sponsorship has contributed to limit the development of women’s sports, where especially soccer is seen as an exclusivist sport and contributes towards continued absence of professional women (Desai, 2011). Connell (2002) asserts that the difference between the gender categories could lead to gender inequalities, as “the effort to sustain the gender categories also sustains the relation between them – and therefore sustains the inequalities they produce, and the harm they do” (p. 3). By reproducing gender inequality, boys could have a better chance and better financial premises than girls to become professionals. Attitudes in the community can be seen as a factor playing in and which primarily benefits males.

In addition, males have an advantage regarding access to facilities in the community. One of the coaches explained:

Because it is only one ground in the area, you’ll find that boys usually uses these grounds, so the girls don’t get enough time to get to train. They wait until the boys are tired. Or else, the girls wait until the boys can give them [the ground]. Maybe they will give them only once a week. It is only the boys who are using the grounds. I’m talking about soccer now, because they are not involved in netball. The girls are using the netball ground, but in soccer it is that challenge.

The interviewee emphasized that it is a clear difference between the “male” and “female” types of sports and it may be interpreted as these prominent divisions are seen as “normal” processes for distribution of facilities in the area.

According to interviewees, there are no regulations concerning the usage of facilities,

which typically results in the boys “taking the lead”. One of the female athletes highlighted that they sometimes train together with boys, though the boys are the ones with decision-making power. Even when girls train by themselves (if the field is available), boys would tend to interrupt and “overrule”. Unequal distribution of equipment and fields are also reported in the study done by Legat (2007). The gender order may designate gender inequalities, which would benefit men. Connell (2009) argues that most gender orders around the world privilege men and disadvantage women. He also raises the issue of “patriarchy”, referring to the idea of men as a dominant “sex class”. Though women are “allowed” to use the fields, it is still seen as “men’s territory”.

Sports structures could also be perceived as a hindrance for females to become professionals. For example, the Football Federation does not have a national league for women’s soccer, as the highest level of the league is the provincial level. The interviewee from the Football Federation explained that men who play soccer pay a fee before the league starts, and then get all the expenses covered by the league’s sponsor. Women, on the other hand, who play in the same league level, do not have similar arrangements and only four teams in the women’s soccer league are sponsored. The reason, according to the interviewee, is that the Federation focuses more on men’s soccer. Compared to men’s soccer, the support towards the girls and women’s sports participation is less encouraging, according to females interviewees. However, Coakley (2009) explains that “the number of professional female athletes in these sports remains low, and only few women make large amounts of money (...) This startling difference says much about the influence of gender ideology on the rewards people receive in sports” (p.338/339). Despite its growth, career opportunities and short-term careers within sports remain limited for women both on and off the field compared to men.

Although the society in Mount Frere is affected by poverty, several interviewees have visions of a positive future as their only hope for a better sports environment. The female athletes assured that in near future, everything would change and they did not have to use their own income to pay soccer fees. Interviewees from the Department of Education also notified that *when* the facilities will come, more learners would come as well. One coach also emphasized that *if* the whole system and government can change, everything would be better. From my perspective, the interviewees seemed to be too

optimistic towards the future as the realities are, however, rather more complex. Similar findings are also revealed in the study done by Ellingsen (2006). As the interviewees expressed, everything will be improved in the near future, but I question if the “fast” improvement will be realizable. The interviewees also seem to have optimistic ideas towards the future, but it usually stops with the ideas. The materials and financial resources often pull back the strings when individuals try to develop players as well as the community.

5.3.5 A coaching career, rather than a professional athlete?

Several of the female athletes asserted that they wanted to focus on sports in the future, either through education and thereby become an administrator or creating their own team and become a coach. Statements like “yes, I will try to have a subject related to sport. I want to continue with sport in my life” and “for me, I won’t stop. I will continue to be a coach for youngsters, till the end” confirm their commitment to sports involvement. This may be interpreted as why the athletes could be more likely to achieve a coaching “career”, rather than becoming professionals. Some of the athletes, however, are interested in becoming a professional player and afterwards continue as a coach. The females in Mount Frere might have higher chances to make a work career as a leader from their sports involvement, rather than an athletic career. This may indicate, according to Coakley (ibid.), that sports involvement can be helpful in terms of obtaining good jobs. Being involved in sports may teach people personal skills, which may be useful in order to develop work-related abilities and furthermore enable athletes to develop social networks (consisting of social relationships).

The female athletes can also benefit from the Department of Sport, as the Department has its own projects regarding coaching and refereeing. The Department of Sport maintains the main position in facilitating coaching courses for the local people. As they cooperate with the various federations, they are requested to hold workshops and courses, which the federations can benefit from. The different sports federations approach the Department and say, “we want coaches”, “this year we want managers” and so forth. The interviewees from the Department of Sport’s focus is to “capacitate women that are taking part in sport” and explained investment in education this way:

We keep them to our database as to say in netball, this is the coaches that we

have produced through our educative programs and he or she is attached to so many in the community imparting the information. Out of that information we will be measuring how many girls and boys are participating in that type of sport. Our focus is on that. Our focus is also taking them to participation level, where we find the competitive sports.

The Department of Sport shows that education is essential within their programs. What is interesting is that while the educative programs are offering women “expertise”, the Department of Sport also have an overview of the participating numbers. The Department’s focus may therefore be directed towards the grass root level. “Producing” women coaches may encourage women to be involved in local sports, especially when they end their sports “career”. Thus, as the vision from the Department of Sport, having coaching courses and more female coaches will encourage women and benefit the community, as the women will “plod back” information to players in various clubs and other children in the community. The Department of Education also have similar programs, which is directed towards teachers, where the teachers learn basic skills within the various sports, as well as pedagogical methods of teaching the pupils. The interviewee from the Sport Council emphasized that the Sport Council have programs that are especially directed towards refereeing and exemplified with his previous players, who are now above 26 years and referees. Some of the women do not play anymore and therefore he advises them to attend workshops that entail refereeing, managing programs and so forth.

During my fieldwork in Mount Frere, I only met two women who are coaches. As the Department of Sport has programs regarding the encouragement of women coaches, further enterprises must be taken. Creation of new rules and regulations is vital in the process of raising women’s status in the society and as a result, women may become role models within the community. Concerning initiatives towards the furthering of sports women in the society, Coakley (2009) believes that:

“Many men do a good job of coaching and administering women’s sports, but unless girls and young women see women in decision-making positions in their programs, they’re unlikely to envision themselves as full participants in sports and sport organizations. When women are not visible leaders in sport programs, it appears that women’s abilities and contributions in sports are less valued than men’s” (p.242).

From a plus sport perspective, this could contribute to capacitate women, as they are

seen as a marginalized group in the society. The coaching courses could be a positive opportunity for the female athletes I talked to, who want to develop their skills and broaden their knowledge, as this might give them a higher position and status in the community. The personal behavior and attitude can also be enhanced, as they will now get new information, meet new people and gain more knowledge than earlier. Furthermore, this might create more job opportunities for the women, rather than focusing on a professional career.

5.3.6 *A prominent status of being a coach*

All of the leaders I interviewed had been involved in sports for many years, where they all started as a volunteer. The interviewee from the Sport Council may serve as an example of how sports involvement may influence on job opportunities. Whilst he started working as a teacher, he also began coaching. Today, he is a member of the Sport Council and a principal at one of the schools in Mount Frere. The interviewee from the Football Federation is another example. He started as a teacher interested in sports, then became president for the Umzimvubu Local Football Association and is now vice president of the regional Football Association.

Although people do not earn financial capital, the social capital appears significant, which will also be elaborated in Chapter 6. The interviewee from the Football Federation emphasized his motivation for sports involvement like this: “It’s about doing something that people can recognize”. This may be perceived as a motivation (in addition to other motivational factors) for coaches to be involved in sports, in Mount Frere. The coaches’ recognition in the community seems to be an important factor for them and by being recognized, they will therefore develop a remarkable status in the community.

Especially, the statement may imply that the term “people” can be understood as various stakeholders, such as the local departments. For example, if stakeholders from outside town want to sponsor a team, league etc., the stakeholder will be presented to leaders that are well known in the community, who will then be responsible for distributing what is sponsored. The coaches’ status may also give them benefits as a result of their recognition in the community. Coaches may furthermore attain trust amongst the community members, as one coach explained that if the team had to hire

transportation for their competitions and the coach didn't have money during that period, the transportation could be hired the same day and the coach could pay the company later.

Nevertheless, based on my observations, being a coach in Mount Frere and do voluntarily work, implies expenditures. Unless the team have sponsors, or gets support from the federations, the coach has to bear the team's expenses. When coaches talked about the teams, they always used the terms *my team*, *I am taking them to competitions*, *I am forming teams*, and the female coach decided *herself* to name the team. Another coach had "handed over" *his* team to someone else. The interviewee from the Football Federation questioned the situation in this way:

The coaches do funny things at times; they want to be the soul leaders. They don't want to involve other people. We don't know the reason for that. It is like if I'm having a team, I must make it *my* team, not *our* team. That leaves a lot of questions for other people.

The coaches may associate sports involvement with their social benefit, as they will gain a social status within the community. By "owning" teams, they may see themselves as heroes, which will be perceived as a remarkable prestige. According to the statement above, coaches don't want to involve other people and since the coaches have established the team themselves, they probably see this as an indication of personal status within the society in Mount Frere.

5.4 Summary

As we have seen in this chapter, predominant views from the interviewees might indicate that sports participation are perceived as a contributory factor to a positive future for the female athletes in Mount Frere. However, the community members seem to have an excessive vision towards the future, whereby they indicated that sports participation is an evidential prevention to all social problems.

With that in mind, and in light of the results, it seems reasonable to suggest that sports is primarily perceived from a plus sport perspective. For example, most of the leaders were clear in their statement that sports are the only things that can stop criminal actions. This implies that sports can be seen as a "fly paper" removing youth from the street as they will develop a positive behavior and reject crime. The satisfaction of

playing sports seem to me as merely a side effect, where the main purpose of playing sports is perceived as a “survival technique”, not a leisure activity. Although optimism towards sports involvements is comprehensive, it may be taken into account that some of these visions are quite unrealistic, as sports alone are not solutions to all aspects in life. The development *through* sports appears as the foremost focus for the sports community in Mount Frere. Thus, this may be interpreted as the community’s sports involvement in Mount Frere is based upon the utilitarian values of sports.

6. What barriers have to be overcome within the women's sport in Mount Frere?

In this chapter, I will focus on the second research question of the study concerning barriers, which may prevent sports participation. According to statistics, women's football has definitely increased in popularity in South Africa, as there are estimated 65.000 female footballers nationwide (Pelak, 2010), which may indicate that the sports interest amongst women is generally increasing. Despite increasing involvement of females in sports, there are still barriers to overcome. The most common barriers are resources, as discussed in the previous chapter. Those perspectives are further elaborated in this chapter. Based on the data analysis, this chapter will discuss access to facilities, transportation and equipment as well as reasons for dropout and attitudes towards female athletes, which also may be perceived as barriers for participation. First, I will describe (based on my field notes) one of the training sessions with the "Soccer Team", which may illustrate how sport participation among females in sports in Mount Frere may be facilitated and experienced.

6.1 A training session in Mount Frere

During the fieldwork, I joined the "Soccer Team" for their training. The team players are living in diverse locations. Most of the players live in the location where the coach's school is situated and some of the players also attend that school. The coach told me that the whole team does not meet often to train together, because of the long distances. The coach usually gathers parts of the team (according to the players' location) and the training sessions therefore take place at diverse locations. Training sessions during the week do normally consist of five to ten players.

This particular day, the coach decided to gather the whole team for a training session, as the coach was focused on the upcoming league the "Team" had to prepare for. This day, players came from various locations to the town center in the morning, as we were heading to another location far from town. Three players came from a location very far from town and had to stay overnight in town with other teammates, merely to attend the training session. The coach used his own "quqa" to transport approximately 10-12 people where the players sat together in the boot. Not only did the coach use his own car, he also had to purchase petrol. We met in town in the morning and sat in the pick-

up for more than an hour, driving to the location on the bumpy road of sand and rocks, up and down the mountains, until our final stop. When we arrived, we met with players who stayed in that location and the surrounding areas.

When entering the school we met an open field composed of hard soil and parched sand, with two poles on each side. This appeared to be the soccer ground. The ground was potholed, without grass and not in good shape. The coach distributed the same soccer outfit as the female athletes use for matches. The training session lasted between one and two hours and ended with a meal of snacks; some apples and oranges that the coach had bought for the players. Some of these girls lived far from the training field, on the other sides of the mountains, and were not going to town with us. The coach then gave money to the respective girls so that they could hitchhike home. Our trip back to town was a journey on the same bumpy road. When we arrived town, it was late and dark and since the players were staying far from town, the coach had to transport them to their homes. As a result, we used one more hour before we were home. Although the whole day was devoted to a single training session, the training session appeared successful, according to the coach.

6.2 Facilities

A major barrier for sports participation is facilities, referring both to the standard and availability. An example from my fieldwork illustrates the poor condition of the facilities in Mount Frere: The third Sunday during my fieldwork, I went to watch the men's local teams play a tournament. I arrived at the field one hour after the tournament was announced to start, but what surprised me was that coaches were still measuring the field, while others were busy making goal posts by nailing three boards to each other. The field was uneven and only a few spots were covered with grass, other areas were covered with sand.

Improvised soccer (and other sports) fields are, however, common phenomenon in an area like Mount Frere. Facilities I observed were usually an open dumpy and potholed ground with parched grass, big enough for a sports field. The place where the tournaments were played had fewer potholes and was therefore more suitable for sports competitions. Interviewees from the departments regretted these situations. The representative from the Department of Sport said: “with facilities, we still have a long

way to go”. The interviewee from the Department of Education emphasized that also within the school sector, there are challenges with facilities and explained that teachers in some cases “make” the facilities themselves. However, “there is no actually right [proper] facility”, he said. The interviewee from the Sport Council revealed a similar perception:

The facilities are bad. As you see here, the pitch is not conducive to do other trainings and there are no facilities, not even a single one. If you talk about a standard facility, we don't have facilities. That is the problem.

Taken together, the above views from people working with promoting sports participation, regret lack of facilities in the area and that the existing facilities (grounds) are far from proper standard.

Another aspect of facilities refers to safety. I observed that the spectators brought chips and other food to these arenas. Since there were no trashcans around these fields, the grounds would be full of litter, as people threw garbage at the fields. In addition, spectators also bring glass bottles of soda or beer when watching these matches, which can result in broken glass around the fields. Consequently, as several of the interviewees' emphasized, the current standard of existing facilities are insufficient and not “plain and safe”.

As women's sports involvement is increasing and several teams are established each year, more teams use local facilities. The interviewee from the Sport Council emphasized that proper physical facilities do not exist and therefore several teams, in various sports (cricket, rugby, soccer, handball etc.), use the same facilities. He further gave an example of men and women's soccer teams that are playing in the highest division in the area. These teams use the stadium for their matches and matches are only played during the weekends. Because it is only one arena, the interviewee questioned: “how are we going to do that?” and claimed that it is not capacity for all the teams and matches on the stadium. Because of the lack of facilities and furthermore that the existing facilities are not in good standard, one of the coaches emphasized that this prevents people in the local community from getting involved in women's sports, as described here:

If there were more facilities I think more people would get involved, because

there are people who know other types of sports. Maybe, if there were facilities, maybe they could join. But because we're lacking facilities, it is hard for them to start [a team].

The statement indicates that several people in Mount Frere know various types of sports, but because required facilities do not exist, people are not interested in getting involved.

Some team players live in town, while others come from rural areas where there are no proper grounds to use. Since facilities in the rural areas are in bad shapes, the stadium and other fields in town are natural to be used, also for other teams located in rural areas. According to representatives from the Department of Sport, "the villages around Mount Free have nothing in terms of facilities". As a result, players have to use transportation in areas where facilities are insufficient in order to get to trainings and competitions. The coach from the "Soccer Team" explained the circumstances in this way:

Then you will need the money for transport even if it's your home ground where you're supposed to relax and wait for the team to come to you. But you have to transport them, because now you don't have the right field to do that.

This interviewee's explanation is not easy to read as it stands, but what he might mean to tell is that: instead of having a walking distance to the team's "home-ground" and use ten minutes to the field where the team are supposed to play, the coach has to find transportation and collect all the team's players for a match. This can imply that the team uses hours before arriving at the field. The coach seemed very upset and probably finds this situation very stressful, as he will always have to make preparations for a whole day when playing a match, since the team players must be transported from their home area to a proper field.

6.3 Transportation

Transportation is a common problem in Mount Frere. People are dependent on transportation because of the long distances from town to various villages. Interviewees from the Department of Sport emphasized that Mount Frere, "as a rural town, is a challenge itself", due to scattered population and long distances. As the Department of Sport coordinate the MPP, they have difficulties with transporting players and pupils

from one location to another for a match and therefore encourage schools involved in the MPP to “play against schools within a walking distance, where they should also play against other age groups within the schools”.

Some coaches I talked to coached several teams, both boys and girls, in both soccer and netball. Payment for transportation for all teams is expensive. One of the female athletes said that the coach usually pays for the players’ transportation, but sometimes the coach does not have enough money to gather all the players living in locations far from town, so they must remain home. One coach explained: “it is my money that is deciding if we can be able to attend that match or tournament”. If the teams can’t afford transportation to a match, the players have to remain home and consequently loose points within the league. The coach continued:

We usually do like that. Even some of the managers and owners on these teams also take the money out of their own pockets. Then, it depends, if we win, we have to be paid by that sponsor, let me say ABSA Regional League”.

If a team win the league or a tournament and get money, it may indicate that the amount the team get for their victory will not be used on (for example) equipment, but rather be seen (from the coach point of view) as a “refund” for what the coach has used on transportation.

The female athletes asserted that challenges with regard to transportation appear when a player is promoted to play in a regional or provincial team. One of the female athletes explained that when they are selected to play in a team at a higher level, the athletes have to pay for transportation themselves, because coaches selecting them don’t cater for transportation. Consequently, when the girls/women are selected to play in other areas, their family must cover transportation and otherwise, the girls/women must remain home. According to the female athletes, it is also challenging for their parents to come and watch them, because the parents do not have access to transportation, or cannot afford to travel expenses to where their children’s teams play in town in order to watch the match.

During my period of observation, the teams met only a few days a month for training, due to lack of transportation. Teams I met explained that their matches and training sessions take place whenever they get information from their coach via school, a

message through phone, or via other communication channels. Hence, they do not have regular days and fixed time for their training, which depends on whenever there is time, money and space available.

6.4 Equipment

Lack of equipment is another central barrier that female players encounter. Commonly, teams lack equipment (such as balls, cones etc.) and equipment for the players (shoes, shin guards etc.). The equipment they obtain are often in bad shape. One female athlete emphasized that players had to utilize shoes, balls and other equipment from the last year's season. As the weather in Mount Frere varies during the year, teams can play on a ground with patches of "grass", which is either mixed with dry sand or mud.

Consequently, when players utilize soccer boots with cheap and not solid material, the boots might easily brake. The athlete further elaborated that since most of the players are unemployed and the parents can't support them financially, the only chance to get equipment is through winning a tournament or an event. However, the equipment they can win, have bad standard.

One coach emphasized that there are not enough balls for teams to have a proper training session and balls available are not of good quality. "To get a maximum effect from the training, each girl should have her own ball", he asserted. According to my observations, most teams utilize one or two balls when 15 girls/women are training, which consequently will affect the quality of the training sessions. Women in Mount Frere compared to their male counterparts experience that they do not get their share of sports equipment supplied by the federations, which associates to Ritzer's (2010) standpoint that men and women are situated in society unequally. Women get less of material resources and opportunities for self-actualization than men who share their social location, which is a result of the organization of society. These societal inequalities could therefore prevent female athletes from fulfilling their sports potential, as men would remain the advantage group.

6.5 Players drop out

The matter of dropout in local sports is another problem of women's sports in Mount Frere, which to a certain extent appears related to lack of resources. As mentioned earlier, the major part of sports participation is within school sports. Hence, after

completing high school, some players would drop out of sports. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that if one continues to participate in sports, one has to overcome various barriers. A person staying in Mount Frere must therefore consider the benefit of participating in sports, contra costs of participation. If one does not face any of the barriers mentioned above, however, one will most probably continue participating in sports. Players who continue may see sports as an investment and have a strong vision of becoming professionals, while others may think that it is not worth the effort and therefore drop out of sports. One female athlete from the “Soccer Team,” expressed that the team had a lot of barriers, which resulted in dropout of several girls/women. When I asked the reason for that, she explained:

The problem is that last season there were lots of players who got pregnant and then we don't find sponsors; players needed shoes, travelling, because we have players from Matatiele and from Mount Frere, so they need to travel. So the coach didn't have enough money to collect all of them so the players remained at home.

The quotation conveys several reasons for dropout, as the team needed external financial support to get equipment and transportation. Pregnancy is also a common reason for dropout. Statistics have shown that Eastern Cape have high levels of teenage pregnancy, whereby the highest percentage of women who are mothers was between the age of 15 to 19 (15% in 1998)⁵⁷. What I observed is that when someone gets pregnant, they have to remain home, being a “housewife”, and therefore it seems unacceptable to continue with sports. It is shown in previous studies that getting married and especially getting maternity responsibilities may result in a high percentage of dropouts in sports participation (Massao, 2001).

6.6 Attitudes as barriers

Another significant barrier is attitudes towards women's sports in the local community. It is reasonable to indicate that “common” attitudes are socialized in a way that generates barriers. Common perceptions of women's sports are something taught, or learned, from early childhood, through socialization, which is a process of interaction between the individual and society, impacting individuals' choices. According to Cohen (1993) “socialization is an influential process mediated by individuals, groups, and

⁵⁷ “Teenage pregnancy in South Africa – with a specific focus on school – going learners.” (2009).

cultural practices; the outcome of the socialization is the acquisition of an agreed-upon system of standards and values” (p.4). As a result, prejudices and attitudes towards a person, or a certain group in the society may occur. As attitudes towards women in sports are comprehensive, this may affect women’s sports participation, which will be elaborated below.

6.6.1 The “deep-rooted” attitudes

Attitudes in the local community may be the main barrier for women’s sports development where especially traditional believes stands as a reason for that, which is also reported by Massao (ibid.). These attitudes are produced and to a certain extend reproduced. However, throughout the years the community has developed, as present attitudes are not similar to attitudes ten years ago. One of the coaches, who were also involved in the establishment of the local soccer league in 2002, said that from the beginning, coaches had to go home to the female athletes’ house and try to explain their parents what was happening, so that the girls could join the teams for matches. Especially, he noted, they faced a challenge when matches were played out of town and the girls had to sleep overnight. Parents were rather skeptical, as they didn’t know what the coach had in mind and where he would take the girls. The coach also had to guarantee that the girls would be provided accommodation, food, transportation and so forth.

The coach did not only face some challenges from parents, but people in the community were also skeptic to girls’ involvement in sports. He explained that people in the community, especially in rural areas, believed that women were not supposed to wear trousers. Furthermore, he expressed that the situation ”was so difficult, because one has to sit down with the parents trying to persuade them into changing their mindset”. It may imply lack of knowledge among community members about women’s sports and, as the coach said, the “mindset” towards women’s participation was perceived negatively. As one female athlete said, “soccer was previously meant for boys and netball was meant for girls”. Several interviewees expressed that other sports are “approved” for both gender, however sports that require strengths and robustness, such as rugby, are regarded to be men’s sports.

Interviewees from the Department of Education and the Football Federation referred to

historical circumstances where indigenous games were often played. At that time, stick fighting⁵⁸ was played by men to show their power and “male-ness”, whereas girls were supposed to play games like skipping-rope, to show their flexibility. Today, sports are “replacing” indigenous games, as the games are slowly vanishing. Sports are paid more attention, however, still with some negative undertones. With reference to Lenskyj (2003), “sport has traditionally been viewed as a stronghold of hegemonic, heterosexual masculinity: sport is what makes a boy into a man... But sport is not perceived as a central component of female socialization into womanhood: sport is not what makes girls into women” (p. 90).

6.6.2 *Are attitudes changing?*

The prevalence of gender based perception in sports mirrors traditional gender stereotypes and may reinforce gender inequalities. One coach said: “there is still that oppression [male domination] towards girls, or mentality, that boys are better than girls”. This assertion may reflect the coach’ interpretation of the general attitudes in the community. The question is whether attitudes remains like “deep-rooted” attitudes, or whether attitudes are changing. Two coaches, however, emphasized that attitudes are changing nowadays. Coaches and interviewed persons from the departments believed that people from villages have a different mindset than people living in town. Furthermore, they explained that people living in town have changed their mindset towards women’s participation and encourage women to play sports, in contrast to people from villages who maintain “deep-rooted” attitudes. Interviewees explained various opinions from parents’ side, where parents may lack information about their girls’ involved in sports, like one coach said: “they are afraid of releasing the girls to boys”, and he further explained:

We talk to the player and then go to the parents. We explain why and it will take a lot of time, because I’m a man, how can I say that I want your daughter to play?

The statement from the coach may indicate that parents could think of sports as non-safety zones since sports arenas are viewed as *public spaces*, which according to Manyonganise (2010) “restrain the majority of women from full participation in

⁵⁸ Stick fighting is in isiXhosa known as Ukulwa-ngentonga and was practiced for centuries among rural herders and is played by using two sticks in a battle against each other.

sporting activities due to the social construction of spaces earmarked for women and men” (p. 13). The interviewee from the Football Federation asserted that sexual abuse and violence towards girls still happen. Parents therefore do not allow girls to play, as they perceive it inappropriate that girls and boys are together at the same place. Parents may think that it is not safe for female athletes to play at the sports arena, as girls/women “could meet men who will take advantage of them”, as he expressed it. The interviewee from the Football Federation did, however, believe that attitudes are changing from the “traditional mindset”, except for in the rural areas where they still tend to see girls and women belonging to the kitchen. He further explained that some of these parents do not want sports to interfere with their children’s studies. This may result in discouragement of their daughters and nonattendance in girls’ teams during trainings or matches.

Attitudes that distinguish “male” and “female” sports may lie implicit within the community as a whole. During my interviews I realized that when talking about sports in general terms, the answers commonly “naturally” referred to “men’s” sports. It may therefore imply that male supremacy in the community lies inherent within people’s attitudes, which may be referred to Bryson (1987), who argues that sports in general is “a powerful institution through which male hegemony is constructed and reconstructed and it is only through understanding and confronting these processes that we can hope to break this domination” (p. 306). In a community where traditional attitudes distinguish female/male sports, it may therefore be hard to “break” the male domination.

The male dominance within the various sports commonly impacts what is categorized as female and male sports. As Adriaanse, et al. (2007) writes, this may correspond to what is perceived amongst the people in the community: “Even when participation is allowed, the dynamics of gender relations and notions of masculinity and femininity may result in gender segregation in different types of sport and physical education” (p.13). What it being perceived as “male” and “female” behavior and mannerism (and sports participation) is taught through the socialization process, whereby the interaction between the individual and social agencies (i.e. family and media) is vital (Giddens, 2006). According to Skard (1995), it is indicated that the division of “female” and “male” work responsibilities and properties, as well as duties and rights in Africa are

carried from colonial eras, which may imply that these diversities is difficult to change.

As mentioned in the methodology chapter, I had to clarify as to whether the interviewees were referring to sports for boys or for girls, as their approach towards sports indirectly implied sports for boys. For example, when I asked some of the interviewees about the current situation within sports in the community, they would answer that sports in Mount Frere are developing. When I specific asked about the girls' situation, the answer turned out quite different. Hence, when talking about sports in general terms, the interviewees tend to think about males and disregarded females. When I talked with the interviewees about raising the proportion of women involved in sports, the interviewee from the Sport Council said: "we should have forums or meetings where we are going to engage the community about the *men's* sport". With reference to Bryson (1987), it may be understood as "negative evaluations of women's capacities are implicit in the masculine hegemony in which sport is embedded" (306).

As previously elaborated, the general support towards women's sports increased when people in the community realized that female athletes had talents and especially when national women's teams are developing. This may result in changing attitudes and an increase of the interest in women's sports. Although the community encourages girls and women to play, girls remain less supported than boys in various ways, which also affect their sporting career.

6.6.3 "Having an attitude like a boy" – good or bad?

The findings show that attitudes towards sporting females are in some ways doubled-edged. On one side, sporting girls and women are supposed to be rough and tough, while toughness, on the other side, appears suspicious. As shown in other studies, "rough and tough" girls are often referred to as "tom-boys", which has become a common term (Pelak, 2010; Clark & Burnett, 2010). Interviewees from both the Football Federation and the Department of Sport elaborated that girls change their mind-set and "move from being women to becoming men", as one of them expressed concerning females being involved in sports. The interviewee from the Football Federation sort of regretted that there are common attitudes among girls that say, "you must have a boys' attitude". He further notified that "something must be done to ensure that girls are still girls when playing soccer and they should not change to be men".

These comments referred above associates to what Desai (2011) says regarding female football players, “playing the game is a constant negotiation of how they are seen as/or read as gendered beings” (p. 130).

Desai’s words might be pertinent for female athletes in Mount Frere. Although some of the women expressed that they “like the male attitude” and find it more tranquil, community members perceive girls/women with these attitudes as lesbians. Such attitudes may be a barrier for girls/women, especially for girls/women involved in non-traditional female sports, for example soccer. While soccer is perceived as a sport where masculine attitudes are displayed, women are nevertheless supposed to perform within feminine terms. The sporting girls and women in the community must therefore live with the concern of being perceived as lesbians, however, this “strength-ness” could also be seen as a symbol of empowerment, which will be elaborated below.

In the interview with representatives from the Department of Sport, opinions appeared relatively contradictory. While two interviewees expressed negative attitudes towards lesbian girls/women, another believed that having a “boy’s attitude” was an advantage. The interviewee elaborated:

To me, I like that they are having a boy-mind. They are running away from so many things. Boys will run away from them because he will think she’s a lesbian.

This quotation conveys multiple connotations. While the interviewee considered women with robust attitudes like boys as positive, this may be understood in terms of avoiding problems, as he said: “they are running away from so many things”. What this means might also refer to pregnancy as he further explained that boys would run away from them because they were supposed to be lesbians. The attitude revealed is however quite stereotypical indicating that women as tough persons mean being lesbians.

The Department of Sport, as one of the facilitators and coordinators for women’s sports in the district, expressed that their programs are integrated in a larger aim to achieve gender equality. However, it may be reasonable to question what the representatives from the Department of Sport perceived as gender equality when referring to “having attitudes like a boy”, which I found strange in relation to promoting gender equality. I asked whether the changing attitudes of women would foster gender equality and he

replied “yes”. The conversation continued like this:

Interviewer: so by becoming like boys they are equalized?

Interviewee: one way of removing these attitudes is to produce more women coaches that must come from the federations.

It is not easy to understand the given answer from the interviewee. The interviewee does not directly answer the question, but rather change from one topic to another. If this was because the interviewee didn't accurately understand what I asked about or not, is hard to say. I assume that the quotation may indicate that what must be done to break the notions of masculinity and femininity is to put women into leading positions, such as being a coach or a manager in sports. By doing so, attitudes in the community could change and women perform as role models in the community. Although the Department of Sport focuses on gender equality, it seems that the answers are quite double edged, as the interviewee revealed an opinion that may illustrate the stereotyped perception one may have towards women in sports:

The attitude will always be there with women. The reason being, we have much analysed the women as people that they can't do anything for themselves, that's why we called them marginalised groups. Therefore, we need to take that envelope, or cloud, away from them. One; by putting them into positions in sport, administration, coaching, once they take the lead, they will have a positive attitude. Two: to accept that they cannot change and three: to remain as women because they will see now all the role-players in sports development.

This quotation may also be difficult to read as it stands and several interpretations seem possible. Although the answer is coming from one person, the interviewee asserts that *we* have “analysed women”, which can be understood as the Department of Sport. The interviewee's interpretation of women's perception is that women think of themselves as a group that “can't do anything for themselves”. It is however, reasonable to question whether women perceive themselves the same way, or is it only the interviewee's interpretation? I would say that it is the interviewee's interpretation of what *they* have analysed. The quotation furthermore reveals a stereotypical viewpoint, as he automatically perceives women as a marginalized group, because they are not able to do “anything for themselves”. The quotation may be understood in relation to power and the gender order, which ranks men as the superior gender in the society and women at the bottom (Connell, 1987), which may contribute to men's perception of women.

However, the interviewee further shows a proactive standpoint by saying that in order to eliminate the perception women have of themselves, women must take leadership positions and then women will have a positive attitude. On one hand, it may imply that women could try to break down the perceptions of gender order, which is described by Fulcher and Scott (2003) as “ways in which societies shape notions of masculinity and femininity into power relationships” (p. 288). On the other hand, it may be read from the quotation that women must take leadership positions in sports in order to “change and remain” women, otherwise they will still have a “boyish attitude”.

Other interviewees were more clear in their statements about the positive effect sports has in terms of increasing women’s participation, especially as administrators and coaches, which may be understood in terms of empowerment. According to Gutierrez (1990, In; Mwaanga, 2003), empowerment “refers to a process of increasing personal, interpersonal, or political power so that individuals can make action to improve their lives” (p.23), where sports may be seen as a vehicle for the furthering of women’s status in a community like Mount Frere. While the Department of Sport has their own programs focusing on women coaches (mentioned in Chapter 5), most of the interviewees expressed that the most essential aspect in the process of empowering women is through capacity building. The interviewee from the Football Federation explained the importance of capacitating women like this:

People will be capacitated, how to do this and that administration, how to do coaching ... these are the basic things that these young people need to understand ... we therefore need to recruit female coaches and managers.

The statement indicates that being coaches and managers will capacitate women, which associates to a study by Mwaanga (2003), showing that women in the role of peer coaching enhance the empowerment of women in the society, whereby the usage of sports as an empowerment tool, is vital (Massao, 2001). According to Adriaanse et al. (2007) a national strategy named Women and Sport South Africa was launched in 1996 with the aim to empower women in the country with the focus on equal opportunities, access and support in sports and recreation at “all levels and in all capacities, as decision makers, administrators, coaches, officials and participants” (p. 23).

One aspect of women becoming coaches and managers is that they will be capacitated,

however, other positive effects is the relationships women coaches get with female athletes. As the female coach expressed, by having more female coaches, this would be easier for women's teams, "because there are some things that men cannot do". Furthermore, she explained that if an injury occurs, the male coach "can't touch the female players" and it would therefore be easier for female coaches to assist women. Similar findings are also reported from a study by Matafwali (2010) in Botswana about coaches in netball, whereby recruiting more women coaches show that several obstacles within women's sports could be overcome.

The same female coach may serve as an example of using sports to express empowerment, as she has been involved in sports in Mount Frere for several years. Her attitude shows that she is quite confident and as I observed, she behaved as a woman of character. Her confidence is illustrated through her team named "Roaring Lions", which is identified with the phrase: "the Lions that Roars". This may be interpreted in a way that the coach wants to promote her team and their "strength-ness", as it could be a way to make her team more "visible" and consequently gain a status in the community.

Another factor that may influence the furthering of women's social status, within the process of becoming empowered, is through gaining social capital. As discussed in Chapter 5, several of the interviewees emphasized the benefits of taking on coaching positions and administrative jobs. According to Clark and Burnett (2010), "social capital is based on networks of people, cultural values and collective ideologies which bring advantages to individuals and groups" (p. 141) and they further argue that the process for upward social mobility is through having social capital as well as financial capital. Sports remains as a platform for social cohesion and networking with other people that would not have been made available to women otherwise, which provide means for upward social mobility. Referring to Jarvie (2006), the political scientist Robert Putnam defined social capital as features of social life, such as networks, norms and trust, which enables participants to act together more effectively to achieve shared objectives. In relation to sports, the promise of the notion of social capital can make "a contribution to building up levels of trust in sports, culture and society and consequently contributing to democracy, community spirit and a weakening public domain" (ibid.:335). For women, this is crucial in order to become empowered. Using sports as a tool for personal development through sports is essential in a plus sport perspective,

whereby empowerment through sports is seen as vital for the furthering of girls and women in a community like Mount Frere.

6.7 Summary

I started this chapter by describing a training session that might illustrate some of the barriers that women experience in sports, in Mount Frere. The findings further show that some of the barriers are related to facilities, transportation and equipment, where economical resources are fundamental. These findings are comparable with other studies that have focused on women's barriers in sports in South Africa (Pelak, 2005; Hargreaves, 1997). According to Pelak (ibid.), lack of material resources, such as the lack of sponsorship, financial support, facilities, coaching, equipment and transportation, were the most frequently cited obstacles and being barriers for women athletes.

As a result of the common barriers in Mount Frere, as well as high levels of teenage pregnancy, several girls/women drop out of sports. In this chapter, I furthermore questioned as to whether traditional attitudes towards women, especially women in sports, have changed in Mount Frere or not. The findings show that traditional attitudes that say "women belongs to the kitchen", have more or less changed in Mount Frere, according to some of the interviewees. However, there are still attitudes that privilege men and disadvantage women, which results in inequalities between women and men's sports. Previous studies also show that men are still the dominating gender in sports and women being the disadvantage group (Legat, 2007) and that family relation may affect women's sports participation (Reitan, 2000; Mwaanga, 2003). Furthermore, the findings show that there are attitudes that perceive girls and women in sports as "tomboys", hence being lesbians, which can be experienced as a barrier for the women. However, in order for the women in sports to become empowered and "remain women", women should be capacitated and gain a status in the society. From a plus sport perspective, using sports to capacitate and empower women provide means for upward social mobility.

Concerning sports development and creation of sports opportunities in Mount Frere, the process seems reasonably tough without having available resources, where the limitations are especially predominant in women's sports.

7. Concluding comments

7.1 Summary

This research study aimed to explore how perceptions of and experiences from sports involvement in Mount Frere are, through the voices of organizers, facilitators and participants. I have in this thesis outlined how school sports and local sports are organized in the community. Furthermore, the findings showed that the participants reveal various motives for being involved in sports. From the level of participation to the governmental level, the interviewees' expressed that although sport is enjoyable, it contributes to stress release, character building, gaining respect and developing life skills. Being involved in sports is also perceived as a tool to avoiding immoral behavior and preventing teenage pregnancy. My interpretation of the findings showed a division between the intrinsic values and utilitarian values of sports. The findings demonstrate that most of the motives for being involved in sports go beyond playing it, directing towards social benefits, which underlies utilitarian values of sports are given priority. It is reasonable to suggest that sports may contribute positively in a society and is especially seen as a powerful tool for addressing social barriers (Burnett, 2011). The interviewees, therefore, can be associated with the term "sports evangelists" (Coakley, 2011; Coalter, 2010), which means people who view sports as an "effective activity for solving problems and improving quality of life for individuals and society alike" (Coakley, *ibid.*:3).

My interpretations of the data material indicated that the interviewees, especially people from the departments, the Football Federation and the Sport Council, concentrated on skill enhancement with the purpose of increasing the number of talents in the area so that many female athletes build a career out of their professional playing. However, I have given an account of the existing barriers, which may prevent girls and women from becoming professionals and get a career. As the local teams are dependent on sponsors, limited possibilities for financial support could be seen in relation to the economical circumstances within the community in general, as well as it is pertinent to gender issues. My interpretation of the findings is that female athletes saw sports as a possible way for upward social mobility, which seems rather optimistic taken into account the low number who succeed in becoming professionals (Woods, 2007).

As the chances for career building through becoming professional athletes are harsh, it is therefore suggested that women could have higher chances to get a career in sports within areas of administration, coaching, managing and so forth. According to the interviewees from the departments, Football Federation and Sport Council, courses for coaching and administrative tasks are organized in order to encourage further involvement in local sports, especially after being an athlete. However, as the findings have shown, several coaches also face various challenges. The coaches bare the burden by organizing training sessions and matches for the teams and at the same time pay the team's expenses. In addition, they are an intermediary between the teams and the stakeholders (federations and departments), as the coaches and their teams are dependent on financial support from various chairpersons. The findings discussed and my interpretation of the findings illustrate that there are other motives for coaches to be involved in sports, such as developing social capital and therefore gain status in the community, among other things.

I have in this thesis given an account of the most common barriers through sharing a personal experience during a training session in my fieldwork. In addition to economical barriers, it is shown that access to resources, such as facilities, transportation and equipment, are other challenging aspects with regard to participation. The female athletes face various obstacles that may decide as to whether they can be involved in sports or not, which can result to a high percentage of players dropouts. I have raised the question as to whether attitudes towards women in sports are changing or not. My interpretations shows that there are still extreme divisions between male/female sports and male dominance in sports can be as a result of general attitudes amongst community members. Attitudes amongst community members tend to be double-edged, especially when talking about women who participate in sports where toughness is required. Some sporting females are positive to "boys' attitudes" when playing soccer. However, when having a "boyish attitude", community members may perceive girls/women as lesbians, even though they are not, which may be a challenge for the girls. On the contrary, the "boyish attitude" may be an influential aspect that can contribute to the feeling of being empowered.

7.2 Comments to the findings

Through this thesis I have tried to highlight various stories that can be hidden behind the

curtains in terms of how the circumstances and experiences are for girls and women involved in sports.

If I should draw any conclusions based on the foregoing findings and results, I would argue that girls and women involved in sports in Mount Frere today still experience inequalities compared to their male counterparts, which associates to former studies. Male domination and male supremacy in sports is still strong in Mount Frere. With reference to the gender order, girls and women are supposed to take care of the house and kids, as the interviewees also expressed. These attitudes still exist in Mount Frere, yet some tend to believe that by eliminating the gender order, women will gain equal rights. In order to eliminate the gender order and hierarchical structures, a “new world order” in sports should also have been created, as Costa and Guthrie (1994) calls it. “This new world order would divide the means of production, training techniques and facilities evenly among the peoples of the world” (ibid.:247). With relevance to Mount Frere, one could argue that ideological roles and attitudes towards women had to be modified in order to achieve equal opportunities for women as related to payment and representation as coaches, administrators and leaders.

In order to highlight the various experiences that the community members had towards their sports involvement, I decided to elaborate on the motives the interviewees revealed and therefore divided the motives into intrinsic and utilitarian values of sports. I would argue that the utilitarian values stand strong in Mount Frere, however, I would also debate on which one of these values are perceived as the “right” motive to sports involvement? One can question as to whether it is the intrinsic values or the utilitarian values of sports that are fundamental to get involved in sports and in this matter, which one of these values motivates a person to continue her/his sports involvement?

The meaning of sports in ones life varies within social class dynamics. In this study, it was not done any research to find whether the female athletes came from a wealthy family or not, however the data from the interviews revealed that the athletes saw sports participation as a “way out” of the financial challenges they faced. This indicates that leaders, coaches and athletes in Mount Frere perceived sports from a plus sport perspective, where the intention is to achieve something beyond playing it. In order to look at the values sports have in people’s lives, one could question as to whether there

could be any similarities or dissimilarities amongst various community members, relating to their background, gender, age and ethnicity.

The departments perceive their programs as a way to capacitate and empower women. Empowerment is about being competent to influence one's situation and about controlling one's development as one wants (Reitan, 2000). However, I would raise the question about how we can clearly define, or understand, empowerment. Is empowerment about how one person has *become* and *handle*, or about how one *feels*, and what are the differences? If one *is* empowered, how can that be measured? Although the findings from this research and my interpretation of the data indicates that women being involved in sports can enhance empowerment, one should raise question as to whether the girls and women in sports can take more control of their lives than women who are not. My study focused on the girls who played sports only. There would be no basis to make conclusion since there was no comparison with those who do not play sports, in order to see if there were differences or similarities in their lives. One can therefore not ascertain the female athletes personal development out of this study.

As this study focuses on women's sports in Mount Frere, it is therefore not reasonable to believe that the result from my study is possible to generalize. In addition, I have done eleven interviews, which are not sufficient enough to compare this data material and analysis with other towns in Eastern Cape, other provinces in South Africa or other countries in Africa. However, I hope that my research may be seen as a modest contribution to understand females' sports experiences and barriers for participation in South Africa.

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Appendices

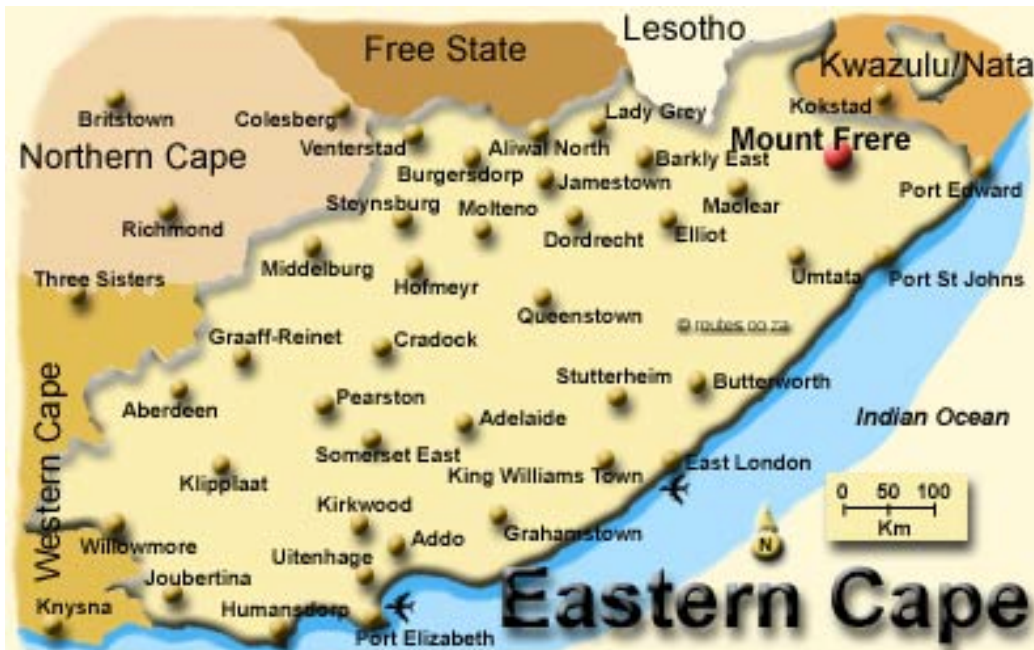
Appendix 1: Maps

South Africa/Eastern Cape



(<http://mapsof.net/map/south-africa-eastern-cape-map#.Txggd5i-DR0>)

Mt. Frere



(<http://www.routes.co.za/ec/mountfrere/index.html>)

Appendix 2: Detailed overview of the fieldwork

Month/Date	Field work	Interviews
October		
06. 10. 11	Informal conversation – the previous contact persons from NGOs.	
07.10.11	Informal conversations with The “Team” coach and previous contact persons.	
09.10.11	Observations from the “Team’s” training.	Interviews with players from the “Team”.
10.10.11	Informal conversations.	Interview with the “Team’s” coach.
11.10.11	Informal conversations.	
12. 10.11	Informal conversation with the previous contact person from the Department of Education. Meeting with the interviewee from the Department of Education.	
13.10.11	Informal conversation with a previous contact dealing with men’s sport in the community.	
14.10.11	Informal conversation/meeting with a person from the municipality, previously involved in Mount Frere sports.	Interview with the person from the Department of Education.
16.10.11	Observations at a soccer tournament for men/training for girls.	Interview with the persons from the Football Federation and the Sport Council.
17.10.11	Informal conversations.	Focus group interview at the Department of Sport.
18.10.11	Informal conversations with a netball player and the interviewee from the cricket team.	

24.10.11	Informal conversation/phone call with the female coach.	
26.10.11	Informal conversations.	Interview with the female coach. Interview with the cricket player.
27.10.11	Informal conversations with teachers. Observations from a cricket league through school sports.	
28.10.11	Meeting with the Department of Education (in order to obtain documents).	
29.10.11	Meeting/informal conversations with the regional Football Federation (Alfred Nzo). Observations regarding the Football Federation's work.	
31.10.11	Informal conversation with teachers. Observations at schools.	
November		
02.11.11	Meeting with the Department of Education (in order to obtain documents).	
03.11.11	Informal conversations with principals and teachers in school. Observations – school sports.	
07.11.11	Informal (phone) conversation with teachers.	
09.11.11	Meeting with the Department of Sports (in order to obtain documents).	
11.11.11	Phone conversation with the person from the Sport Council (I would get documents from him).	
14.11.11	Meeting with the person from the Sport Council.	
15.11.11	Meeting with the person from the Sport Council.	

Appendix 3: Interview guides

Issues to be explored during the interviews with local leaders

- Leaders: One person from the Department of Education, who is working at the sport section,
One person from the local Sport Council,
One or two coaches from a ladies team,
One or two administrators from local NGOs where their main focus is women and sport.

Pre-interview information from the interviewer

1. Introducing the project and why the interviewee is chosen to be a part of this project.

Interview questions

Part one: Background - work, family, where he/she lives etc

1. Could you tell me a little bit about yourself? Spare time, neighborhood, Mount Frere
2. What is your current position? How long have you been in this position? Can you give me a brief overview of what you are doing in your work?
3. What would you say motivates you the most in your work? What are you most excited or passionate about?

Part two: Sport in Mount Frere – amongst girls and boys, how are the sports in general?

1. Could you give me a briefing on how the situation is for boys' and girls' sports in Mount Frere?
2. How is the access to the sports environment? Are there good chances to become a part of a team, regarding skills or reputation?
3. What kind of sports are the most popular amongst boys compared to girls, and why do you think it's like this?

4. How are the school sports compared to local sports regarding the participation amongst girls and boys?
5. What kinds of leagues (either within school sports or community sports) are there in Mount Frere?
6. Are there any projects in Mount Frere at the moment in order to get more girls and boys involved in sports (either within school sports or community sports)?

Part three: Women and girls in sports – access, resources and opportunities within local sports vs. school sports.

1. What is happening at the grass-root level within the women's sports? How has it come to this point? Why is the situation as it is at the moment?
2. What are the positive things that you will continue working with regarding women in sports?
3. What kind of obstacles has to overcome in order to develop positively?
4. What do you think you can do different to get more women involved in sports?
5. Are there NGOs who is contributing to the local sports, while the government is focusing on school sports?
6. When it comes to resources, what group is the first priority? Do you have any restrictions regarding this?
7. Do women's sports take priority compared to girls' sports?
8. What kind of position do the indigenous games have? Are the games still played by the girls, and how is it compared to the boys?

Part four: Attitudes - Social challenges and attitudes within the families and the community

1. What are the general attitudes in Mount Frere towards women in sports?
2. Do you have girls or ladies in your family who participate in sports?
3. Are people in Mount Frere encouraging women to participate in sports? If so, in what way? Do you support them during their competitions etc.?

Part five: The future – women and sport development, and the women's position within all types of sports in the future

1. Do you think, and hope, there will be more women involved in sports as players, managers, coaches etc.? What is presently being done in order to get more women involved in sports?

2. What will the women's sports look like in 10 years time? Will the participant number increase and if so, why do you think that? What about the resources and attitudes?
3. Will it become any women's club here in Mount Frere? Why/why not?

Closure

1. Debriefing of the most important issues, so that the interviewee can get the chance to explain himself/herself better if he/she wants.
2. Any last comments or questions from the interviewee.
3. Asking what he/she felt about the interview.

Issues to be explored during the interviews with local girls/women athletes.

- 6-8 athletes who is, or have been, involved in sports.

Pre-interview information from the interviewer

1. Introducing my project and why the interviewee is chosen to be a part of this project.

Interview questions

Part one: Background - school, family, where she lives etc.

1. Could you tell me a little bit about yourself? Spare time, neighborhood, Mount Frere.
2. How did you get involved in sports? What kinds of sports do you participate in? For how long have you participated in sports? Are you participating in school sports, local sports, or both?

Part two: Sports in Mount Frere – amongst girls and boys, how are the sports in general?

1. Do your friends play sports? Both boys and girls? Friends at school?
2. Do you play indigenous games? Are they more preferable than sports?
3. What do you think girls and boys should participate in? The same sports, or is it norms that say boys and girls should participate in two different sports?

4. What kinds of opportunities are there in Mount Frere for boys and girls?
5. What kind of resources are there in Mount Frere, i.e. money for transport, facilities etc.?

Part three: Women and girls in sports – access, resources and opportunities within local sports vs. school sports.

1. What do you think about the girls’/women’s sports here in Mount Frere?
2. Are there any special reasons for your sports participation?
3. Do you meet any challenges by participating in sports, from the sports in general or coaches/community/school/family etc.?
4. Do you feel something should be changed about the girls and women’s sports? What changes? How can it be changed?

Part four: Attitudes - Social challenges and attitudes within the families and the community.

1. What do your family say about your involvement in sports?
2. What kinds of sports should you play/not play, as a girl?
3. Are there any other sports you or your friends would rather participate in? If so, which sports and why can’t you participate in the type of sport that you want?
4. Is there a certain age limit for sports participation and age where you have to quit sports?

Part five: The future – women and sports development and the women’s position within all kinds of sports in the future.

1. Do you think sports can contribute to a positive future? How, and in what way?
2. Do you think you will participate in sports in 10 years? Why/why not?
3. Do you think you could be an administrative, a coach, manager etc. for a club/organization in some years?

Closure

1. Debriefing of the most important issues, so that the interviewee can get the chance to explain herself better if she wants.
2. Any last comments or questions from the interviewee.
3. Asking what he/she felt about the interview.

Appendix 4: Approval from NSD

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES



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N-5007 Bergen
Norway
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Orgnr. 985 321 884

Mari Krisin Sisjord
Seksjon for kultur og samfunn
Norges idretthøgskole
Postboks 4014 Ullevål stadion
0806 OSLO

Vår dato: 20.09.2011

Vår ref: 27873 / 3 / LMR

Deres dato:

Deres ref:

KVITTERING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 02.09.2011. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

27873	<i>Women and Sport in Mount Frere</i>
<i>Behandlingsansvarlig</i>	<i>Norges idretthøgskole, ved institusjonens overste leder</i>
<i>Daglig ansvarlig</i>	<i>Mari Krisin Sisjord</i>
<i>Student</i>	<i>Ina-Christine Andreassen</i>

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i personopplysningsloven.

Personvernombudets vurdering forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, eventuelle kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven/-helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/forsk_stud/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, <http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/prosjektoversikt.jsp>.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 31.05.2012, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Vigdís Namtvedt Kvalheim

Linn-Merethe Rod

Kontaktperson: Linn-Merethe Rod tlf: 55 58 89 11

Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Kopi: Ina-Christine Andreassen, Grimsrodhogda 67, 1786 HALDEN

Appendix 5: Consent form



06.07.2011

Girls' and Women's Sport Participation in Mount Frere

- A request to participate in an interview for this project

My name is Ina-Christine Andreassen and I am from The Norwegian School of Sport Science, Oslo. I am writing a master thesis as a part of a project called Sport, Development and Reconciliation. This project is funded by the Norwegian Confederation of Sport and Olympic and Paralympics Committee. You are invited to participate in a research study about how the situation is for girls' and women's sport participation in Mount Frere.

By studying how the participation is for girls and women in Mount Frere, I am going to interview 10-12 persons, of different ages. The questions will be about sport in Mount Frere. Focusing on girls and women's sport activity, I want to find out the current situation for the women's participation at the grass root-level and their experiences within sport participation. I will use a tape recorder and take notes during the interview. The interview will take approximately one hour.

You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you have got a significant knowledge about the sport participation of the girls/women in the area. The participation in this study is optional, you are free to decline to answer any particular question you do not wish to answer, and you may leave the study at any time. If you decide to stop participation in the study, there will be no penalty and you will not lose any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. There are no known risks if you decide to participate in this research study. There are no costs to you for participating in the study. The information collected may not benefit you directly, but the information learned in this study should provide more general benefits. The information you provide will give useful information to the project so that the donors can get a better understanding of what is going on at the grass root level.

The information you give will be confidential, and no person will be recognized in the master thesis. The information will be anonymous and the recording will be deleted when the thesis is finished, in May 2012.

If you want to participate in this research, please sign the enclosed consent. If you have any questions about the study, please call me at (my South African number) or send me an email

at ina_andreassen88@hotmail.com. You can also contact my supervisor at the Norwegian School of Sport Science, Mari Kristin Sisjord, at mari.kristin.sisjord@nih.no.

Yours in Sport,

Ina-Christine Andreassen
Grimsrødhøgda 67
1786 Halden
Norway



Mari Kristin Sisjord
Norges idrettshøgskole
Postboks 4014 Ullevål Stadion
0806 Oslo
Norway



Consent:

I have received information about the study and I am aware that I am being asked to participate in this research study. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have had them answered to my satisfaction. I voluntarily agree to participate in this study. I am not giving up any legal rights by signing this form. I will be given a copy of this form.

Signature Phone number

