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Girls and women`s experiences of Gender-Based Barriers in Sports in Zambia

Acknowledgements

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1. Introduction

1.1. Theme and brief introduction

The theme for this master thesis is gender-based barriers girls and women experience in sport in Zambia.

Zambia is a landlocked country in Southern Africa with a long traditional tribal and colonial history. Independence from United Kingdom was gained as late as 24th October 1964, and 2014 therefore marks a 50 years anniversary in Zambian independence history. The total population in Zambia is 13,046,508, where 61 % of the total population resides in rural areas and 39 % resides in the urban areas (Central Statistical Office, 2012). Poverty is a pervasive challenge as it is in many other African countries. The proportion of the population who lives under the poverty line ($ 1,25 a day) is 60, 5 % (Central Statistical Office, 2012). With almost 8 million Zambians living under the daily poverty line, poverty is obviously a great challenge for Zambians, and particularly for girls and women. A higher percentage of males aged 12 and above are involved in labour force (agriculture, forestry and fishery), more men are self-employed, more men are involved in the private sector and male-headed houses have a higher mean income than female-headed households (Central Statistical Office, 2012). The United Nations Development Program [UNDP] has developed a Gender Inequality Index [GII] to measure the inequalities girls and women are facing in developing countries. Zambia was ranked as 136 out of 148 countries in the 2012 GII due to few females sitting in parliament, fewer women than men reaching higher education and low female participation in the labour market (UNDP, 2013a). School attendance in Zambia is reported to be highest among girls aged 11-13 (91,7 %), but disparities in attendance by sex continue to be observed in secondary and tertiary level with more male than female children attending school (Central Statistical Office, 2012). Education is powerful in a way that it can give people better job opportunities and a higher income, as the report indicates that higher educated Zambians have higher mean income (Central Statistical Office, 2012). The Zambian National Development Plan and the National Gender Policy have both intentions of gender as a crosscutting issue mainstreaming all sectors of society, but the process of gender equality is still a challenge (Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation [NORAD], 2013: 15).

The gender inequalities in general in the Zambian society may have an impact on women's access and involvement in sport and physical activity. According to Saavedra (2009: 136), gender is not always the most limiting factor for female athletes in Africa. Other factors also hinder and challenge African (Zambian) girls and women from participating in sport. When that is said, there might be gendered expectations and traditions for men and women that privilege male access to the practice of sport.

I personally experienced gender inequalities in society in general and in sport in particular while working as a sport volunteer in Zambia from 2010 to 2011. The Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports [NIF] has a project called "Youth Sport Exchange Program" [YSEP], which gave me the opportunity to work with a local organization in Lusaka, Zambia for one year. Working with girls and women in sport at the local level gave me insights in women's challenges and barriers to participation and involvement in sport. I have therefore developed a special interest on gender-based inequalities in sport in Zambia, which this thesis is outlining.

1.2. Thesis structure

The thesis is divided into 7 different chapters. In the next chapter I will give a brief introduction about (the development of) women in sport worldwide, as well as a short account on sport and women in sport in Zambia. The chapter also includes general gender inequalities in the Zambian society, all in order to contextualize the study. Chapter 3 includes previous research on gender-based barriers for women (in sport) in Africa and in Zambia. The third chapter also includes the thesis research question and sub-questions, as well as a theoretical framework that include gender and feminist theory. The fourth chapter take you through the methodology used to collect data. Chapter 5 and 6 present the data, analysis and discussion of the research, linked to the two sub-questions in this thesis. The last chapter seek to elaborate and establish an understanding of gender-based barriers for women in sport in Zambia (the main thesis question), by giving a summary of the two research sub-questions as well as concluding comments, possible interventions and recommendations.

2. Background Information

In this chapter I will give you a brief account on the history of women in sport in order to contextualize the cultural and traditional context in Zambia today. Zambian sport and how it is organized, as well as information about Zambian girls and women in sport will also be presented. The last part of this chapter will include information about general gender inequalities in the Zambian society, which will create a platform of understanding of gender-based barriers in sport discussed in the following chapters.

2.1. Women in Sport

Women have long been fighting (and in many areas still fight) towards gender equality in sport. Gender equality is defined as follows in the Zambian National Gender Policy (Gender in Development Division [GIDD], 2000: 6):

> *A situation where women and men have equal conditions for realising their full human rights and potential to contribute to and benefit from socio-economic, cultural and political development of a nation, taken into account their similarities, differences and varying roles that they play.*

Sport has long been seen as a male arena, and according to Fasting, Pfister & Scraton (2004: 42) sport was initially developed by and for men. Women have long been perceived as being too weak for sport, particularly endurance sports, such as marathons, cycling and typical masculine sports such as weightlifting, boxing and wrestling (United Nations [UN], 2007: 2). According to Fasting et al. (2004: 42) women had access to activities that were perceived as feminine only (e.g. gymnastics), while men had access to real sport, such as competitive sports (associated with popularity, national importance, money and power). Another example of women's undervalued position compared to men is female participation in the Olympics. Women were not allowed to participate before the Olympics in Paris in 1900, and only in a few sport disciplines. Compared to men and men's development, involvement and opportunities in sport, women have usually played the second fiddle in most parts of the world. Among many challenges and milestones in the history of women in sport, it is worth mentioning a few from last century:

> *From the beginning of the new century P.E. instructors oppose competition among women to avoid making them less feminine; figure skating was the only event for women in the Olympics in 1924; in 1932 two black American women qualified for the Olympic Games in Los Angeles, but they were not allowed to compete; Katherine Switzer registered and started the Boston Marathon in 1967, but race officials tried to tear her number off her back during the race and as late as in 1991 the NCAA (National Collegiate Athletic Organization) elected their first female president, Judith Sweet (St. Lawrence County Branch Home, n.d.)*

As the history indicates, girls and women have faced various challenges and barriers to sport participation and sport involvement throughout the years. During the 1970s and 1980s, however, new approaches by UN and other institutions were emphasized, which promoted and recognised the inclusion of more women at all levels of sports (International Olympic Committee [IOC], n.d.).

The first World Conference on Women and Sport was held in 1994 in Brighton, UK, and was the start up for The International Working Group on Women and Sport [IWG]. The 280 delegates from 82 countries who took part in the conference agreed upon the Brighton Declaration, which provides the principles that should guide action intended to increase the involvement of women in sport at all levels and in all functions and roles (Brighton Declaration, 1994: 1). The Brighton Declaration has been adopted and endorsed ever since by 391 international, regional and national organizations (IWG, 2013). In Africa as a region, four (4) different organizations have adopted the Brighton Declaration and one of the organizations is based in Zambia[1]. Various international, regional and national organizations, projects and programs have been established, not only for the development of girls and women in and through sport, but also to use sport as a tool for broader development goals (e.g. the international Sport for Development movement and Global Fund for Women).

In a global scale and in Africa in particular, there has also been a focus on gender equality in sports. There are various African "agencies" working with sport, both at

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[1] Organizations in Africa that have adopted the Brighton Declaration: Africa Women in Sport Association (AWISA), FIM (Fèdèration Internationale Motocyclisme) Africa, Sport Ministers of Southern Africa and the Supreme Council for Youth and Sport in Africa. In Zambia, it is only NOWSPAR (National Organization for Women in Sport, Physical Activity and Recreation) that has adopted the Declaration as part of their work (IWG, 2013: 3-4).

basic and elite level, for instance the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa [SCSA] and the Association of National Olympic Committees in Africa [ANOCA]. In Southern Africa specifically, SCSA (previous Zone VI, now Region 5), is working to develop sport in all 10 countries in the region[2], together with Confederation of Southern African National Olympic Committees [COSANOC]. COSANOC is also responsible for the Olympic participation from this particular region. Women also have specific programs and projects under the various agencies listed above, such as the Africa Women in Sport Association [AWISA], which seeks to provide development of women in sport throughout Africa (in regard to the Brighton Declarations aims and objectives). In Southern Africa, several organizations and programs have put gender inequalities in sport on their agenda and created specific projects and programs targeting girls and women. National Organization for Women in Sport, Physical Activity and Recreation [NOWSPAR], Sport in Action, Play Soccer, Sport Coaches Out Reach [SCORE] and EduSport are examples of organizations in Southern Africa that have explicit gender focus in sport on their agendas (Saavedra, 2009: 138). Specific programs targeting girls and women, such as "Sheroes" (NOWSPAR), "U-Go-Girl" (SCORE), "Moving the Goal Posts" and "Go Sisters" (EduSport) have all been established in Zambia in particular to increase the awareness of girls and women involved sport, including decision-making processes (Saavedra, 2009: 138).

2.2. Sport in Zambia

The Zambian Government attaches value to sport as a tool for social, economic and political development. The Ministry of Youth and Sport [MYS] is the major policy maker and their main responsibility is to implement the National Sport Policy [NSP] in Zambia. MYS main functions is also to lead, develop and coordinate sport policy, encourage networking with organizations, develop sport infrastructure, promote sport for all, mobilize recourses and coordinate education, training and research (MYS, 2012). All sporting activity in Zambia operates under one main vision, which is as follows:

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[2] The 10 countries included in SCSA Region 5 are as follows: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Zambia according to the official website for SCSA Region 5 (http://www.scsazonevi.org)

A Zambia where 80 % of the population participate in a sport of their choice
to enhance their health, socio-economic and political development by 2030
(MYS, 2012: 5)

The vision is intended to permeate the phase of planning, implementation and evaluation of all sport activities in the country: Both at local and national level, governmental initiatives, as well as non-governmental organizations [NGO] programs. During an interview with Mr Major Muke, the acting General Secretary of National Sport Council of Zambia [NSCZ] in December 2012, *sport participation*, as the NSP main vision targets, was explained as follows:

1 day a week. One afternoon, should be put as a sports day, when everyone
is stopping what they are doing, and they go to do some sporting activity.
Like us here, the National Sport Council of Zambia have half day on Fridays
to go and do sports (Mr Major Muke, 5th December 2012).

Zambia did not have a separate National Sport Policy before 1994. Prior to the 1994 Policy, Physical Education and Sport were integral parts of the school system where they offered "sport for all" (MYS, 2012: 3). The current NSP (2012) is divided into different sections with specific objectives and measurements to ensure increased sport participation among both men and women in Zambia. Zambia also has a Sport Strategic Plan for 2010-2014 developed by the Ministry in order to provide guidance to the statutory body (MYS, 2010: 1).

The National Sport Council of Zambia (NSCZ) was established as an Act of Parliament in 1977 (MYS, 2012: 19). The Act defines laws and regulations for NSCZ, as well as whom they are, their powers and their areas of responsibility. In short NSCZ is responsible for the coordination of sport activities, as well as to promote, monitor, evaluate, research and register all sport associations in Zambia (MYS, 2012). The NSCZ Executive Board is the policy maker with members appointed or elected from the Ministry, the Secretariat and the various sport associations. The Executive Board has 6 different committees working with various issues, where "gender" is one of the six committees. The NSCZ Secretariat, on the other hand, is responsible for the day-to-day coordination of sport in the country. The National Sports Council receives grants from the Government for staff salaries and sport programs, and the Zambian Army also contributes with workforce and staff for the NSCZ (e.g. Mr Major Muke). NSCZ is also

implemented on provincial and district level, with a Provincial Sport Advisory Committee in every province, as well as District Sport Advisory Committees within every district. 43 different national federations, organizations and associations are affiliated under the NSCZ (pr. December 2012 when the interview with General Secretary, Mr Muke was conducted). The sport activities at local (and national) level is, however, first and foremost organized by the 43 affiliated members under NSCZ, by NGOs and by local volunteers and/or clubs not affiliated with any of the aforementioned organizations/federations.

According to the National Sport Policy (MYS, 2012: 20) the National Olympic Committee of Zambia [NOCZ] and The National Paralympic Committee of Zambia [NPCZ] do not operate under the Ministry or the National Sport Council of Zambia, but directly under the International Olympic Committee Charter (IOC) and the International Paralympic Committee [IPC].

A short summary might be helpful at this point: The Ministry of Youth and Sport is the Ministry under the Government, which works with sport in Zambia. They regulate laws and have top mandate in decisions regarding sport policies and sport legislation. The National Sports Council of Zambia deals with the day-to-day work with sport programs/projects and the monitoring of the affiliated associations. The National Sport Policy and The Strategic Plan made by the Ministry, MYS, are main governing documents and includes policies, objectives and guidance on how the Ministry of Youth and Sport, NSCZ, the affiliated associations, organizations and NGO`s should implement the policies in their day-to-day work. The National Olympic Committee and The National Paralympic Committee are independent committees responsible for the enhancement of top national abled and disabled athletes, coaches, referees and administrators and their participation in international competitions.

2.2.1.   Women in Sport in Zambia

There are no official numbers of active male or female participants in sport (overall) in Zambia, for example members affiliated under the NSCZ (according to Mr Major Muke, interview on 5th December 2012). According to my observations and experiences in Zambia it will be very difficult to measure and find an exact (or even approximate) number of girls and women involved in sport. Due to the rural environment and

scattered settlements, many women (and men) do not have time and/or the facilities and equipment to be committed participants in sports every week, as the vision aims. The NSP, however, is guided by the principle of gender inclusiveness and one of the main objectives is to mainstream gender in all sport programs and activities (MYS, 2012).

Statistics show that out of 43 national sport associations affiliated under the NSCZ, only 6 associations have 50 % or more female representation in their national executive committees (MYS, 2012: 3). The statistics therefore show that women are far less involved in decision-making processes in sport compared to men. The acting General Secretary of NSCZ, Mr Major Muke, explained that the objective is at least a percentage of 40/60 females/males sitting in executive boards positions, but that women find it hard to involve themselves in sport:

> *40 % of the board members should be women, but most of the associations do not follow this recommendation. Women find it very challenging to get involved in sports (Mr Major Muke, 5th December 2012).*

There are certainly positive and interesting exceptions in Zambia when it comes to leadership and women possessing decision-making positions. According to the official website[3] for the Association of Olympic Committees [ANOC] the President and the General Secretary for the National Olympic Committee of Zambia (NOCZ) are both women: Ms Miriam Claire Moyo and Ms Hazel Kennedy. In Southern Africa[4] there is only one additional country where women possess both positions in a National Olympic Committee, namely Namibia. Women holding top positions in National Olympic Committees are rare in Southern Africa in general: 20 % of all Presidents and 26, 6% of General Secretary`s are women.

Female Zambian athletes participating in the Olympics are also rare. Grace Muneene and Beatrice Lungu were the first female athletes to represent Zambia in the Olympics

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[3] For more information about the President and General Secretary of the National Olympic Committee of Zambia go to:
http://www.en.acnolympic.org/acno/fiches/cno.php?id=204&l=en
[4] Southern Africa includes 15 countries (Southern African Development Community [SADC]): Lesotho, Swaziland, South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Madagascar, Angola, Seychelles, Tanzania, Dem. Republic of Congo and Mauritius.

in Munich in 1972. From the beginning of Zambia's representation in the Olympics in 1968 to London 2012, 85 athletes have taken part, but only 8 of them have been women[5]. Quite interesting that very few women have represented the country internationally in the Olympics, when the female President and the female Secretary General of NOCZ have both possessed their positions since 2005. One may assume that female leaders would be positive to an increased number of women in sport and in the Olympics. There might be other underlying reasons why female representation is low, such as small budgets, poor facilities and if the athletes actually qualify for the Olympics or not. There is certainly greater gender equality among Paralympic athletes representing the nation. Even though the total number of participants in the Paralympics (4) in between 1996 and 2012 is very low, 2 (half) of them were women[6].

Gender inequalities in general in the Zambian society might also create gender-based barriers for girls and women's involvement in sport. Some significant differences between men and women in Zambia will therefore be outlined in the next section in order to try to understand the complex Zambian society.

2.3. Is Zambia a gender-equal society?

Gender-based barriers might stem from gender differences in society in general, as well as long lasting traditions in the African culture. According to an evaluation of the gender equality strategy from 1997-2005 (Rakodi, 2005: 7) gender inequalities in Zambia do have its origins from its pre-colonial social-relations. The colonial economy was based on copper mining and led to a development of migrant, male labour, which often left women in rural areas with small-scale agriculture for the household (Rakodi, 2005). Out of the almost 8 million Zambians who live under the daily poverty line, female-headed households are affected by poverty more than male-headed households (Central Statistical Office, 2012). According to the UNDP Millennium Development Goal [MDG] Report from Zambia (UNDP, 2013b) loss of a male spouse often results in less labour capacity and income for women, which make female-headed households more vulnerable to poverty. The great gender-imbalances and instability in the socio-

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[5] Information about Zambian athletes in the Olympic Games was drawn from:
http://www.olympic.org/athletes?search=1&countryname=zambia&page=1
[6] Information about Zambian Paralympic athletes was drawn from:
http://www.paralympic.org/Athletes/Results?country=Zambia

economic status might hinder women from getting involved and take up positions in society in general. Despite attempts to reduce discrimination, improve women's lives and enhance their access to opportunities (ever since independence), women remain politically, socially and economically disadvantaged (Rakodi, 2005: 7).

To demonstrate women's influence in decision-making processes in the country we may take a quick look at female representation in the governing bodies after the elections in 2011. The Members of Parliament (MPs) sitting in the Cabinet, which all together has 23 seats, men possess 19 and women possess 4 only[7]. Women made up 52 % of the voting block in the 2011 elections, but they hold a low percentage in local councils (6.3 %) and in Parliament (11.4 %), which actually are among the lowest percentages in Africa (UNDP, 2013b).

There might be various reasons why girls and women have less access than their male counterpart to decision-making positions. The literacy rate among adolescents are higher among men than women, 67 % of females aged 15-24 years are literacies, while 82 % are literacies for the same aged males (NORAD, 2013: 15). Almost all Zambian children, regardless of sex, complete primary, compulsory education in Zambia (grade 1-7), but the gender parity in secondary education fell down in 2010, primarily driven by a high dropout for girls (UNDP, 2013b: 27). According to the same UNDP report from Zambia (2013b) girls are being socialized to become wives, which results in more domestic responsibilities, and at the same time girls are more vulnerable than boys to sexual harassment and violence once they are in secondary school.

Gender inequalities do also permeates Zambians generic health. According to the National Gender Policy [NGP] (GIDD, 2000) women are being infected by HIV/Aids earlier than men and the percentage of infected females are higher than males due to the biological and social status of females. Many women give birth at home far away from health facilities, with fatal consequences if there are any complications during labour. For every 100.000 live births, 440 women die from pregnancy related causes (UNDP, 2013a). According to the National Gender Policy (GIDD, 2000) far distances to health services, women being caretakers of the house (the responsibility to take care of

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[7] For more information about the Zambian statehouse go to:
http://www.statehouse.gov.zm/en/cabinet/

children and elders) and traditional practises (men have first priority to the available food in the house) are all great barriers to women's health.

Income, labour, decision-making, education and health are all of great importance in each individuals life. Gender inequalities in the Zambian society at large might also create a great barrier for women involved in sport. Given that sport was traditionally a male domain, the participation of women in sport challenges a multitude of gender stereotypes, not only those related to physical ability, but also those regarding women's role in local communities and society at large (UN, 2007:12). According to Sancar & Sever (2005: 48), sport is an arena where gender roles can be negotiated, instead of just being re-affirmed. Interestingly, Saavedra (2009: 124), states that it is paradoxical to seek to empower women through sport, when the world of sport can be a bastion for male privilege and power, as well as male dominance over women. The next chapter will take us deeper into previous research on gender-based barriers in sport.

3.   Theoretical Framework

In this chapter the theoretical framework is further presented. First I will present previous research on the field of gender-based barriers in sport in Africa, and in Zambia (where data and research was available). This will create a platform for understanding of the current situation for girls and women in sport in Africa. My research questions will then be presented in order to give you specific information about the findings in this thesis. At last, but not at least, theory on gender and feminism will be presented to create an underlying theoretical foundation for the research questions and the results.

3.1.   Gender-based barriers in sport

In this section I will present previous research on gender-based barriers in sport. Sport enthusiasts all over the world have fought for gender equality in society and in sport, but women and girls still face barriers that hinder them from participating in sport. According to Ramtohul (2010: 99) gender-based subordination is reinforced through religious beliefs, cultural practices and educational systems that assign women a lower status and less power, because spheres of politics, sport and religion is still dominated and controlled by men.

> *The prevalence of gender-based discrimination in sport mirrors traditional gender stereotypes and reinforces gender inequalities. Opportunities for women and girls to participate in sport may be restricted. 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 (UN, 2007: 13).*

There are many factors that might restrict girls and women from participating in sport in Zambia. According to Meier & Saavedra (2009) less access to education and work is a disadvantage for Zambian women, as well as the domestic responsibilities she is assigned to, which create little personal free time to do sport activities. The variety of gender-based barriers for girls and women in sport in Africa at large, and in Zambia in particular will now be presented under the following subheadings: socio-cultural barriers, socio-economical barriers and issues regarding safety.

3.1.1.   Socio-cultural barriers

Socio-cultural barriers refer to specific social and cultural practices, beliefs and

traditions within a community or society and how these impact on self-perception and the perception of others (Northern Ireland Assembly, 2010: 2). In most cultures, sports have traditionally been divided along gendered lines, often reflecting the values and stereotypes underlying the society`s notions of masculinity and femininity (Huggins & Randell, 2007: 10). Socio-cultural barriers might therefore be barriers that are (re) produced in a particular society and that restrict girls and women (and boys/men) involvement in sport activities. Society`s stereotypes about girls and women fulfilling a certain domestic role and/or restrictions on women's mobility in the public at specific times can be examples of socio-cultural barriers.

According to a study from South Africa (Walter & Du Randt, 2011) black IsiXhosa speaking women reported not receiving any support for their sport participation from their family or the community while growing up, because it was not seen as part of their culture. A study from Zimbabwe (Manyonganise, 2010) argues that the majority of women are restrained from full participation in sporting activities due to the social construction of spaces earmarked for women and men and that strong cultural and traditional practices restricts the progress of women in sport. A literary review focusing on the role of sport in challenging gender stereotypes in Nigeria (Elendu & Orunaboka, 2011) identified, among others, that there is still a societal and negative attitude towards women participating in sports in Nigeria, which again lead to negative side effects, such as poor media coverage and inequity and inequality in sport leadership positions. "Deep-rooted" negative attitudes in local communities and discouragement from parents were reported to be significant barriers for women in sport in Mount Frere, South Africa (Andreassen, 2012). Deep-rooted attitudes in local communities were also reported to be one of the main barriers for the development of women's sport in Tanzania (Massao, 2001). Social support (especially from the family), which is important for girls and women's participation in sport, will be further discussed under the sub-heading, "Expectations, house chores and family". Before that, another socio-cultural gender-based barrier: "African Women's Health and Body".

3.1.1.1 African women's body and health

According to Walter & Du Randt (2011) black women reported that they are aware of health issues regarding weight and especially being overweight, but that they have been discouraged from participating in sport because elder family members believe that

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"black girls are supposed to be nice and heavy". There are many well-known health benefits if you are physically active, such as keeping a normal, stable body weight and reducing the risk of lifestyle diseases. Misconceptions and lack of knowledge about benefits from an active lifestyle might be a challenge for girls and women in and outside of sport in Africa. There seems to be misconceptions about sport participation and women's ability to reproduce (fertility). According to Elendu & Orunaboka (2011) Nigerians still perceive sport as an activity that can affect a woman's menstruation, which again might endanger the re-productiveness of a woman. According to Manyonganise (2010) a lot of negative attributes have been attached to women in sport in Zimbabwe, for instance it is a common belief that sport has adverse effects on women's reproductive health. Misconceptions about women losing their fertility if they are involved in sport, as well as misconceptions about women's body weight (undesirable weight loss) and body structure might constrain girls and women from sport. Participants in a study from South Africa (Walter & Du Randt, 2011) reported that they were aware of the benefits of physical exercise, but they also raised a concern that weight loss through exercise might be associated with HIV/Aids. In other words, losing weight is associated with being HIV or Aids-positive, an issue still surrounded by a lot of stigma in Africa. Stereotypes about the ideal female (and feminine) African body might also hinder girls and women from getting involved in sport. According to Manyonganise (2010) sport might be viewed as a threat to women's health in Africa as it is often blamed to give women masculine characteristics, while sport does exactly the opposite to men. Staying away from sporting activities might be important for African women, as they might suffer from social exclusion if their bodies are viewed as masculine (Manyonganise, 2010). Body size and overweight in black women have deep-rooted connotations in South Africa (Walter & Du Randt, 2011). When black and white women in South Africa were shown different body sizes, blacks preferred bigger body sizes as they see them as more attractive and HIV-free, when compared to white women, who preferred thinner, leaner bodies (Mciza, 2006).

3.1.1.2. Expectations, house chores and family

According to Meier (2005) alliances between femininity and sport are still considered incompatible some places, and "deviant" females are often considered a disgrace to the entire family. A "real" housewife in Africa is expected to behave according to the social and cultural norms, where house chores and being and/or becoming a real housewife is

a common expectation in many families and villages. The family`s expectations about house chores being a woman's duty in the house is deeply-rooted and often produced and reproduced as they pass on the expectations and traditions from one generation to the next. According to Huggins & Randell (2007) the heavy burden of household chores and responsibilities imposed on girls and women in Africa may limit the time and prevent many girls and women from joining sports. A young girl is often expected to learn all the house chores as she grows up in order to become a proper mother and wife in the future.

Sport is often played in the afternoon, after the children/adults have knocked off from school/work and when the heat is not sultry hot, but also exactly at the same time girls/women are expected to be at home, cooking and preparing supper. In other words: brothers and fathers (males) often have time to go and do leisure activities, while girls and mothers are busy at home doing their duties. According to Manyonganise (2010) Zimbabwe girls have to do most house chores while boys have little or nothing to do, and as a result boys have more time for outdoor activities than girls. Boys are often encouraged to play to identify their talents in sport, while girls have to concentrate on what their mothers do (cook, wash plates etc.) in order to replace the skills that have kept their mothers and grandmothers subjugated for generations (Manyonganise, 2010). IsiXhosa speaking boys and girls in South Africa are also from a young age socialized into particular roles, where responsibilities to home and family are central in the lives of the girls while growing up (Walter & Du Randt, 2011). According to the Zambian National Gender Policy (GIDD, 2000) are girls socialized to become wives and mothers who are generally submissive, while boys are assigned decision-making roles that are highly valued.

According to Meier (2005: 15) fathers and brothers often tend to defend traditional patriarchal principles and family honour, while mothers are predominantly feeling responsible for daughters to behave ladylike in order to find a husband and to become ideal wives and mothers. As Ramtohul (2010) states, men doing "women's" work (domestic work) is often considered demeaning to them and their manhood. Fathers and brothers might therefore defend and reinforce Zambian traditional gender roles, their manhood and their masculine characteristics through division of labour at home, but also through sport participation. On the other hand, women involved in sport rather

deviate from the Zambian gender roles and expected feminine characteristic. According to UN (2007) expectations of being "ladylike" exclude women in some contexts from participation in sporting activities that exhibit traditional male characteristics, and women who do sports can be labelled with negative traits, such as being "manly" or "unfeminine". Such deeply rooted stereotypes can affect girls and women's participation in sport, because they are simply not allowed to take part in physical activity due to lack of support from their own parents/guardians[8].

Lack of support from family may also be based on the fact that sporting attire deviate from culturally expected dressing codes. According to Meier (2005: 14) girls and women are expected to wear dresses as part of contemporary Zambian culture, but it is acceptable for girls to wear shorts in public during physical activities. South African, black women gleaned that it was more acceptable for younger women to be seen wearing shorts and tights while exercising, but as soon they get married, wearing sport attire is not acceptable (Walter & Du Randt, 2011: 148). Sport attire will also be discussed further under the sub-heading, socio-economical barriers.

3.1.2.   Socio-economical barriers

Socio-economic barriers refer to an individual's economy and often his/her social position in society. In Zambia, women make up the largest percentage with 70 % of the labour in the agriculture sector, where 22 % is non-paid labour force (NORAD, 2013: 17). This might be related and connected to the socio-cultural expectation that Zambian women should be highly involved and responsible for the domestic, often unpaid labour. According to Meier (2005: 12) women's work (providers of food and caretakers of the family) is not considered "proper work" and consequently not seemed to deserve leisure time. Boys and men, on the other hand, are often seen as the "income-generators" in the family and might therefore deserve leisure time for sport activities. Since men do the "proper work" and have a regular income, they would probably have better financial foundations to cover sport participation expenses, such as sports attire, equipment and transportation. Girls and women might face barriers to involve in sport

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[8] Extended families (guardians) are common in Zambia, e.g. an aunt/uncle, cousin and/or grandparents take care of a minor (child) that is not biologically theirs. Biological parents not being able to take care of the child financially, school attendance in another area than where the parents stay and/or past away parents are all common reasons for extended families.

due to their socio-economical situation, as well as their socio-cultural situation. Women who are already involved *in* sports do also face economical inequalities. According to the UN (2007) stereotypical attitudes still fuel inequality in wages, prizes, financial incentives, commercial endorsement and individual sponsorships in sport, and women receive far less (financial) support than their male counterparts. In Nigeria for example, female athletes do not attract the same financial support as male athletes (Elendu & Orunaboka, 2011: 66). The socio-economical situation in Africa, often closely related to poverty, and the financial support is therefore a great gender-based barrier for girls and women in sport. Lack of proper facilities, appropriate equipment and sports attire, as well as the issue of transportation due to long distances are barriers that stem from the Zambian socio-economical situation. All this will be further discussed under the two next subheadings.

3.1.2.1: Facilities, equipment and sports attire

Participation in sport and physical activity requires a certain standard of equipment and facilities, though improvising with what you have available can take you quite far. Stones or branches from a tree and torn plastic bags can make up a good football pitch and a ball. Though facilities and equipment is a challenge for both men and women, it might be an even bigger challenge for girls and women. Physical resources, such as equipment and available playing fields for women are often less and/or of lower standard than men's, and when recourses are shared, men's teams are often given priority (UN, 2007). Poor facilities and equipment is also reported to be a major barrier for girls and women sport participation in Mount Frere, South Africa (Andreassen 2012). Females knew various types of sports, but because they required facilities and equipment that do not exist, girls and women are not interested in getting involved (Andreassen, 2012). A study on barriers to sport and recreation participation in Botswana (Sayed, Meyer & Monyeki, 2004) showed that women (and men) were all constrained from sport participation due to socio-economic and facility barriers. In Zambia, The Zambian National Sports Policy (MYS, 2012) does recognize the high cost of sports equipment and has several objectives aiming to provide and ensure sporting infrastructure and access to affordable equipment. A study from Zambia, however, reported that one of the major problems is still lack of proper facilities for sport activities:

> *Pitches lacked grass, basketball and netball courts lacked concrete surfaces, goalposts were sold as scrap metal and organisations had constant battles against people who wanted to build homes and other structures on the playing area. Lack of vacant areas for play and leisure activities might be an increasing challenge, especially in towns and bigger cities, due to urbanization (Lindsey & Grattan, 2012: 106).*

Another socio-economic barrier that constrains girls and women from participating in sport and physical activity is lack of proper sporting attire. The issue of sports attire and clothing in sport can also be a constraint where socio-economic conditions mean that women and girls are unable to afford appropriate sporting attire (UN, 2007). Even though it was reported as acceptable for Zambian girls and women to wear sport attire when participating in sport (Meier, 2005), South African black women are not allowed to wear revealing sport attire, such as tights and running shorts in the community, especially if they are married (Walter & Du Randt, 2011). The bum and thighs are intimate and private body parts according to the African culture and girls and w' omen might be afraid of exposing their bodies during sporting activities, especially when running, jumping and if falling on the ground. Due to poverty and no funds to buy appropriate sporting attire they might expose their private parts because they wear torn, inappropriate attire and/or no undergarments. Ragged clothes and often no underwear can prevent children, and especially girls, from being physical active, because they feel ashamed of exhibiting certain body parts while moving and running (Meier, 2005). Play Soccer, a Zambian NGO recognized the challenge and provided shorts which the children (especially the girls) could put on during the sport sessions, and girls readily joined the game (Huggins & Randell, 2007; Meier, 2005). As shown, the socio-economic situation most Zambian families live in often limits the girls and women's sport involvement and participation because they can simply not afford appropriate attire for sport activities. The traditional and cultural expectation and dress code might also contribute to the exclusion of girls and women in sport.

3.1.2.2: A vicious circle of barriers – the issue of transportation

There is a certain correlation between many of the barriers mentioned above in this chapter. They are all interwoven and affect each other and girls and women's access and involvement in sport activities. If a family can afford it, they often send their boys to school, while the girls end up being responsible for house chores and care for dependent family members, with little personal free time (Meier & Saavedra, 2009). Cultural

expectations and the economical situation might favour the boy child, which again favour him later in life too, in terms of job opportunities and income. Women's low/lack of personal income and little personal free time limit their opportunities to take part in sports. Lack of equipment, proper facilities and sports attire require a financial fundament to buy what is required. Due to urbanization, as well as scattered population in rural areas, transportation is sometimes required to reach sport and playing fields. Travelling to and from the sporting area requires transport money and even more free time to travel to participate. The barriers are all part of a vicious circle of barriers that might keep women away from participating in sport. Issues regarding transport might therefore be the top of the iceberg of barriers for women in sport. Transport to and from sport venues was, however, found to be a common challenge in Mount Frere and resulted in some of the female players had to stay out of sports and remain home (Andreassen, 2012). In Senegal, lack of reliable, affordable and safe transportation was also a major issue and created difficulties in carrying out daily activities for girls and women (Saavedra, 2009).

3.1.3. Safety

Participating in sport surely raise issues regarding safety for girls and women. Risk factors, such as injuries and the risk of being harassed might hinder girls and women from getting involved in sport. The barriers mentioned above, such as the general female economical situation and expectations of women not taking part in the "male domain" (sport) might affect female participation. The risk of getting injured and not having sufficient funds to pay medical bills and/or the risk of not being able to take care of the family properly after an injury might give women challenges. The risk of being ridiculed, harassed or sexually harassed/abused might also be a risk to high for some women to take the chance and involve themselves in sport. Issues and barriers regarding girls and women's safety, especially regarding various types of harassment, will be discussed further below.

3.1.3.1. Harassment

Harassment is unwanted, offensive, threatening and/or annoying behaviour (words and/or action) for the person subjected to it (NIF, 2010: 7). The International Olympic

Committee (IOC, n.a.)[9] defines gender harassment as unwelcome behaviour (words or actions) related to someone's gender (male or female) and that has the effect or purpose of offending someone's dignity. According to a report from the UN (2007) women and girls in sport may face for example verbal harassment, including of a sexual nature, which can originate from other athletes, coaches, managers, spectators, family or other community members. Negative and destructive talk was one of the barriers reported by black women in South Africa (Walter & Du Randt, 2011), where people outside sport often laughed and ridiculed physically active women, calling them mad and crazy and accusing them of "wanting to be white". Such discouraging comments may keep girls and women out of sport because they want to avoid being harassed, they might want to avoid identity confusion and avoid being accused of trying to behave as a white woman. Gender-based harassment and discrimination against women in sport is also visible through women's unequal employment opportunities to men's and less representation of girls and women in media (UN, 2007).

As an athlete you are often dependent on the supporting network around you and your sport, such as your coach, your board and your team leaders. This might create a vulnerable situation for (female) athletes, because people in the supporting network often have more power and authority than the athlete. For instance, the supporting network will always have the final say and the power to choose players for the next match or tournament. According to NIF (2010: 8), power relation in sport is the power the persons in the support network always have vis-à-vis the athletes: which applies at least to the coach who can help young athletes achieving their sporting goals. In Zimbabwe, Manyonganise (2010) reports that men possess most leading position in sport organizations, and therefore also make most decisions on behalf of women. Since men often possess most decision-making positions in sport, girls and women have less power to decide on their own behalf, which again might lead to gender inequality in sport. In fact, women are often socialized into a role as receivers, not an initiator (Manyonganise, 2010). Cultural beliefs and the socialization process might therefore create a gender-based barrier for girls and women in sport, since they girls and women are not encouraged to lead and organize others (for instance as initiators of sport activities), as boys and men are assigned this role.

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[9] For more information about gender harassment in sport visit the official website for IOC: http://www.olympic.org/sha?tab=gender-harassment

Sexual harassment may be verbal, non-verbal and physical, for instance unwanted intimate questions relating to body, clothes or ones private life, "jokes" with a sexual innuendo and/or proposals or demands for sexual services and/or sexual relationships (NIF: 2010: 7). Elendu & Umeakuka (2011: 54) define sexual harassment as any behaviour of sexual nature, which is directly or indirectly directed to a sport participant or group of sport participants in the course of participation in sport. According to NIF (2010: 7) sexual harassment (verbal, non-verbal or physical) may include unwanted telephone calls, text messages or letters with sexual content, staring, showing of pictures or objects with sexual allusions and/or unwanted and/or unnecessary physical contact of a sexual nature. Sexual harassment can be perpetrated by anyone irrespective of gender, socio-economic class, age, occupation, race and ethnicity, level of education, marital status, rank or position, among others (Elendu & Umeakuka: 54). The words unwanted or unwelcome behaviour and/or actions are crucial in all the definitions of harassment, gender harassment and sexual harassment mentioned above. The victim and the harasser might therefore have different views and perceptions of what is unwanted behaviour/action, but as NIF (2010) importantly states; the experience of the victim is irrespective of whether the person responsible for the harassment does it on purpose or not.

According to Elendu & Orunaboka (2011: 65) sexual harassment is something that girls and women are mainly subjected to by men. The risk of harassment may stem from men's resistance to the challenging of gender-specific boundaries and assertion of women's independence, or because women are participating in sports viewed as a male domain (UN, 2007). A study from Norway about consequences of sexual harassment for female athletes in sport (Fasting, Brackenridge & Walseth, 2002) showed that many athletes that had experienced sexual harassment felt that it had damaged their coach-athlete relationship, while others had started with other sport disciplines or dropped out of sport completely. Another important factor when discussing sexual harassment of girls and women in sport, reported by Brackenridge (2001), is that female athletes often have strong trust in coaches and other authority figures. The authority person, often male in Africa, might build up a strong coach-athlete relationship over time and take advantage of his position and power. The process of slowly gaining trust by systematically breaking down interpersonal barriers is defined as grooming (Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005: 33). Small gifts or compliments, polite gestures,

promises to be picked as one of the players in the next tournament are all examples of how coaches might position themselves by trying to take control over his female athlete. Many athletes, on the other hand, might often feel trapped in a situation where they cannot stand against male authority figures (e.g. their male coach) in order to continue with what they love – sports. According to Elendu & Orunaboka (2011: 65) the experience of sexual harassment have forced many Nigerian women back to their homes; cease from participation and never to engage in sports outside their homes again. Girls and women might be afraid of the consequences if they continue to be involved in sports (e.g. sexual harassment), and/or they have already experienced unwanted behaviour/action and do not know, nor dear to report the case because of the authority person's powerful position.

Brackenridge & Fasting (2005: 35), distinguish between sexual harassment and sexual abuse as follows; Sexual harassment is unwanted attention on the basis of sex (e.g. comments, touches, sexual jokes) and sexual abuse is groomed or coerced collaboration in sexual and/or genital acts where the victim has been entrapped by the perpetrator. Abuse implies that a person offends another person's rights by tricking or coercing a person into a sexual act (NIF: 2010: 7). The risk of sexual abuse create a barrier for girls and women to get involved in sports, not only due to risk of being offended, but also due to the cultural and traditional implications sexual abuse have for the girl (and her family). African culture and tradition stress that at marriage a girl should be a virgin, a requirement not enforced for the boy (Manyonganise, 2010: 17). Parents/guardians might be afraid of the consequences and refuse their daughters participation in sport due to the risk of being sexually harassed and/or abused. Sport arenas still fall within the category of those public areas unsafe and immoral for girls and women to move within (Manyonganise, 2010). Danger and physical risks associated with sports events after dark might be one of the unique barriers to girls and women's participation in sporting activities, due to family's restriction on women's mobility and leisure time (Huggins & Randell, 2007: 12).

To sum up: sport has long been seen as a man`s domain, while the home has always been and continues to be seen as the woman's domain (Manyonganise, 2010: 19). Women face several gender-based barriers that constrain them from taking part in sport. Cultural beliefs and norms of the woman being a housewife and the caretaker of the

house do not leave any free time for leisure activities such as sport, nor do girls and women's financial foundation allow them to take part. Safety risks, such as the risk of injuries and (sexual) harassment make girls and women to avoid sport activities and/or the family restrict them because they are concerned about the consequences. The previous research presented above show that girls and women in Africa face several gender-based barriers in sports. My thesis question seeks to find out more about the gender-based barriers that constrain girls and women from participating in sport in Zambia.

3.2. Research Questions

Based on the literature review this thesis will explore female participants experiences of sports in Zambia, with particular attention on gender-based barriers in sport. My main research question is as follows:

- *What are the gender-based barriers girls and women experience in sport in Zambia?*

To be able to explore the current situation for girls and women in sport, and their experiences as active participants, leaders, coaches and/or sports officials, two sub-questions have been developed to help answering the main research question:

- *What are the socio-cultural and socio-economical barriers girls and women experience in sport?*
- *What barriers concerning safety and harassment do girls and women experience in sport?*

3.3. Theoretical Perspectives

In this section more theory will be presented to create a theoretical framework of key terms with significant importance for this thesis, such as theoretical perspectives on gender and feminism.

3.3.1.   Gender

First I will start by describing the two terms, "sex" and "gender". In short, the term
"sex" refers to the biological differences between a man and a woman, while "gender"
often refers to social and cultural difference between the sexes. More specifically, "sex"
refers to the physical and anatomical differences between the male and female body and
includes differences in their chromosomes, reproductive organs and physical appearance
(Fulcher & Scoot, 2003: 161). Sex defines the difference between men and women in
terms of the anatomical body structure, physiology and hormones.

Gender, in contrast to sex, refers to the social and cultural differences between the two
sexes. Gendered practices are the knowledge women and men learn in and through
social interaction in cultural settings. According to Connell (2009: 9) gender is, in its
most common usage, the cultural differences between men and women, based on the
biological division between male and female. Gender can also be defined as a
relationship between the social categories of men and women (Saavedra, 2009: 125).
Connell (2009) explains that gender is a social practice and a social relation within
which individuals and groups act, and that gender involves a specific relationship with
bodies. "Correct" and accepted behaviour and attitude in one social setting will
therefore vary for all human beings and in between the social settings they are in.

> *Gender is a structure of social relations that centres on the reproductive arena
> [10], and the set of practices that bring reproductive distinctions between bodies
> into social processes. Gender as a social structure is multi-dimensional, and
> reproduced socially (not biologically) by the power of structures to shape
> individual action (Connell, 2009: 11).*

Gender and knowledge created about gender is therefore reproduced social structures
for the man or woman to behave and act within. Messner (2002: 24) has developed a
figure and a description of "day-to day doing of gender", presented below:

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[10] A "reproductive arena" is an arena where bodies are brought into social processes
(Connell, 2009: 11).
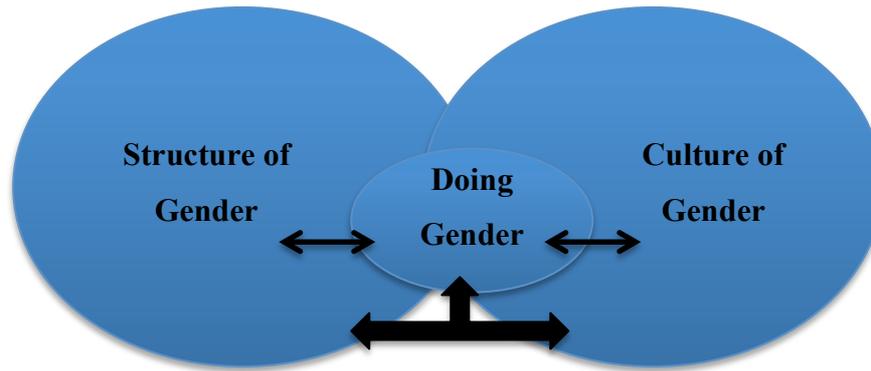
Figure 1: Gender as structure, culture and interaction.

Social structures and cultural imaginaries are mutually constitutive and always in flux, but they also tend to reflect the entrenched interest of groups who hold dominant class, racial, gender, and sexual positions in a matrix of domination. The doing of gender is variously constrained, enabled, and given meaning by individuals` and groups` position within the matrix of domination (Messner, 2002: 25).

I will now give you an example in relation to sport: Men and women may experience and encounter different opportunities and barriers to sport, physical activity and leisure. At the same time, girls and women in Norway and Zambia do encounter and experience different opportunities and barriers to and in sport. Culture, traditions and religion do all play important roles in creating the "structure" and "culture" of gender, which again will affect the "doing" of gender. Parents, families, friends, society (culture), shape the availability (structure) and affect behaviour, attitude and actions (doing gender) in the particular social setting. In short, human beings are born female and male, but they learn how to become girls and boys growing up to women and men (Meier, 2005: 6).

To sum it all up, sex refers to biological differences between a man and a woman, while gender is a concept which focuses on women`s roles and responsibilities in relation to those of men (GIDD, 2000: 5). The National Gender Policy (GIDD, 2000: 5) defines gender as: "a psychological or cultural concept which refers to one`s subjective feeling of femaleness or maleness". This definition of gender brings up another issue when trying to understand gender, namely someone's subjective understanding of femininity and masculinity.

3.1.2. Gender Schema Theory and Gender Stereotypes in Sport

Sandra L. Bem was the first to introduce the Gender Schema Theory, and her theory states that culture provides an individual with a set of definitions of femininity and masculinity, creating so-called gender schemas (Wilinski, 2012: 40). In other words, gender schemas in society are a set of definitions that guide individuals on how we are expected to behave and act in a given society and/or culture. The society form expectations of individuals and situational outcomes through stereotypes and norms, and individuals try to make sense of society by developing expectations or schemas (Jones & Greer, 2011: 359). According to Elendu & Orunaboka (2011: 59), gender stereotypes are socio-cultural expectations and fixed ideas that people have about men and women in a given society. In short: gender schemas are unwritten norms and knowledge (schemas) about how men and women (gender) should act and behave in different social settings.

Stereotypes and ruling gender schemas do not only change in between culture and social setting, but they have also changed dramatically over years and time. The old Victorian ideas of femininity equalled incompetence, physical weakness, and an idea where the woman's place was in the kitchen, serving up her family and centred on everyone else but herself (Heywood & Dworkin, 2003: 13). Biological explanations were often used to justify the difference between men and women in sport. Women, in the roles as mothers and housewives, "the reproductive, gentle sex", were not completely excluded from participation, but "feminine appropriate" activities were encouraged (Levinson & Christensen, 2005). Sports requiring speed, strength, aggression and physical contact were on the other side characterized as "masculine-appropriate" activities (Levinson & Christensen, 2005). In some societies gender schemas and stereotypes of gender and masculinity and femininity might still hinder girls and women from participating in sport and physical activities. According to Saavedra (2009: 125) the world of sport is still profoundly gendered, with practices and experiences marked and bounded by sex and sexuality – often exclusively male or female, masculine or feminine. It is interesting that men are often reinforcing and promoting their masculinity when succeeding in sport, while women are considered as having rejected their feminine values if they succeed in sports (Stirling & Schulz, 2011). According to Cahn (2011: 39) girls and women are still often experiencing being questioned about their femininity and sexual

identity in sport, being labelled as "if you are good - you are gay". Despite increased acceptance worldwide since the old Victorian years, girls and women in sport may still face barriers to sport participation and involvement in sport due to questions about their femininity (identity and sexuality included).

Though sport is still profoundly gendered, girls and women involved in sport may also challenge existing stereotypes and gender schemas in sport and society. Huggins & Randell (2007: 1) claim that sport provides a space in which women can re-negotiate concepts of femininity and masculinity, challenge stereotypes that labels women as weak and inferior, as well as an area where women can demonstrate to their communities what they are capable of. Challenging stereotypes and gender schemas, however, might be an ever-going dilemma for girls and women in sport in many societies. Alliances between femininity and sport are often still considered incompatible, and "deviant" females are still considered a disgrace to the entire family in many cultures (Meier, 2005). Sport has always been a male preserve with its own language and models of true masculinity, but with elite women running marathons faster than elite men older notions of women as the weakest sex have to be revised (Polley, 1998: 86-87).

Gender stereotypes, gender schemas and notions of femininity and masculinity in sport were definitely brought to new heights in 2009. The South-African, 18-year-old field track athlete, Caster Semenya, outclassed her opponents in an international competition in Berlin. Her superiority and her looks shocked the whole world (of sport). The overwhelming result and her stereotypical masculine body type made people start questioning her sex and if she really was a woman. Semenya was, after being abandoned from sport, exposed in the media and tested boundlessly, defined as intersex, disorders of sex development. According to Cahn (2011: 39) Caster Semenya`s case raises two main questions: How should we approach the question of sexual difference in sport and how can we deal with the challenge that women always tend to be questioned about their sex, gender and sexuality in sport? Being raised and considered by her family and friends as a woman, Semenya definitely challenges the two-sexed system, stereotypes of masculinity and femininity and gender schemas in sport. Being a top, international athlete requires hard physical training over years, and might change (and challenge) the stereotypical female body into a more masculine characteristic body, with

toned and defined muscles developed as a result of high physical capacity. According to Jones & Greer (2011: 360) stereotypes are based on gender schematic assumptions in society directly related to the appearance of the athlete and the stereotype given to gender appropriate sport. Bringing all the theory into an African and Zambian setting, there are believed to be differences between urbanized towns and remote villages when it comes to gender stereotypes and gender appropriate sports. Meier & Saavedra (2009: 1165-1166) state that there are in terms of sport enormous gender gaps between the poorer and more conservative rural population and the urban population in the biggest cities in Zambia. Entrenched gender roles and stereotypes in Zambia are more persistent in rural settings, while in towns, culture and traditions are no longer as relevant due to more exposure and influence from Western cultures (Meier & Saavedra, 2009: 1166).

According to Hall (1996: 16) it is not always easy to distinguish between women's history and gender history, because research on women and gender, historically and otherwise, has been intimately connected to movements of social change (women's movement/feminists). The field of women's history, evolved for a variety of reasons, all of which were directed at correcting omissions in history in general (Hall, 1996: 16). Women's history and gender history do therefore have significant links with each other, often overlapping and sometimes even understood as the same. The next, and last part of this chapter, will therefore introduce you to the feminist movement, feminist perspectives and feminism in Africa.

3.1.3.   The feminist movement

Feminist movements all over the world have developed when historical and political circumstances have encouraged public recognition of the discrimination of women (Massao, 2001: 19). Regardless of the many ideas and approaches that have emerged since the beginning, feminists seek to establish equity, equality and better opportunities for women worldwide. Year 1850 has however, been allocated as the starting point of the feminist movement, as the "first feminists" met in New York to fight for their rights (Holst, 2009). Traditionally, "feminist" history is understood in three stages/waves, where the first is the nineteenth-century women's movement, which was a response to the exclusion from political, social and economic life (Gillis, Howie & Munford, 2004: 1). The first wave includes women's struggle to get the right to vote, gain access to education and the professions (Levinson & Christensen, 2005: 573). The second

feminist wave started in the 1960s and feminists fought for women's legal status, social welfare and health for women and children and equal opportunities for education and conditions of work (Levinson & Christensen, 2005: 574). The third wave, according to Gillis et al. (2004), has always been overly eager to define itself as something different from previous feminist waves. Conversations and debates about the third wave have been on-going since the nineties, but there has been a lack of theory that delineates and contextualizes the third wave feminist perspectives (Heywood & Drake, 2004: 13)

Feminist sport scholars have used various theoretical frameworks to understand the gendered experiences in sport (Pelak, 2005: 54). Two different approaches, liberal and radical feminism, will be further presented:

> *Liberal approaches to sport often seek to provide girls and women with the same opportunities and resources as boys and men and tends to treat women as a homogeneous group, while radical feminist approaches recognizes the difference among women and at the same time seriously question male-dominated and male-defined sport (Hall, 1996: 91).*

Liberal sports feminism has been a powerful and successful challenge to male-dominated sport, but it is also being criticized for being too conservative (Levinson & Christensen, 2005: 575). Radical sports feminist, on the other side, oppose men's control in sport, arguing that in mix-sexed organizations women are usually marginalized and have fewer recourses, less convenient access to facilities, and inferior in coaching and funding (Levinson & Christensen, 2005). According to Pelak (2005: 55) shortcomings of the literature on women, gender, and competitive sports include the tendency to universalize women's sporting experiences, ignore how gender intersects with other systems of power, namely race and class. Hall (1996:43) argues that the world of sport comprises the entire globe, but yet we constantly generalize from a Western; usually white view of a woman. According to Holst (2009: 128), non-western feminists argue that globalization promote the western feminism at the expense of valuable local traditions. "Western feminist theories" have therefore somehow excluded women from ethnic groups and women of colour. Most issues faced by black/ethnic minority women are not readily comparable with those relevant to white women (Beasley, 1999), and the traditional "white, western feminism" is not necessary transferable to women from developing countries.

Feminists concerned around issues of race, ethnicity and culture have, however, also contributed to the various feminist approaches. Black feminism, for instance, has its roots from America, where discriminated African-American women started fighting for their civil rights during the second wave. Black feminists fought against the American (white, male rule) political system, but racial, sexual, heterosexual and class oppression were all important struggles for the African American feminists (Massao, 2001: 20). Cultural feminists have brought into light the importance of difference (age, class, dis/ability, ethnicity, nationhood, religion, politics or sexuality) and how different groups of women experience prejudice in sport in specific ways (Levinson & Christensen, 2005: 576).

3.1.4.   Women's movements in Africa

Black feminism has grown and flourished and now takes an important part in debates on postcolonial theory[11] and in questions of difference and ethnicity, for instance in nations of Africa (Whelehan, 1995: 121). According to Massao (2001: 21-22) class, race, religion and cultural orientation have always influenced feminist demands differently and led to varying priorities to the settings. African countries do vary from the Western setting with its infinity variation of ethnic groups, tribes, traditions and cultures, which again might have affected the feminist movement on the continent. Women's movements in Africa, however, grew in the years after Second World War, when a lot of African countries gained their independence from former European colonies. According to Maerten (2004: 2) African women's movements have in general been influenced by the activism against colonial rule and racist ideologies, and to a lesser extent at personal and sexist conditions (contrary to Western feminists). African feminism owes its origins to different dynamics and has largely been shaped by African women's resistance to Western hegemony and its legacy within African culture (Mikell, 1997: 4).

> *Women's movement worldwide were concerned with the same issues;*
> *women's legal and political rights, violence, reproductive rights and*
> *abortion, sexual liberty, employment and discrimination, but the gap*
> *between women in North and South[12] were growing, due to the eternal*

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[11] Postcolonial theories focus on the effects of colonialism on societies and cultures worldwide, but especially in Third World countries.

[12] Women from North are women from Europe, North America, Japan and North Asia, while women from South are women from Central-America, Africa and the East.

confrontation of poverty, terrible labour-conditions, faulty education and health care in the South (Maerten, 2004: 1-2).

African women's movements started with intellectuals and their resistance against the western feminism (Massao, 2001; Maerten, 2004). African women feared western ideas and policies would ruin old, traditional gender roles and cultures. According to Massao (2001) it might still be hard to fully accept feminism in Africa, because it originally presented a "westernized" perspective as a concern for the "real" African women. As Maerten (2004) states, the importance Africans attach to the reproductive role of a woman and the tendency to put the family and community before the individual, make the African feminism completely different from the western version.

African countries were under enormous political and economic pressure in the 70s and 80s and the unstable situation led to more and more gender inequality (Maerten, 2004). Sub-Saharan countries had gone through several crisis`s (such as the failure of male-dominated, multi-party politics and unstable economies), and Western countries and international agencies started to force African leaders to reconstruct their economical and political system and to include women in development (Mikell, 1997: 2). Maerten (2004) explains that during the late 80s a new feminist consciousness were created across the continent and women themselves felt the need to unite and develop a gender approach in dealing with gender inequality in society. This happened slightly after the United Nations had declared 1975 as the International Women's Year and the years 1976-1985 as the UN Decade for Women, which both aimed to bring more attention on women and women's rights worldwide. The new emerging African feminism, however, was a direct outcome of women's responses to political leaders who had attempt to manage the crises by further limiting and exploiting women (Mikell, 2004: 4). Contemporary African women are still concerned about the economical and political troubles facing their countries, while at the same time they are grappling with how to affirm their own identities while challenging society´s notions of gender and family roles (Mikell, 2004: 1).

Women's movements and feminist approaches worldwide and in Africa in particular do have an important purpose in relation to this thesis, because feminists seek to increase

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women's opportunities and rights in society, as well as in sport. Despite an increased attention to multiracial feminist theories worldwide, there are still few empirical studies that focus on non-dominant women athletes in non-western contexts (Pelak, 2005: 55). This thesis is a minor contribution seeking to fill that gap; by studying the field of gender-based barriers in sports in Zambia using the theory presented in this chapter as a theoretical framework. The next chapter will present the methodical framework for this research, before the results, analysis and discussion of the data will be presented in chapter 5, 6 and 7.

4. Methodology

This chapter presents and discusses the methodology of this study. Details about how the fieldwork were collected and conducted in Zambia, as well as the process of transcribing, coding and analysing will be further presented and discussed. Notions of validity, reliability and ethical considerations are also included in the end of this chapter.

I chose to write about women's barriers in sport because I worked closely with girls and women in sport as a volunteer in Zambia from 2010 to 2011. Working for a local organization and staying with a local host family for a year gave me an insight and understanding of the culture and traditions in Zambia at large. I often experienced that girls and women were far less involved in sports compared to boys and men, and that there were several barriers keeping them away from taking part. My experience was that girls and women were often left out of sport because of the traditional role they are assigned as girls or women. This experience led me to a process of writing and addressing their issues and challenges from a more academically point of view.

4.1. Choice of method – qualitative research design

This study is based on a qualitative research design including data collected in Zambia. According to Thagaard (2009: 11), an important target for qualitative approaches is to achieve an understanding of social phenomena. The research question in this project is seeking a deeper understanding about gender-based barriers that hinders girls and women from participating in sports in Zambia. Qualitative research design was chosen because the study aims to find out more about women's experiences, feelings and thoughts about their involvement in sport. According to Kvale & Brinkmann (2011: 11), a research is qualitative when the researcher is curious about *how* something is done, said, felt, emerged or developed and he/she tries to understand, interpret and describe the human experiences. Qualitative research aims to capture meanings or qualities that are not quantifiable, such as feelings, thoughts, experiences etc., and uses non-numeric data and analysis to describe and understand concepts (Gratton & Jones, 2010: 30). The qualitative research is characterized as a flexible, on-going process where the interviewer is in close contact with the informants and where the researcher is

developing theories while researching the field (Thagaard, 2009). According to Grattan & Jones (2010) a research has an inductive approach when it is interested in trying to explain and understand why something is happening. To get a further understanding of women's barriers and challenges in sport, and how and why it hinders and affect women, I have therefore chosen a qualitative research design.

4.2. Preparations before entering the field

Qualitative research is often studying sensitive and personal themes that can make it difficult to find available and "appropriate" informants that can give valuable information and data on the topic. The selection in a convenience sample is strategic in the way that the interviewees represent information (data) that are relevant to your question/problem, and the procedure of selecting informants is based on their availability (Thagaard, 2009: 56). The informants in this thesis are based on a convenience sample available through various individual contacts and organizations I worked with during my first stay in Zambia. Having experience from the country and the field already, made it easy for me to know who to contact and where to find specific information. Before I left Norway I informed some of my contacts about my research and they helped me find available and "suitable" informants for my study. Certain criteria's were raised: The girl/woman had to be above 18 years old and had to be involved in sport as an athlete, leader, coach, board member etc. I wanted to portray women's experiences of gender-based barriers in sport from different angles and I therefore aimed to find available participants from different provinces, urban and rural areas, from different sport disciplines, with different abilities, different performance levels, rich and poor. The reason why only two provinces where chosen was to limit travel expenses, due to rather poor road infrastructure and accessibility in certain areas in Zambia. Lusaka Province and Southern Province are both easily accessible, and there are various programs and projects trying to empower women through sport in both provinces (e.g. NOWSPAR in Lusaka and Kwenhua Women's Organization in Livingstone).

As part of my preparations for the fieldwork and interviews I developed an interview guide, with different themes and subsequent questions, a so-called semi-structured interview. According to Gratton & Jones (2010: 156) a semi-structured interview is an

approach where the interviewer has a standard set of questions or a schedule, but still flexible to the data collection. This type of interview involves the implementation of a number of predetermined questions and special topics and the interviewers are allowed freedom to probe far beyond the answers to their prepared standardized questions (Berg, 2009: 107). Various themes and standardized questions under each theme were developed in an interview guide, open for personal interpretation and opportunities for additional follow-up questions and probes. A set of questions about the participants' lifestyle, culture and traditions were also developed to get an overall picture of the participants' everyday life and their opportunities of actually being involved in sports. There will be more information about the interview guide later in this chapter.

4.2.1.   Project Design

As part of my preparations I also developed a project design before I travelled to Zambia. According to Berg (2009: 41-42) the design of a research is literally a plan or a sketch of how the study will be conducted in order to foresee any possible glitches that might arise. The project design for this research includes different interviews. In addition I also wanted to gather official documents that could be valuable for the research. See figure below for details:

INTERVIEWS	DOCUMENTS
• 2 pilot interviews: one in Lusaka Province and one in Southern Province • 2 test interviews • 8-12 interviews with women involved in sport at different performance levels and with different backgrounds/lifestyles/abilities. • 1-2 interviews with national leaders in sport, preferably from the Zambian National Sports Council and/or the Ministry of Sports.	• Official documents: - National Sports Policy - National Gender Policy and/or laws regarding gender and/or gender-based violence (in general and/or in sports in particular).

Figure 2: Project Design

4.3. Data collection – entering the field

The data was collected and obtained during 17 weeks of research in Zambia, between August and December 2012. Pilot interviews, test interviews and one-on-one interviews were conducted in combination with observation and gathering of official documents. The 12 interviews are the basis for the analysis and the discussion in the following chapters (5, 6 and 7), but they will be supplemented with other data to clarify and crosscheck data obtained in the interviews.

4.3.1. Pilot interviews

Initially two pilot interviews[13] were conducted, one in each province I had planned to carry out my one-on-one interviews. The purpose of conducting two pilot interviews was twofold: One, to get more background information about my theme and both men's and women's experiences of females in sport, and two, to test and find out if my themes and questions were relevant, nutritious and understandable for the participants. According to Sampson (2004: 383) pilots can be used to refine research instruments, such as interview schedules, by shadowing research problems and questions in highlighting gaps and wastage in data collection. One pilot interview was conducted in Lusaka on 7th September 2012 with 2 participants (one man aged 20 years and one woman aged 48 years), while the second pilot interview was conducted in Livingstone on 13th September 2012 with 4 female participants (19, 25, 27 and 32 years). All participants in the pilot interviews were picked as a convenience sample; participants available at that particular time, but at the same time with various experiences from sports. Prior to the pilot interviews a consent form[14] with information about the study was handed out, read through and signed.

The participants had valuable comments to my themes and questions, which led to a few adjustments in my main interview guide. Some questions were found irrelevant for the study and removed completely, while others had to be slightly changed in terms of formulation. Pilot interviews may be regarded as essential before large amount of time is invested in a project, especially in todays pressured and time-bounded social science (Sampson, 2004: 399). The pilot interviews proved to be valuable and timesaving as it

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[13] See appendix no. 1.
[14] See appendix no. 2.

helped me improve and develop the main interview guide to be more precise and specific.

4.3.2. Test interviews

After the new adjustments two test interviews were conducted with two female participants on 24th and 26th September 2012 in Lusaka. The test-interview participants were 20 and 26 years. They were from very different backgrounds: one is working for a bank, has a regular high income and able to pay the gym fees at one of the most famous gyms. The other one is staying with her guardians in one of Lusaka's poorer compounds, involved in community sport activities. I knew both of the girls personally, and this is one of the reasons why they were asked to participate in the test interviews. I believed it was easier for me as a researcher to conduct the two first (test) interviews with someone I knew quite well in order to release stress and focus on my role as an interviewer. The cons may be that the interviewees felt that since we already knew each other they could not tell me everything or give me constructive feedback in respect of my work and our future friendship. I gained new and valuable experience as a researcher during the two first rounds of interviews (pilot and test interviews). As I transcribed the interviews right after they were conducted I learnt a lot about my role as a researcher: how and when I can/should ask the questions and probes and how it all is closely linked to the fact of paying attention and listen carefully. The experience was overall valuable for the next step: the one-on-one interviews.

4.3.3. Interviews

The one-on-one interviews[15], twelve (12) in total, were conducted between 2nd October and 1st November 2012. The participants were between 19 and 35 years, with a mean age at 25,5 years. All interviewees were picked as an available and convenience sample from various organizations and local NGOs, and I had never had personal interaction with any of the female participants before this research. Four (4) interviews were first conducted in Lusaka, three (3) in different villages in Southern Province, another three (3) in Livingstone, before I came back to Lusaka and finished the last two (2). Participants were given a consent form[16] to sign in advance (when possible) or right

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[15] See appendix no. 3.
[16] See appendix no. 4.

before the interview started. The consent form included valuable information about the research and their rights as participants. None of my participants withdrew from the research before, during or after conducting the interviews. Time and place where interviews were held varied dramatically, from early in the morning, mid-day to after dark, weekdays and weekends and in different places (e.g. in an office, inside a private house, under a tree, in a restaurant). Interviews lasted between one (1) to two (2) hours, depending if an interpreter were used or not, and the socio-cultural and socio-economical background of the participant. Notes and comments about the interviews and my personal experiences were scrabbled down during and after every interview.

4.3.4.   Data gathering – one-on-one interviews

Research in Zambia, Africa may differ from research elsewhere, if emphasizing on the term "African Time"[17]. I got to know the term very well as a sport volunteer, and I definitely experienced it all over again as a researcher. Some of the interviews took long to arrange, and I had to call, make follow-ups and even travel in person to make an appointment for some of the interviews. It was a long process, but a process I would not have missed, because it gave me time to transcribe already collected data in the meantime. It also gave me time to reflect on my role as an interviewer and a researcher, which was a process of learning itself. I experienced and realized that my role in the interviews slightly changed over time; Questions and probes were asked more naturally in the setting, most likely because of greater experience and self-confident in the role as a researcher. The atmosphere were also more relaxed in the last interviews, as I gave the interviewees more and more time to think through the questions and time to add other distinctions. You grow in the role as an interviewer and in the end you wish your last interview was your very first, so that you can start all over again.

I tried to be flexible in meeting the needs of my participants in terms of venue for the interviews. It is a researchers responsibility to create a safe and confidential platform for the participants and the interview, but at the same time a convenient place for both parts. Most interviews were therefore held in the participants' natural environment (e.g.

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[17] "African (Zambian) Time" is a term used in many African countries, such as Zambia, meaning that people often show up late. Things might therefore take a little longer than expected, because people are come up to an hour or two late for an appointment.

home, workplace, community). Since Zambian women usually have great roles as housewives and mothers some of the interviews were conducted with kids running around and/or breastfeeding from the laps of the mother (participant). I do not feel that this affected the interview situation in a negative way, rather being positive, because the interviews were held in the participants' natural environment. I assume we would have had more interruptions if the children were kept in a separate room and refused into the room where we sat. Meeting the girls and women in their environment also had another purpose: In Zambia it is common to get transport refund (cash) from the one who invites you if you have to travel to meet the person who invited you. I feared that some of the informants would consent only because of the transport refund they would get instead of actually being interested in participating in the study itself. It was therefore a win-win situation for me as a researcher to travel to meet the interviewees (when possible), because I could also get an idea of the informants' lifestyles based on observations.

According to Jacobsen (2005) is it important to give the informant certain information about the research, such as the purpose of the study, the procedure, how data is conducted, how data will be used/published and how informants are granted confidentiality. Prior to every interview all informants were given a consent form with information about the study; why, where and with whom the study is conducted, how the results will be used, their rights as participants (right to withdraw at any time) and that they are granted confidentiality. When possible I gave the informants the consent form in advance for them to read through, ask question and/or sign, and additional oral information if needed before we started the interview. When it was not possible to give the participants the consent form prior to the interview, due to long distances and communication, both written and oral information were given to the interviewee prior to the interview. According to Berg (2009: 87) informed consent means the knowing consent of individuals to participate as an exercise of their choice, free from any element of fraud, deceit, duress, or similar unfair inducement or manipulation. For me to be a 110 % sure that the information was read and understood before the informants signed the consent form I offered them an interpreter to translate the form for them if needed. None of the participants withdrew after signing the consent, before the interviews were conducted, during an interview, nor have any of the informants contacted me after the research wanting to withdraw from the study.

Supplying informants with sufficient information about the study might create a close and trustworthy relationship between the interviewee and the interviewer. According to Thagaard (2009) one of the most important factors in qualitative research is to create a trustworthy relationship before and after fieldwork. Without knowing what the results would be before I started the research I tried to find professional help were the participants could get help if they wanted and/or needed it. I managed to find a toll-free landline in Zambia specialized in the area of children's abuse, but anyone with an abuse case can call this toll-free line to seek help. Information about this toll-free line was given to all the participants after the interview. The participants could therefore call to seek further help, advice and professional assistance with their experiences of abuse and/or know where to find help if a case occurs in the future. It was important for me to show the participants my support and that I would try by all means to help them, but at the same time make sure that they knew that I am not a professional doctor, psychologist or lawyer that could help them with their health status and/or civil rights.

Zambia has 72 indigenous languages, with English as their official language. I wanted to portray the experiences of women in sport at different performance levels and with various socio-cultural and socio-economical backgrounds, which "forced" me to travel to rural areas to conduct some of the interviews. In some rural areas English is not widely spoken and I had to involve an interpreter when I conducted interviews in the villages. Using an interpreter, however, may raise some issues. Since I conducted interviews in different provinces, I needed interpreters who could speak the language in each specific area, and I had to change the interpreter accordingly. It is rare to find someone who speaks all 72 (!!) languages fluently. I therefore used 3 different interpreters in 5 of the interviews. I had a short meeting with the interpreter prior to the interview about their role in the interview, what they were expected to do and not to do, and that they also had to keep any data from the research confidential. If I was doing it all over again I would have had a consent form for the interpreters to sign as well, and I would have tried harder to find an interpreter who could speak English, Tonga, Nyanja and Bemba[18] and travel with me to conduct all interviews where an interpreter was needed. More about the use of interpreters will be discussed under "validity" later in this chapter.

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[18] Tonga, Bemba and Nyanja are different indigenous languages in Zambia (Africa).

It is essential that the informants feel secured, safe and comfortable in the interview situation for them to provide useful and quite sensitive information to the study. Thagaard (2009: 99) states that taking account of the interview situation involves designing contact with the participant in such a way that she feels safe and wants to talk about herself. To create a safe and comfortable environment I started every interview by asking the first question, but we both answered and gave examples to each other of how a "normal day look like". I experienced that the women enjoyed it, probably because "my normal day" looks quite different from theirs and because they felt that the interview situation was more or less a conversation, rather than an interview. Starting off with briefing each other on how a normal day looks like for the both of us also gave me indirect information about their involvement in sport, and if sport was part of their lifestyle. In general I felt that most interviewees were eager to talk to me about their lifestyle, their challenges in life in general and in sport in particular. The interview steadily built up from general questions about their sport participation to more and more sensitive issues, such as experiences of sexual harassment. Sensitive questions are questions where informants have to give much of themselves and talk about their personal experiences, so it was important for me to build up a trustworthy relationship with the informant before asking such sensitive questions. I experienced, however, that some of the participants talked about sensitive topics and personal experiences already in an early phase of the interview, even though I did not ask them directly about it. I believe that is a sign that they felt comfortable and safe in the interview situation. Not all informants opened up and talked freely about their experiences regarding sensitive topics, which were visible through short answers like "no" or "no, never" (e.g. answers to questions about sexual harassment). I would never know if they answered short because they have never experienced anything related to sexual harassment, because they do not know it was sexual harassment or because they have experienced it, but they did not want to talk about it. It is certainly a very sensitive topic to study because it also touches on personal integrity. Telling someone you just met for the first time about your personal, sensitive, "taboo" experiences might be difficult for any human being, regardless of culture and background. Telling someone means that you have to go through your traumatic experiences all over again and you risk being a disgrace to your family if the information is compromised.

4.3.5.   Additional material/data

The data from the interviews will be supplemented by additional material obtained, such as official, national documents and a meeting (interview) with the acting General Secretary of the National Sport Council of Zambia (NSCZ). I also tried to arrange for a meeting/interview with someone from the Ministry of Youth and Sport, but they never responded to my letter.

During my meeting with the General Secretary of the NSCZ on 5th December 2012 there were no up-to-date figures of active members under each affiliated member under the National Sport Council, both sitting on the boards and number of athletes. What was available on the 5th December 2012 was a list of the 43 affiliated organizations, associations and federations under the NSCZ, and the contact details for the President, the General Secretary or both. Out of deep self-interest and curiosity, and also apart from my original project design, I tried to get in touch with all the affiliated members. I wanted to get a better picture of how many active members they have, how many women who were sitting in decision-making positions and if they had a specific gender policy within their association/organization/federation. Many of them were impossible to contact due to incorrect and/or invalid telephone numbers and e-mail addresses and one federation was sceptical and unwilling to provide the details. I got in touch and collected data from 20 out of the 43 affiliated associations[19], and I will present some of the findings as supplementary data in the next chapters. Not all official associations are represented, but it might help creating a picture of female participation in sport in Zambia, both as participants and executive board members.

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[19] Collected data from the following 20 members of the NSCZ: Zambia Martial Arts, Cycling Association, Zambia Rugby Football Union, Badminton Association of Zambia, Taekwondo Association of Zambia, Zambia Bowling Association, Zambia Weightlifting Association, Zambia Judo Association, Zambia Lady's Gold Union, Handball Association of Zambia, Zambia Sport Fishing, Zambia Bodybuilder Federation, Zambia Polo Association, Zambia Motorsport, Zambia Polo Cross Association, Zambia Cricket Union, Zambia Pool Union, Paralympic Committee of Zambia, Zambia Drafts Federation and Acrobatic Association of Zambia.

4.4. Registration of data, transcription and analysis of the obtained material

Interviews were recorded in order to focus on the interview situation, listen carefully to what the participant said and to notice facial expressions and body language, instead of writing down all quotes and details. According to Jacobsen (2005: 125) a recorder gives you the chance to keep a normal conversation while interviewing and it also gives the chance to refer to the informant's verbatim sentence in your findings. The negative side effects might be that you as an interviewer relax too much, because you know you have the material recorded anyway. Another negative aspect might be the fact that the interviewees feel uncomfortable being recorded. Technical challenges might occur during an interview and you have to be prepared with an extra set of batteries and/or have an extra recorder on stand-by. Every interview and audio file was given a specific ID-number, and personal details and ID-numbers were stored separately in my laptop and on an external hard drive. Access to both lists was impossible without my own personal password. This was to make sure no one could access personal details and to keep the informants anonymity and confidentiality.

In order to analyse the data, transcriptions of the interviews are an absolutely must. To transcribe means, according to Kvale (1996), to transform, whereby the researcher change one product (speech) to another (text). As already mentioned, I did most of the transcription work in between preparing and arranging for new interviews. I do perceive this as an advantage, because I was transcribing interviews while they where still fresh in mind and I therefore avoided incorrect perceptions of what was said and/or done during the interviews. At the same time I could link the transcription direct to my notes from the interview, e.g. notes about facial expressions and/or body language. Another advantage is that you can make changes and improvements along the way, such as developing more relevant probes and improving your interview techniques and skills. I finished all the transcription while I was still in Zambia, which also gave me the opportunity to ask interviewees for clarifications where this was necessary.

According to Halvorsen (2008) the ideal for qualitative research is to be flexible and not having a precise and fixed research process, but rather have a broad focus on what you want to study. When I came back from Zambia, I tried to structure the transcribed data

in a Microsoft Excel sheet, typing in keywords from the interviewees' responses under the different themes from the interview guide. This was to organize the material and to see if there was any consistency and/or similarities in the data. Different analysing codes were developed in a code system of three (3) levels. The themes in the interview guide constituted the first level of codes. The second and third level of codes was developed on the basis of the keywords and themes discovered when trying to structure the obtained data. The code system[20] was further used in the qualitative research software, MAXQDA. The software helps structuring the material, by sorting and arranging the unstructured interviews into coded segments. In qualitative research it is hard to use a computer or software to analyse your data, and MAXQDA was therefore rather used as a tool to make it easier to discover consistency in the material. As Halvorsen (2008) states, technical software can be a helpful tool to give you an overview of how often a specific topic is addressed and the context in which it occurs. After "coding" all the interviews the coded segments were printed separately and the process of analysing the coded material started. Consistencies in the coded material, but also interesting exceptions were pointed out and are included as findings in the next chapters.

4.5. Validity

Validity is, according to Pitney (2004: 26-27), related to whether an instrument measures what a researcher intended to measure and to the generalizability if the study's results. Since qualitative research is about in-depth studies of a particular setting or context and since the researcher her/himself is the analytical instrument, validity is also linked to whether the study represent the actual reality. Qualitative research therefore operates with the terms transferability and credibility, which means if you provide the reader with rich, descriptive information about the context and whether the research findings capture what is *really* occurring in the context (Pitney, 2004: 26-27).

As mentioned earlier I used 3 interpreters in 5 different interviews. Although I believe it was a strength for the study not to leave out women due to their poor English (language) skills, it might have affected the validity of the research. Some of the interviewees and interpreters were clearly not used to being in an "interview context". Background, age,

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[20] See Appendix no. 5.

previous exposure and knowledge about sports and barriers in sports were constantly and consistently factors, which was reflected in the depth in the responses from respondents. In interviews were an interpreter was not used, some interviewees might have left out something, because it might have been easier for them to say it in their local language. There were no clear signs (e.g. interviewee making facial expressions, using body language or interviewees saying "how can I say this?"), but language might have affected the study's validity.

On the other hand, the use of interpreters may also affect the data material, and therefore the validity of the study. I had a short meeting with the interpreters prior to the interview about their role and that the importance of them remaining objective, but it seemed as if they sometimes suggested responses for the athletes. I do not speak the indigenous Zambian languages fluently, but I do speak a bit and enough to understand that the interpreters sometimes suggested answers for the participants. It was also confirmed by the interviewees' short responses, such as "yeah" or "yes", instead of actually responding to the questions themselves. Another factor that may affect the validity, is that I felt sometimes that the interpreter did not interpret everything the interviewee said. As already mentioned, I do know a few words in Tonga, Bemba and Nyanja and I recognized sometimes that the interpreter did not translate it all. This might also be due to difficulties translating everything directly to English, as we all have typical sayings in our "mother tongue" with specific and contextual meaning. My choice to use (different) interpreters may have affected the data's validity and I should probably employed one interpreter to use in all the interviews.

Validity can, however, be verified though a crosscheck of the data material in different ways. Triangulation is, according to Pitney (2004: 26), to collect data from various sources, while peer check is to use another researcher to check and examine your research and data interpretations. I have collected data from girls and women in different age groups, from various backgrounds and sport disciplines in order to verify and find out if there are any common gender-based barriers among girls and women in Zambia. Observation, public documents and the interview with the General Secretary of NSCZ might also verify and crosscheck data. When writing up a master thesis you are also given a supervisor and the supervisor might also peer check and verify the validity, when reviewing data interpretations.

Validity is also linked to whether findings actually capture what is occurring in the specific context. Being a former sports volunteer in Zambia made me somehow related to the environment, the culture and the context. Whether this is a strength or a weakness in qualitative research is constantly being discussed, but I will argue that it was an advantage and a benefit for the study because I knew where to go, whom to ask and whom to involve in the study. I therefore avoided wasting time in that particular process. My knowledge and experience might have overlooked the possibility of involving other possible informants or to collect other important documents, but I tried to be open-minded throughout the process not to limit the sample, or the data.

A great advantage of being a white researcher and an "outsider" in the eyes of the many of the interviewees was that the participants did not take my knowledge skills for granted. I often got good term explanations instead of the participants explaining in short and/or saying, "…you know?" I was probably seen as an outsider and most of them really put a lot of effort in trying to make me understand their situation by giving me complementary explanations. Another advantage was my sex. When the researcher and informant are of the same sex, it provides a basis for a common understanding (Thagaard, 2009: 106). Just being a female studying women's barriers in sport, created a fundamental, common platform in that sense. This might be the reason why some of them opened up about sensitive topics, such as their experiences of sexual harassment. As a young, Zambian woman you are not expected (or allowed) to talk about these issues or challenges with a man (researcher or not) and many women probably do not talk about this at all with anyone, regardless of sex, researcher or not. I believe the fact that I am white and a woman both were strengths for this particular study.

4.6. Reliability

According to Pitney (2004: 27-28) reliability is related to the consistency of the research findings or whether the study can be reproduced. In qualitative research this might be problematic at all times, and researchers rather use the term dependability, which is based on whether the data is reasonable based on the data collected (Pitney, 2004: 27-28). In qualitative research the researcher often argues the reliability by providing an account of how data was developed and collected, like I have done in this particular chapter. I would like to, however, elaborate some issues regarding reliability.

Informants were selected based on availability, namely a convenience sample, which again might have led to an exclusion of other girls and women from other parts of Zambia, or even within the areas where I conducted my research. A clear negative factor using a convenience sample is that you might only include the most obvious candidates and avoid asking the people you expect to get a negative answer from or those you expect to have less knowledge about the topic. This might have limited the data material and affected the data's reliability. The fact that the women are from different backgrounds may have limited the negative consequences of a convenience sample. In the end, it was essential to get in touch with women who were active and involved in sports, and with the help from the organizations I managed to reach different participants.

One way of crosschecking and verifying the study's reliability is to do a member check. A member check is to involve the participants in the data interpretations (Pitney, 2004). This would have been ideal for a research based on interpretations of data collected with a few interviews only, but due to long distances, travel expenses and frequent replacements of sim cards in Zambia, I considered it as impossible to contact all informants and include them in the process of interpreting and crosschecking the data. This might affect the study's reliability, because the participants did not have a chance to crosscheck the data. If they had contacted me, however, I would have shared the interview with them.

4.7. Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations might be the most important of all during a qualitative research process, and throughout the whole project, ethical considerations have been taken into account. First of all, before I went to Zambia, I reported and got an approval to conduct my research in Zambia from the Norwegian Social Science Service [NSD][21].

As mentioned earlier I recorded all interviews with a tape recorder in order to use the direct quotes and phrases the informants expressed during the interview in this thesis. It is important to give adequate information about the purpose of recording, as well as asking for their permission to record. Additional information was given when needed

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[21] See appendix no. 6.

prior to the interview and permission was granted when participants signed the consent form. As part of qualitative research's free choice to participate, all informants were also given information (oral and written) about their free choice to withdraw at any time without giving any further explanation about the withdrawal. All informants have been given fictitious names in order to make sure they are all anonymous in the thesis. Confidentiality is an active attempt to remove from the research records any elements that might indicate the subject's identities (Berg, 2009: 90). An important ethical principle is that participation in research projects in no way should harm the informants (Thagaard, 2009: 110), and giving the participants fictitious names is therefore of great importance to secure the identity of the participants.

My role as White, female researcher in a black, Zambian context may also raise a few ethical considerations. In some (still quite a lot) Zambian eyes, Whites are still the conquerors of the world, the past's powerful colonists, and in many areas still advantaged economically. As a result I experienced that some of the interviewees had an excessive respect for me as a researcher. Due to my previous experiences from the African continent I had an idea that this might happen, and I tried by all means to create an equal context by not wearing fancy, new clothes and accessories, travelling with public transport to meet my participants, and I slept in a tent over night while conducting interviews in the rural areas. Still, there is one factor that I can never change: The colour of my skin. The fact that I am white does still give some Zambians certain associations and expectations. I tried to explain my role as a researcher as clearly as possible before I started any interview. Even though they got written and oral information about the research and its purpose, some informants expected equipment and/or that I contributed financially to their sport programs after the interview. It was definitely a challenge because some of my informants might have consented because they had hoped for other benefits. Others might have felt happy just because they had the chance to talk to a "muzungu"[22] about the challenges and barriers they (blacks) are facing in sport, because I could be their "voice out there". Being white and female also raised another ethical issue, especially in the rural areas: the fact that I can never move around unnoticed. Many people might therefore have asked my participants what I was doing together with them. I told the participants that it was up to them if they wanted to

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[22] Muzungu means, "white person" in Zambia (and in some other African countries).

tell others about their participation in this study or not, I had already promised and granted them confidentiality. This will probably never be problematic for the participants though, because most likely no other people in the rural areas will ever read this thesis.

5. What are the socio-cultural and socio-economical barriers girls and women experience in sport?

In this chapter I will present the results from the first research sub-question of this study. The chapter is divided into two parts: The first focusing on barriers caused by and related to the cultural aspect and Zambian (African) tradition, the second on barriers regarding economy and resources. First I will describe two different days during my stay in Zambia. It may help giving the reader a better picture of the situation for girls and women in sport in this country.

5.1. Women in sport in Zambia you say?

The time is 16.00. Sharp. Wednesday afternoon. I have already been on the ground for 10 minutes waiting for my netball team[23] to show up. We had agreed to meet at 16.00 that afternoon. Around 16.30 the first girl comes, but she tells me that she has to go after approximately 30 minutes because she has to take care of her little sister. A quarter to five we are 3 players ready to start, but we are not a full team before a quarter past. While I was waiting, a myriad of young boys have formed up five-a-side football teams in every empty spot of the ground. Some boys are also just simply playing around and chasing each other. The young players usually play with a handmade plastic ball made of 15-20 torn plastic bags nicely knitted and tied together.

The sun is about to set over the hard and rough sports ground, made of sand and mud mixed in close cooperation. Cars are busy passing us on the ground while we are playing, and we had to stop at least a couple of times to let cars pass us. Even if the main road is only 50m metres away, cars seem to drive through the sports ground because it is a "shortcut". The first young boys who came to the ground have moved to the sideline as eager spectators. The big guys play a friendly football match. The old ones usually turn out the young. A few young girls are running around and watching us big girls play. The "Majorettes"[24] meet and train only once in a while, not every day. I asked a young girl in a local school uniform what she did at school today: "We had

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[23] I played with a netball team in one of the community's in Lusaka, Zambia, both when I was as a sports volunteer and when I came back to do my research.

[24] The Majorettes march/dance with a stick, usually in front of a music corps.

Maths and English, and I was a cheerleader while the boys in another class were playing football". Back to my team: We have played for 45 minutes only and the girls start to go home after today's trainings session. Most of them rush back home. They need to cook supper for their families. The small girls who were watching us started escorting each other back home a long time ago. All of them went back home without participating in any organized sport activity on the ground that day.

It's early, EARLY, in the morning. The sun is about to rise above the horizon and I am taking a few morning stretches in my tent while am trying to get used to the bright light. "Good morning, Linda!" The facilitator for today's workshop is already up with her 6 months year old baby hanging in a chitenge[25] on her back while she is doing her morning routines. The participants show up one by one. The men came ambling first. They agreed yesterday that they should meet as early as possible. The time is around 10 and the participants are set to start learning about the rules and measurements of netball and football. After the first presentation they all start discussing how to introduce the sport disciplines in each and every village. The heat is about to kill me. One female participant told me she wanted to become a coach one day and that *that* was why she wanted to take part in this workshop. "Its difficult for girls" – the facilitator interpret what one of the female participants says from pure Tonga [26] to understandable English. "Lack of balls, goalposts and jerseys. Big problem! Sometimes we face difficulties with parents who do not want their girl child to take part in netball with us". They all go home in good time before sunset. It is more dangerous and not to forget more difficult to walk in the dark, and some of the participants have to walk and/or cycle quite a distance to get home.

The two described situations is not an attempt to give the reader a negative first impression, but rather an attempt to express and describe what I observed and experienced, seen through *my* eyes as a researcher, as background information to understanding the results.

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[25] A quite big piece of colourful fabric African women use for almost everything; as a skirt or to tight their babies on to their back.
[26] Tonga is one of the indigenous languages in Zambia, widely spoken in the Southern Region/Province.

5.2. Socio-cultural barriers in sport

Barriers regarding the body itself will be discussed first, and then I will touch and discuss the cultural and traditional expectations of a girl/woman and how that might hinder them from participating in sports.

5.2.1.   "Her body looks like she is a, a man!"

A gender-based barrier that might hinder girls and women from taking part in sport is the body itself. African women are often blessed with powerful thighs, big bums and thin waists, though different body types will occur. The ideal body of a Black African woman might differ from the ideal body seen from a White woman's perspective. A study from South Africa (Mciza, 2006) showed that when participants were asked to choose their ideal body type from a range of different body types, black women tended to prefer bigger body sizes, while white women preferred thinner, leaner bodies. According to Walter & Du Randt (2011: 150) overweight and obesity is a very complex issue in black, African women, with deep socio-cultural connotations. Findings from this study, however, showed that being "on the middle" is the ideal body size, with all participants expect from one (!) expressing that being medium size is the ideal. It is important to keep in mind that the participants are all involved in sport and that their quotes represent the "sporting point of view". Having a medium sized body was in most interviews equalled to being healthy. In other words: if you are medium sized you are being taken good care of and you eat and sleep well.

> *When you look too abnormal, you might be sick or something is wrong with you.*
> *Again when you are too tiny, you look as if your father is poor or something*
> *(Sara).*

Data showed that both teammates and people from the community question the body size if a female player is too skinny or if she is overweight, and that such questions never will be raised if she is medium size. There seems to be certain stereotypes about skinny and overweight girls and women involved in sport activities. Melita explains how teammates will judge and think about girls and women who do not fit in the stereotypical image of an ideal body:

> *They will start like sizing. This one is thin, I cannot, she cannot be my opponent*
> *to mark with. She is very thin. People will just make pictures and wrong*

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impressions on you when you are very slim. And also when you are very fat, and those who have HIV/Aids they are on ARV`s[27], they will just start noting: "Maybe she is on ARVs, that's why she is too fat"

To be medium size, and more importantly, to be medium size and therefore *look healthy* is believed to be the most important aspect for the participants when discussing the body and ideal body size. The body size might therefore create a barrier for women who do not fit within the existing, "accepted" body size (medium) to fully involve in sports. Deviations from stereotypes might be labelled as poor or they might be accused of being HIV-positive. According to the Millennium Development Goal [MDG] Report from Zambia (2013b): the current HIV prevalence is 14,3 % in Zambia, with more women being infected (16 %), than men (12 %). This might be the reason why teammates and other community members are questioning overweight females in sport about their HIV-status, because the rate of infected is higher among women than men. Black women in a study from South Africa, however, reported a serious implication with regard to weight loss through exercise and its association to HIV/Aids (Walter & Du Randt, 2011). The findings might indicate that there is a stigma and a connection between body size, the association to HIV/Aids and physical activity in African countries. In South Africa the black women would rather avoid taking part in physical activity to avoid being accused of being HIV-positive due to possible weight loss (Walter & Du Randt, 2011). In Zambia the body size is therefore believed to be a barrier for skinny, but also overweight women because they can easily get accused of being HIV-positive and/or on ARV medication.

The results also indicate that cultural notions and definitions of femininity and masculinity create gender-based barriers for girls and women in sport. According to Meier (2005: 15) the alliance between femininity and sport is still considered incompatible in most cultures (including so-called developing countries). Taking part in sport may therefore in certain areas and families not be accepted as a feminine activity, due to cultural embedded expectations and traditions within society. Other reasons might be the results of physical activity: undesirable weight loss and a more muscular and toned body. When the interviewees were given a picture of the Zambian boxer

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[27] ARV means Anti Retroviral Virus and is an anti-HIV medication to slow down the progression of the disease.

Esther Phiri[28] in action in the ring, with all her power, strength and defined muscles showing, all participants expressed that she had a masculine, tough look and that she looks "male-ish", as Bessie states:

> *Bessie: Ah, she has got muscles all over. Here she looks more like a guy, not a girl.*

> *Interviewer: Does she have the ideal body here in Zambia?*

> *Bessie: Here in Zambia I would say no.*

> *Interviewer: Why?*

> *Bessie: Because of the, the muscles. She looks huge. Like a, like a man. She's got all these muscles coming out, the chest, the belly. She doesn't have that big stomach that women in Zambia usually have.*

This statement, among others, also understate that "medium size" is not necessary the ideal, desirable body for women who are not involved in sport, but most likely believed to be an advantage if you are involved in sports. Associations with weight loss was identified as one of the major socio-cultural barriers in South Africa, not only because of its association to HIV/Aids, but also because elderly family members often discouraged physically active women, stating that; "African women are not skinny" and "Black girls are supposed to be nice and heavy" (Walter & Du Randt, 2011: 149).

Grace brought up another interesting aspect regarding body size and its connection to *marriage*:

> *As the body of Esther is like…her body looks like she is a, a man! She becomes like a man because of the training. And men, no, they don't want this, and she can't get married. The men will be afraid that she will…she will beat them! They don't like a challenge.*

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[28] Esther Phiri is a boxer and one of the most famous female athletes from Zambia. Esther's background is fascinating: she had to quit school after 6th Grade, got pregnant at the age of 16 and had to sell vegetables at one of the markets to earn a living for herself and her daughter.

Girls and women involved in sport do therefore challenge stereotypes about the female and male body, but at the same time they face barriers with the expectations about women's body size in the society. A socio-cultural barrier that might keep girls and women out of sports, because they would not risk their femininity and ending up unmarried. Sport is traditionally associated with values of "masculinity" and women who are involved in sport may be perceived as masculine (Sancar & Sever, 2005: 50). Girls and women might therefore risk to "loosing" their femininity if they develop masculine stereotypical characteristics, such as a toned and muscular body through physical activity. Meier (2005: 16) has identified three major obstacles where women are challenging and transforming well-protected gender norms (which have traditionally been linked to masculinity and men in sport): Women participating in team-sports (dealing with aggressiveness), visible muscles (linked to "unsightly" muscles and reproductive health) and "pain and blood" (not accepted female attributes). Stereotypes of the ideal, female body is therefore a gender-based barrier that may restrict many girls and women from taking part in sport and girls and women who are already involved in sport due to associations to poverty, HIV/Aids and the fear of developing masculine characteristics.

5.2.2. Girls and women's traditional role

Stereotypes about ideal body size and femininity and masculinity discussed above might stem from the gender roles in the family. The results indicate that the two sexes, girls/women and boys/men, have different expectations and roles in the family. Girls and women are in general expected to do all or most of the *"girl duties"* (Thandiwe) in the house. The interviewees expressed that the "girl duties" include most of the domestic work, such as sweeping the house and the surroundings, cook food (if there is any food in the house) for the family/husband and the kids, take care of babies and children (babysit and/or escort them to/from school), do the laundry, draw water, wash plates after meals and go to the market to buy groceries. In short: girls and women are responsible for most of the tasks at home as well as being a carer. Huggins & Randell (2007) argue that the heavy burden of household chores and responsibilities imposed on girls and women in Africa may limit the time and prevent many girls and women from joining sports. The burden of house chores and especially the uneven division of domestic labour was reported to be a great challenge for both young girls and women.

So when you are born, like 3 in your family, one girl and two boys, you are all doing sports. They (parents) will say; No, because you are a girl, you have to remain here, you have to do all the things at home. Because these, they are guys, they don't have to do anything! That's what they believe in, here in Zambia. They believe that guys shouldn't be doing the housework's (Myembe).

A study from Zimbabwe showed similar results: girls are assigned most of the house chores, while boys have little/nothing to do, and as a result boys have a lot of time for outdoor activities as compared to girls (Manyonganise, 2010). Results indicate that the participants felt that the uneven division of labour hinders girls and women from going to the ground more than boys and men. Girls and women seem to have limited spare time due to cultural expectations of them finishing their "girl duties" before they can do anything else, which again affects the time they have available for sports activities. The African heat and their responsibilities at home might also put restrictions on girls' participation in sport. Early in the morning (05hrs-08hrs) and late afternoons/early evening (16hrs-19hrs), when it is less hot and natural sunlight (many grounds in Zambia do not have any lightening) would have been perfect for sport activities. In the morning, however, girls and women are often busy preparing breakfast and clothes (ironing etc.) for other family members and in the afternoon they are often preparing supper, which is normally served at 19:00. Boys and men, on the other side, have leisure time after they come home from school or work (usually 17:00, depending on the grade or job) to go to the ground and take part in sport and leisure activities. The domestic chores and its timetable might therefore hinder many girls and women from taking part in sport.

Results also indicate that parents/guardians expect their girl child and unmarried, young women to do all/most of the house chores as a learning process to become a good wife in the future.

We normally say that women are supposed to go and start doing house chores. Not go to the ground. They normally consider that every time, that a woman should be at home, working. Then a boy, a boy child, should go and play around. Say that a girl child, when they tell a girl child to start doing some house chores: you are training that girl child to do what she is going to do if she gets married. That's what she is going to be doing. When she goes to the ground, she is not practising the house chores, and she won't be doing sport things at home, with and for the husband (Melita).

Also Christine gives an example of how parents may discourage their daughter(s) from getting involved in sport. The quote indicates that older daughters that have reached a certain age might face more challenges to involvement in sport, due to expectation of her getting married soon.

> *"Now you are getting old, you don't have to continue (with sports). You are just wasting time; you have to know your duties. Maybe you get married, you fail how to, you, you fail how to take care of your husband and your children, because of this sports that you are doing".*

Participants indicated that some parents also believe that sport may disturb their daughter's education and their chance to pass important exams. Especially when a girl child is in school examination classes, which include grade 7, 9 and 12. Girls experience that parents/guardians put extra restrictions on their sport participation during these school years, because they believe they should be studying instead of going for sport activities. Myembe had to stop playing for her team for two years when she was in grade 7 and 9, because her parents restricted her from participating in sports. She explains how a parent might hinder a good player from participating in sport if she does not get good results in school:

> *When it comes to education, some of them (female participants) they don't do well at school, but they are good in sports. So some parents they might start saying: "No because you don't do good at school, maybe it's because of that sport that you are doing?" So at the end of the day, that coach ends up loosing that good player, because of their parents. And good players end up stop playing football, because of their parents.*

According to the MDG Report (2013b) Zambia has reached gender parity in primary school enrolment, but in secondary and tertiary education girls/women still have lower representation than boys/men. This is often linked to the fact that most girls are being socialized to become housewives, which includes more domestic responsibilities (MDG Report, 2013b). It is therefore believed that there are deeply rooted socio-cultural traditions and expectations of a girl (and woman) to learn and act as a "proper" housewife, which also permeates and control Zambian girls and women's leisure time, as well as their access to education and/or physical activity.

One of the sport coordinators (Susan) expressed that girls and women in sport are more accepted and common now than when she started up with sport activities in her

community a decade ago. Even if female participation is more accepted, there are still parents who are restrictive and the coordinators have to find alternative ways to convince the parents to let their girls take part in sport.

> *We also have what we call "parents forum": Like we go out in the communities, meet their parents and try do explain to them, because you know sometimes, even now, there are certain parents that would say: "My girl child, no sport! I don't want her to play sport", because they feel like, they have the negative feeling about sports. They think if their children are involved in sports, then they cannot do well in school (...)*

Similar challenges were also encountered in Kenya, when Mathare Youth Sport Association [MYSA] started up football activities for girls some years back. To gain support within the community, and particularly from parents, MYSA staff and members went to individuals' homes and talked to the parents to get them involved in the project (Sancar & Sever, 2005). Parents lacking the knowledge of benefits of sport participation, was one of the barriers for girls and women found in Mount Frere in South Africa, and the coaches often had to explain to the parents what was happening at the ground, for the parents to allow their daughters to participate in sports (Andreassen, 2012).

The results indicate that as soon as a girl/woman gets married, the husband is one of the main barriers for her sport involvement. When a woman is married she is expected to be a mother and a housewife, fulfilling all the house chores that she learnt while she was growing up. House chores and domestic responsibilities leave little personal spare time for sport involvement for girls and women, particularly married women. Susan expresses that some girls and women have to withdraw from sport programs when they get married, especially if their husband has never been involved in sport himself:

> *Even the girls who are participating in our programs, sometimes if they get married, its so difficult, like for the husbands. Especially if they (husbands) have not been involved in sports. It's difficult for them (husbands) to allow them (the wife) to continue participating in sport.*

The results may indicate that some husbands, as parents and guardians, lack knowledge of the many benefits from taking part in sports. Some men might restrict their wife from all sport participation and involvement, while others might expect her to finish all the

house chores when she comes back from training. The latter leaves little understanding for tiredness. Melita explains:

> *Those who are married, they are all sport members, participants, and they are all from playing and they are tired. Then the time has come for the house chores, its just, the man will sit waiting for the woman to do all the job.*

Sara explains that some women even tend to stay at home instead of going for training, because their husbands do not understand that she gets tired from the sport activities.

> *If you come back home late for training, some, those who are married, the men will not spare them. They have come late and they will have to cook late for the husband. So the men will not understand that they have walked a long distance and that they are tired. So it has been a challenge, so instead of going out and play, they (women) will just stay (at home), because of the responsibilities at home (Sara).*

Several participants also brought up the issue of jealousy and suspicions among husbands if the wife goes to the ground for sport activities. Jennifer expressed that she receives very little support and encouragement from her husband, mostly because he is suspicious about what she is actually doing at the ground. Susan expressed that some men are jealous, and that they think their wife will find another man on the ground:

> *(…) They might be jealous of their wives. "Ok, maybe if my wife goes to sport, she might meet some other guy?" (...) But some of them, they just don't want their wife to be involved in any other activities. They just want them to, because they (the man) married the girl, they want them (the wife) to be their housewives. They want them to be staying in the house, do the house chores: cook for them, wash for them.*

According to Manyonganise (2010) some women are accused of seeking other men's attention when going for sport, and married men do feel that their wives or daughters are more protected from other men (abuse) when they stay at home. Coming back from the ground after dark, cooking late and not protecting the family and the family's reputation (because other people in the community and your husband (!) might think you have a relationship with another man) was reported as reasons why some husbands do not allow and/or encourage their wives participation in sport.

As I have observed the situation in Zambia over the past three to four years, traditional gender roles are slightly changing, as more and more women (especially women living

in urban areas) take up higher education and get a job with a regular income. This might be an indicator of increased personal freedom for women in (urban) Zambia. However, the majority of women are still in the agriculture sector (NORAD, 2013: 15), while men are still traditionally expected and seen as income-generators. These traditional gender roles allocate limited space and time for leisure activities (e.g. sports involvement) for women. According to Sancar & Sever (2005: 50) the practice of sport is related to a number of assumptions about "work" and "leisure": Women's reproductive activities are generally not socially and economically considered as work, while productive activities, often performed by men, outside the home are recognized as work and therefore give them the right to have time off for leisure activities. Findings from the study do indicate that men often have the superior position in the house, due to financial power (and therefore freedom), which again may restrict women's *social* freedom and choice of activities. Men can easily restrict their daughters or wives ability to move out of the house, put restrictions on leisure opportunities and time and especially whom they socialize with because men have the financial power.

The results indicate that it all might narrow down to stereotypical gender roles and the gender schemas of unwritten norms and expectations of girls and women in the Zambian society. According to Elendu & Orunaboka (2011: 59) gender stereotypes are socio-cultural expectations and fixed ideas that people have about men and women in a given society. The gender stereotypes in Zambia are in other words expectations and ideas about how girls and women should behave and undertake their traditional, cultural role. It might not only be men who restrict women from getting involved in sport, but even beliefs among girls and women themselves. Jennifer expressed that she receives little encouragement from her husband, but that she still continues to play netball. Taken into consideration her background living in a rural, traditional village set-up, this might be an indicator that Zambian women actually are able to make independent, personal decisions and take part in sport if *they want to* themselves. The cultural and traditional gender roles might be more complicated and deeply rooted than that. According to Manyonganise (2010: 16) the patriarchal structure of the Zimbabwean society is fostering gender stereotyping, where the patriarchy itself is and has always been associated with a hierarchy where men are considered more important than their female counterparts. The patriarchal structure, which fosters gender stereotypes in the Zimbabwean society, might also be consistent in other Southern African countries and

neighbouring countries, such as Zambia. The Zambian National Gender Policy (GIDD, 2000) describes how girls and boys are assigned different traditional roles in society: girls are often socialized to become wives and mothers who are generally submissive, while boys are assigned highly valued decision-making roles. The traditional gender roles and the gender stereotyping where men are considered more important as decision-makers put men in favourable position in society in general and in sport in particular. Bessie expresses about what she refers to as a stereotype that was common, and still lingers in her community in Lusaka:

> *Bessie: Ahm, there is a stereotype, that we are branding, which is saying: "Men are always good!" Despite what happens, men will always be good in sports. That is a stereotype. And ah, for women you say: "Women in sport…" it's just now that it has become common. Sometime back they will say, like: "If a girl can play football!" They will be surprised. Coz they think, they used to think that football, even now (!), I think people have got the mind set, they say, "football is just for boys!"*

> *Interviewer: Tell me a little bit more about that?*

> *Bessie: Ok, it's not really something really common, for a girl to do sport. It has become common NOW. Sometime back, when a girl tells you that she wants to go and play football, it will be more like a weird thing, like: "What? You? How?"*

Stereotypes about traditional gender roles in Zambia seem to be deep-rooted attitudes and expectations that have been (re) produced over generations. Girls and women are constantly reminded about the ruling stereotype(s) when they are restricted and hindered from participating in sport and physical activity. Even if female sport participation is more common nowadays (according to Bessie) traditional gender roles and expectations, where responsibilities to home and family are central (Walter & Du Randt, 2011), all create great gender-based barriers for girls and women in sport.

5.3. Socio-economical barriers in sport

According to the report "Getting Back to the Basics" (NORAD, 2013: 14) 64 % of the Zambian population is living in poverty (under the $1.25 pr. day poverty line). Poverty is a great challenge for the country and it is believed to affect most aspects and levels of Zambians social life. Though Zambia has experienced a continuing growth in recent years (ranked by the World Bank as a middle-income country), the majority of

Zambians are still living in rural areas engaged in agricultural activities (NORAD, 2013). Poverty is pervasive and might affect all levels of society, including access to leisure time and sport activities. Bessie states:

> *The economy is not doing that good, its not stable (…) and it turns out to affect sports activity in a way that most people have to look for money instead of going to coach or instead of going for training. So everyone will be busy looking for money, instead of going to do what they desire the most (sport activities).*

Basic needs like shelter, food and clean water is first priority for all human beings, and it is not before these needs are fulfilled that we can involve and engage ourselves in leisure activities, such as sport. According to the results, girls and women from extremely poor families are often more restricted from getting involved in sport, due to their economical situation. Child-headed or extremely poor families are often depending on their children's help in the house (house chores and babysitting when parents/guardians are looking for piece jobs) or as street vendors selling vegetables, charcoal, monkoyo[29] etc. to make a living. The poor economical situation sometimes force parents or guardians to use child labour to make ends meet, which means to afford to pay the rentals and/or to have food on the table. Sara, a coach from a compound in Southern Province, faces challenges with kids' attendance during training sessions due to poverty:

> *When the children, maybe sometimes, they are from a very, very poor home, whereby it is a child-headed family. So that parent expect maybe the child to go out and sell those vegetables in the field, and then bring money for the family. (…) So it becomes a challenge, and the participation is low, only a few maybe will attend.*

The Convention on the Rights of the Child, article 31 (United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF], n.d.), states that: "Children have the right to relax and play, and to join in a wide range of cultural, artistic and other recreational activities". Many children would, according to the results, be "forced" to prioritize basic needs before taking any time off for leisure or recreational activities, such as sport. The Convention of Rights also states that children have the right to have an adequate standard of living and that the government should protect the child from labour that might harm their health or their

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[29] Traditional drink in Zambia - made of roots. Also often referred to as "sweet beer".

education (UNICEF, n.d.). Zambian families living in (extreme) poverty might not have a choice rather than to use child labour to simply survive, which is a great violation to the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

As part of the interview I challenged all participants and presented a case where they had to choose between their sport appointment and some fast and easy cash from a piece job (if the participant was broke). I wanted them to discuss and take a position in the case, and quite interestingly the results came out 50/50. Myembe says that she could not afford transport to the training anyway so she will go for the piece job, Marion wants to squeeze the two activities, while others do not want to let teammates down and would have chosen the appointment with their team. Coach Melita believes that choosing and going for sport will be beneficial in a long-term perspective, because what she is implementing on the field is for life.

> *That money I am going to have from that person (for the piece job), it's not*
> *for life. But the things that, the things I am going to implement in the field*
> *with the children, it's for life.*

Melita believes that the money she would be given for the piece job would not last for long compared to impact of the activities she is conducting on the sports ground. She believes that the activities on the ground will last longer and that both she and the children will benefit more than if she goes for the piece job and the money. The result from the case therefore showed that the participants are different in how they prioritize their economy versus their sport involvement. The interesting part is that it did not matter if they where from a poor or rich background, urban or rural areas, Lusaka or Southern Province, they were all mixed in their responses. This might indicate that personal income from a piece job is not really affected by their socio-economic background, but rather their personal interest in sport. In the end of the day, however, there is no such question or case, because you have to make a living to survive.

The economic situation in the country was indicated to be major barriers for everyone involved in sports, including leaders, coaches and players, but the participants from Southern Province expressed their everyday battle against poverty and hunger at home more than the participants from Lusaka Province. Actually none of the participants from Lusaka Province mentioned any challenges with little money for food and lack of

money to cover for basic needs, which can affect your energy level in sport activities. Coach Grace from Southern Province explains:

> *Here in Zambia not all manage to feed their children. So the economy here in Zambia is really hard. (...) It can affect the sport participation, yes, because some they didn't have anything (food) at home. So they will say: "I have to go, we are suffering from hunger at home!" And the number will be reduced.*

It is important to mention that the participants from the Southern Province all reside in deep, rural villages or compounds, where many made a living of agriculture activities to supply their families. When conducting the interviews I observed the differences in living conditions and lifestyle in between the two provinces; where the girls/women from the Southern Province had far less than the girls/women from town (Lusaka Province) in terms of personal resources. This was visible through the houses/venues were we conducted the interviews and clothing and personal resources (e.g. the brand and the technology of their mobile phones). For example were all the girls from the village wearing a chitenge and had simple hair braids, while most of the participants from the towns (Lusaka or Livingstone) wore nicer, non-torn clothing and had braided hair, sometimes even with hair extensions. Even if personal interest for sport seems to be quite important for female participation in sport (results from the case), poverty, hunger and lack of recourses also create a great challenge for female participation and involvement in sport.

Girls and women's personal economy is often depending on fathers/ husbands or the family's total income/economy, if they do not have any job themselves. Interviewees expressed that it is sometimes hard to argue and justify their involvement in sport, because the sport involvement is often voluntary and it does not bring anything back to the house, in terms of money and financial security. For instance it is hard to justify that you want to repair the goalpost with the money for the household when your own kids are hungry at home:

> *Sometimes it's a challenge to the woman, sometimes even the man, when you maybe, you want to go out (for sports), you definitely, they (the family) will need food and water. So the last money in the house, that's the money to buy*

> *maybe relish[30] or food or mealie meal[31]. So when you have to use that
> money, to use it to go for that sports activity, there is hunger at home (Sara).*

According to Manyonganise (2010: 23) Zimbabwe face a number of national challenges (such as high levels of poverty) and the impact of these challenges have greater impact on women than men, because the former have limited access to the means of economy. Due to most women's personal financial situation in Southern Africa, it is believed that it is easier for men to argue and justify their sport participation because they have more access to the means of economy than women. Men may therefore have more personal freedom to choose what they want to do when they are off work. A woman's traditional role, on the other side, might make women dependant on the income-generator(s) in the family, both in terms of means to daily survival, but also in terms of less individual choice and opinions. Due to their financial dependent gender role, women might not be in a position to justify their leisure time and involvement in sports, as compared to their male counterpart.

The general socio-economical situation for many Zambians, fighting for every kwacha[32] for the house, is a great barrier for female sport involvement and participation. According to the Central Statistical Office (2012), the top 10 % of Zambians share more than half of the total national income, while the bottom 60 % share less than 14 % of the total income. Poverty is therefore a major challenge nationwide in Zambia, effecting both males and females. Female-headed households, however, were reported to constitute a higher percentage (60,4 %), than male-headed households (57,1 %) living in extreme poverty (Central Statistical Office, 2012). Either way, girls and women lack financial recourses to have the chance to take part in sport due to lack of a regular income and the socio-cultural role they have been assigned at home. Further discussions will focus on the lack of recourses available for girls and women, but first challenges regarding distances and the issue of transport.

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[30] Relish is any food Zambians eat together with shim. It can be beans, vegetables, chicken, fish, etc.

[31] Nshima, the maize porridge, is made out of mealie meal of maize and is the staple food in Zambia.

[32] Zambian Kwacha (ZKW) is Zambia's national currency.

5.3.1.   Transportation

Due to few female athletes/teams, scattered population and long distances it is often necessary for female athletes to travel to the training field or the competition venue when competing against other athletes or other teams, which again requires transport and/or money for transport. In the villages, where vehicles and trucks are few and distances between the villages are long, female participants often have to pay someone with a car to take them to the playing field. Sara, a netball and football player from Southern Province expressed that women often face more challenges than their male counterpart when it comes to transport. Women often have to carry their babies/children when they go for sport, and it was indicated that it is easier for men to walk long distances, to get a piece job to pay for transport and/or use their own personal income for transport.

> *Men, maybe they will walk, or maybe they can have some piece of works and they find money. Maybe they pay for transport. But for us (women), we are mothers; we have to carry our children. So we cant walk long distances. So we have a challenge and no sponsorship in terms of that (Sara).*

Transportation due to long distances between towns was also found to be a common problem and a barrier for female sport participation in Mount Frere, South Africa (Andreassen, 2012). Maria a girl from Lusaka, the only disabled girl I interviewed, expressed that long distances to proper facilities for disabled and lack of transport (money) was the main barrier for her and for all disabled people involved in sport in general. Walking to the sport venue requires too much effort for her, so she has no energy left for the training session or the game when she reaches the venue. She explains that sometimes she tends to stay home if she is tired:

> *The ground, its very far from our home, sometimes I feel tired and I tend to stay at home (…) Since I am disabled, its not healthy for me to walk a long distance. That's why I stay home sometimes.*

Lack of vacant areas for play and recreational activities was found to be a major barrier for sport participation in Zambia and an increasing challenge in towns due to urbanization (Lindsey & Grattan, 2012), which may require transport to and from the sport venue. Lack of sporting venues is a threat for anyone to get involved and participate in physical activities, but especially for girls and women because they have less availability and access to available venues. This will be further discussed in the

next sub-heading.

5.3.2. Lack of resources for sport activities

Lack of safe and secured facilities and venues, equipment allocated for females only and decent, proper sports attire for girls and women in sport in Zambia are all socio-economical barriers in sport. Results indicate that men often have first priority: to resources, such as facilities and equipment, but also first priority to sponsorship, available funds and financial support. Several interviewees indicated that men have first priority and access to sporting venues and that there is a "first come, first serve (save)" in the grounds:

> *(...) It's a "first come, first save", girls, they don't have a lot of, if they find that the big boys are already at the playing field, they will go back minus training (Susan).*

Results indicates that girls and women are not allowed to play if boys or older men are already playing, because they (male participants) believe they have the first priority to the ground. Even if they have allocated specific times for different teams/athletes in the venue, boys and men often get more time than girls and women. The interviewees had also experienced male teams/athletes delaying their allocated time for training/games because of "Zambian Time" and they (girls/women) often have to go home without training. Myembe, a national player in her sport discipline, often feels rejected and discouraged by her own national sport federation, because the federation itself focuses first and foremost on men, and the male national team.

> *We are lacking a lot of support, like some grounds, they usually say that these grounds are not for girls, but for guys, something like that. And we (the girls/women's national team) sometimes stay without training,*

Lack of proper facilities allocated for girls and women only, at all levels and in different sport disciplines seems to be a rejecting factor for girls and women involvement in sport. Due to urbanization and building of new structures, open areas where people use to go for local sport activities are now being transformed into plots for people to build new houses. According to a study from Zambia (Lindsey & Grattan, 2012: 106), two communities had been in a constant battle to stop the building of new homes and other constructions in Lusaka. With Zambia as one of the fastest growing populations in Sub-Saharan Africa (MDG Report, 2013b) the increasing population do require more homes

and further on a proper, professional city plan, for open and vacant areas to be secured to create access for girls and women in sport. By creating more sporting facilities you would hopefully also create more space for girls and women to get access to sport, as men often have first priority to the existing grounds.

The equipment is another challenging factor. Jennifer, a girl from a village in Southern Province, explained that her netball team has to borrow the football from the men's team when the men do not train themselves. Coach Sara, says the limited number of balls hinder most females to develop their skills, because the eldest boys and men always have the equipment and play first, no matter if they (boys/men) come later to the ground than the girls/women. The "first come, first serve" mentality may be changed to something like "if men come to the ground, men serve the ground", both for the sporting facilities and the equipment available.

> *If the guys have all the equipment, the guys go first, and then the females*
> *last (Thandiwe).*

According to a UN report (2007: 17) resources is often less or of lower standard than those provided to boys and men, and when resources, such as equipment or playing fields are shared, male teams are often given priority. Lack of proper and allocated facilities and equipment is indicated to be a great gender-based barrier for girls and women in sport, and especially the youngest girls. The older female players may sometimes be able to "knock out" younger boys because of their age and traditional respect Zambians have for elders. The issue here might be the lack of enough sporting facilities and equipment secured for women only. The lack of adequate facilities might also constrain girls and women from sport because of the high risk of getting injured (will be discussed further in the next chapter) and the fact that women do not have any allocated time at the facilities if male athletes/teams have a training session or a match.

Proper and decent sports attire has been indicated to be a gender-based barrier for girls and women involved in sports. According to the traditional female dress code, women are expected to cover up certain body parts, such as their thighs and bum. Some of the girls/women interviewed, especially those situated in rural areas, raised concerns about the sports attire. Especially married women face challenges, because sports attire is not accepted in public.

> *You have to put on sports attire. So as a married woman they don't allow (...) so if I have a father in law, so I have to, I have to make sure I don't show anything. Because of my husband. If maybe I fall and something is seen, and then they start: "Is that your woman or what? Maybe Mrs Bwalya has done this at the sport ground today, maybe she is a prostitute?" That's the message. (Christine)*

Results indicate that the general lifestyle in the villages and in rural setups are more traditional and conservative than in towns and urbanized areas, probably due to more exposure of the Western culture in towns. Accepted sporting attire might be different in urban and rural areas, but also different between men and women. Melita, who stays in a compound in Southern Province, explains about the different dressing codes and accepted attire for men and women who are participating in sports:

> *(...) Sometimes they will see a man putting on a short, running, playing around. They wont say anything, they will just keep on supporting. They won`t even criticise that person. Because of being a male he can put on something very short, when he is doing sports, but a girl child cannot put on something very short. Where there are a lot of people.*

"Play Soccer", a NGO in Zambia, recognized the challenge of torn and ragged cloth for female participants, provided proper shorts and enabled the girls to move from spectators to active players (Meier, 2005). Their program proved that the lack of proper attire was a barrier for female sport participation in football, meaning that the lack of proper and decent attire for girls and women to play with might keep them out of sport in Zambia. But again, the socio-economical foundation and lack of sponsorship hinder girls and women from buying a proper kit. Sports attire is therefore indicated to be a bigger gender-based barrier for women involved in sport than men, and also a preventive barrier for girls and women who want to take part in sport, because many girls and women can't afford proper sports attire. Results may indicate that more girls and women could participate and involve themselves in sport if there were sponsors to cover expenses related to sport attire, facilities and equipment secured for girls and women only.

5.4. Summary

This chapter started by describing some of my experiences from my research in Zambia, which may have given you a picture of the lifestyle, as well as some of the barriers girls and women face in sports. The findings showed that some of the gender-based socio-

cultural barriers were associated to the ideal body size and the association to HIV/Aids. Women involved in sport may challenge stereotypical characteristics about masculinity and femininity and results indicate that girls and women (especially outside of sports) are worried that they would develop certain masculine characteristics (such as defined muscles and strong physical capacity). According to Sancar & Sever (2005: 50) public exhibition of women's bodies is inappropriate in some societies, because women show self-confidence and self-esteem. Self-confidence and self-esteem may lead to an increased personal freedom for girls and women, which again may challenge the male dominance in sport – and the gender roles in life in general in Zambia. Other factors that might restrict female involvement in sport are the heavy household burdens assigned for girls and women. Parents and husbands were emphasizing on the house chores, due to various traditional expectations and gender roles in the Zambian society. These findings are comparable with other studies and reports on women's sport participation in Southern Africa (Meier & Saavedra, 2009; Manyonganise, 2010; Walter & Du Randt, 2011).

Findings also indicated that girls and women face gender-based barriers due to their personal (dependent) socio-economical situation. Lack of transport (money) or the time and opportunity to work for transport money, as well as lack of proper, adequate facilities and equipment hinder female involvement in sport. Traditional Zambian dress codes for girls and (married) women seem to restrict many girls and women from participating in sport, due to lack of personal resources, funds or sponsorship to buy a proper sports attire. According to Meier (2005) socio-economic issues is one of the major barriers for girls and women to get involved in sport programs in developing countries, because women's domestic work is not considered "proper work", and women are therefore not in a position to deserve leisure time.

Stereotypes and specific gender roles expressing that "a woman's place is at home", taking care of the house chores is still common in Zambia. In the most traditional set-ups, such as in the villages and in many compounds, results indicate that traditional gender roles are still persistent. Attitudes and expectations of a girl or woman fulfilling a certain traditional gender role, leave little spare time for leisure activities, which privilege men and disadvantage women and result in inequalities between male and female involvement in sport in Zambia. Men being the traditional income-generator for

the family in a country where poverty is a national challenge, put many women in an unequal economical position compared to men. To get money for a new ball or sports attire has to be discussed with and often approved by the parents/husbands, which again hinder girls and women to involve themselves in sport. Access to facilities and equipment also seem to have put boys and men in a favourable position; and traditional gender-roles in sport are proved to still be alive, leaving girls and women on the side-line as spectators waiting for the guys to finish their sporting activities. To sum-up, results from this study has showed that socio-cultural and socio-economical barriers keep girls and women away from taking part in sport and discourage and hinder the ones already involved, because females do not have the same access to facilities and equipment as their male counterpart.

6. What barriers concerning safety and harassment do girls and women experience in sport?

In this chapter I will present the results from the second research sub-question of this thesis: barriers regarding *safety* in sport. The chapter is divided into two parts: The first part focuses on barriers regarding safety and the risk of getting an injury, the second on gender harassment, sexual harassment and abuse. The analysis showed that some of the socio-cultural and socio-economical barriers discussed in the previous chapter might intersect and therefore also affect girls and women's safety in sport. The link between the barriers will be further discussed in this and the last chapter. First I will start by presenting safety challenges regarding injuries.

6.1. Injuries

A barrier that was often raised indirectly in the interviews was girls and women's fear and the high risk of getting an injury in sport. Poverty, lack of sponsors, as well as high-risk facilities make girls and women involved in sport, and their families, afraid of the consequences if an injury occurs. Grounds with lots of potholes, broken glass and poor surfaces do not set a good standard for participating in sport, and an injury can easily occur. Similar barriers regarding insufficient facilities were also reported to be a major barrier for girls and women in sport in Mount Frere, South Africa (Andreassen 2012). The results from this study indicates that girls and women involved (and females who are not involved in sport) are worried about the economical impact an injury will have for the family`s economy, as much as the cultural impact it may have. Girls and women are afraid of breaking a leg and not being able to pay for proper medical treatment, as Sara states:

> *Sometimes when you have an injury during trainings, or maybe during games, or if there is a tournament, and when you have an injury, there is no money to facilitate for that injury.*

She further explains:

> *Barefooted in a rough ground, they (girls/women) cant! So they see that its not safe to play in those fields and some (girls/women) will just sit at home: "No me today, I will just stay away". So participation is low. And also, when they see that one friend is like, her leg is broken and no one took her to*

the hospital, they will ask: "What if its me tomorrow?" And they will just be denied to participate just like that.

The girls and women interviewed often expressed "women" in general terms, which might indicate both girls and women who are involved and girls and women who are not involved in sport. Girls and women might counter the risk of getting an injury in sport as too high, and their fear of actually getting an injury might be larger than their desire to take part in sports. Findings from the previous chapter regarding socio-cultural barriers might be helpful to understand these challenges, as girls and women are believed and expected to fill a certain role in the house, being carers and doing most of the domestic work. Getting a serious injury that will take long to heal, or an injury that will never heal due to lack of proper medical treatment, might affect women's ability to move up and down and fulfil all the domestic work at home. Results also indicate that there is a difference between men and women when an injury occurs, in terms of expectations of who should take care of the injured player.

> *I have seen situations where a guy breaks his leg, the whole team is more concerned, like "what happened?" Inclusive the coach, the bench will run. "Ah, a girl breaking down? Lets push her, we will find her somewhere!" (...) I remember, a particular young girl, I think she was hit with the ball behind here (neck), she started bleeding, all the coaches were like: "No, let her just lay down, Ill find her!" There he goes, concentrating on the game, leaving her like that, bleeding, vulnerable, nobody taking care of her. You see that, if that were a guy everyone would have moved, checking what happened to him (Bessie).*

Results indicate that the coaches, players and the rest of the community will pay attention to an injured male player, while females are often left alone not only to deal with both the caring responsibility of the injured athlete, but also to make sure that the person get medical treatment. Interviewees expressed that they had to *"deep into their pockets"* (Sara) to find money to help a teammate or one of their own players if they get injured. The socio-cultural and socio-economic situation in Zambia, as discussed in the previous chapter, both seem to affect the issue of injuries in sport. Girls and women are generally seen as submissive (GIDD, 2000) and socialized into a role as carers for the house and the family (Walter & Du Randt, 2011), might also be expected to fulfil their gender role if an injury occurs in sport. Men, who are usually assigned a high-valued decision making role (GIDD, 2000) and often considered more important than their female counterparts (Manyonganise, 2010) might therefore reinforce the existing gender

roles and gender schemas by leaving women alone, expecting women to take care of any injured female player. As girls and women's work is not considered "proper work" (Meier, 2005), girls and women might also face difficulties covering medical expenses related to injuries in sport. The family`s (little) money is often not earned by themselves and it might therefore be hard to justify spending it on medical treatment related to sport injuries, especially if the sport participation is not fully accepted by their families.

6.2. Gender harassment, sexual harassment and abuse

The results indicate that girls and women involved in sport experience harassment, gender harassment, sexual harassment and abuse; non-verbally, verbally and/or physically. The results show that girls and women are commonly laughed at when they are involved in sport, both as participants, coaches and leaders. For instance, girls and women experience wisecracks from the side-line when they play or coach others, they receive negative comments from community members when they are on their way back home and/or families members discourage their own daughters and/or wives. And if that is not enough to restrict girls and women's involvement in sport, some participants expressed that they had experienced (either themselves or of someone from their team/club/school) being sexually harassed and/or abused when they were involved in sports. First I will present results regarding gender harassment in sport.

6.2.1.   Gender Harassment

Being ridiculed and verbally harassed in sport seem to be common for girls and women in Zambia. The interviewees reported being ridiculed and verbally harassed on the ground when playing, on their way back home and/or even at home. Interestingly from both men *and other women*! Results show that fellow players, coaches, family members and/or spectators are the ones who often comment and/or criticize female participants, leaders and coaches in sport. Shona explains that in her village she and her teammates often receive negative comments when they are on their way back home from either a training session or a match:

> *Sometimes even on the way going home. You meet some people who will come up with some other things, which are not good. And just exchanging words and it wont make you happy at least.*

Grace who is a coach for a boy's team, often experience comments from other boys passing the ground while she is coaching her team:

> *Grace: Those boys who pass when you are training. They are just using, they start criticizing me: "There you are, a woman, you cant train children, you are just cheating them"! (...)*

> *Interviewer: Why do you think they say things like that?*

> *Grace: Because I am a woman! They think that I can't, I can't coach football. Football, since I am a woman, I don't know football, I don't know anything, nothing about sports.*

Women coaching young boys seem to be rare, but the coaches reported that their own players fully accept the fact that their coach is female. People outside the team, however, are often negative, and as soon as the players reach a certain age or a certain level of skills, women are not seen as adequate or skilled enough to coach (teenage) boys/men. While Grace usually experience people passing comments directly to her, Melita experience more often that people are talking behind her back. She explained that other boys and men often talk to and/or comment towards her players while they pass the ground: *"Can you follow a girl? Can you follow a woman? Go back and find something to do, than following that one" (Melita).* Data might therefore indicate that girls and women lack support to take up positions as coaches and/or leadership positions in sport due to the fact that men doubt their skills to coach, lead and officiate others, especially players or athletes of the opposite sex. And since men are usually assigned high-valued decision making roles (GIDD, 2000) it might be difficult for women to access these positions. Especially women who are involved in football, reported that men often doubt their knowledge and skills to teach and officiate this particular sporting code:

> *Also as a participant, you want to learn the rules, maybe of the game. And you say: "Ok, maybe today, I want to officiate this game as a woman, this game for the boys". And then, maybe they (men) will give you a chance, but they won't. You haven't even finished officiating the game, they will start laughing, harassing you: "You don't even know!" or "How can you say it a foul, when it's not foul? You don't even know where the penalty area is!" (...) And there comes a story, wherever you meet, they will tell you again. They will tell you something over what you did (Sara).*

According to Fasting et al. (2004: 42) football is in many countries considered the national sport and therefore a very important arena for the production and reproduction of masculinity. Men passing the ground and/or male coaches might feel challenged by girls and women's involvement in sport (and in football in particular), and they might want to defend the existing gender roles and their superior position by harassing women who try to coach or lead sport activities. Sport is traditionally being associated with values of "masculinity" and in many societies sport is still considering as an inappropriate activity for girls and women (Sancar & Sever, 2005). Girls and women might therefore challenge ruling gender schemas in the society by participating in sport, which is often considered a "male domain". Competition, physical strength and aggression are all masculine characteristics (Fasting et. al., 2004: 42) and not necessary accepted behaviour nor accepted feminine characteristics in the Zambian society. Men might fear the consequences of redefined gender roles if women actually succeed in the role as a coach, leader or official – and probably especially in football.

Results further indicate that *coaches and spectators* (most likely men) ridicule and harass girls and women in sport because they either; are active in sport themselves and/or because they believe that women do not have the sufficient knowledge about sports, like men. Results show that family members, but also male and female community members, ridicule, comment and harass girls and women because they think the involvement in sport is " a waste of time". In their eyes sport does not bring anything in return that can sustain the family (food, money for shelter etc.) and girls and women are often discouraged from participating in sports. This was also discussed in the previous chapter and it is linked to the socio-cultural and socio-economical situation most women (Zambians in general) live in. Melita explains about female community members laughing and discouraging her for going to the ground to play and/or coach:

> *They often criticise me in the way am teaching the children. They just laugh at me: "The whole lot of you are just there, training the children, instead of finding something that will sustain you! You are just there with the children. It's just that you are a failure in the compound, it's nothing that you can do, apart from what you are doing there".*

It is quite interesting that other women criticise female sports volunteers, such as Melita who coach children in the community, because most likely do the whole community benefit from the effort and time Melita (and the other participants) puts into sport. As

mentioned in the previous chapter, being socialized into specific gender roles, some women might not want to challenge and re-define the existing gender schemas and stereotypes in the Zambian society. According to the quote they rather think it is a waste of time since it does not bring money and/or food back to the family. This view might stem from the traditional gender roles girls and women are socialized into from an early age, where physical activity is not emphasized, accepted or supported (Walter & Du Randt, 2011). There might also be a lack of knowledge of the benefits from taking part in sports. This might create less understanding of the importance of girls and women taking part in sport, among both women and men. Results indicate that women who comment the participants' involvement in sports are usually inactive themselves and therefore often lack important knowledge of benefits of being involved in sports. Women outside sport might emphasize and believe that a woman's role is in the kitchen and as a caretaker of the house and this role might not necessary go hand in hand with sport participation.

All interviewees interviewed, regardless of skills, ability, performance level and sport discipline reported that they have been laughed at, ridiculed, teased, and/or verbally harassed due to their sport participation. Results show, however, that there is an interesting change of support from the family and the community as soon as the girl/woman reaches a certain level of performance, as an athlete. Myembe and Thandiwe are both professional athletes (current and previous Zambian national team) in two different sport disciplines and they both expressed a lack of support from their families and communities from early childhood. The story was the same from both; Family and friends were not in full support of their sport participation when they were young and they emphasized on the importance of education instead of sports. As soon as these two athletes reached a certain performance level, the level of support changed accordingly. Everybody was suddenly in "full" support of what they are doing.

> *Right now my family support it fully, a 100% (…) but now going down, when*
> *I was young I barely had any support, coz traditionally or culturally, they*
> *(family) understand that education is more important than sports (…) yah,*
> *they barely watched my matches (Thandiwe).*

Thandiwe further expresses that the support she gets from the community after everything she has achieved as an athlete, indicating that the community has not always been in full support of her sport participation:

> *Now they (community members) are very supportive, always there! They like to encourage players like myself, in terms of that am female. Coz mostly its always boys, boys, and soccer, but to see a female athlete like me, pursue in what I like to do, which is (the sport discipline), it's a, it's a great achievement. Yeah. Yeah, so they are in full support of it.*

Girls and women might have to justify their sport participation for their family's and their community by proving that they have skills in the sport and by reaching a certain level of performance. This might stem from Zambian girls and women's status and role in general in the society. According to Rakodi (2005: 7) women are still politically, socially and economically disadvantaged, despite attempts to reduce discrimination and improve women's lives and enhance their access to opportunities after independence in Zambia. Lack of women in sport, as participants, coaches and officials have been discussed earlier, but women sitting in decision-making positions and as board members might be indirect signs of gender harassment in sport. Results from the 20 associations affiliated with the NSCZ I managed to contact, 151 (78 %) board members out of 193 were men, while only 42 (22 %) were possessed by women. 4 associations out of 20 did not have a single woman sitting on their board, while 11 associations had 1 or 2 female board members, but the rest were men. Only two[33] of the 20 associations were able to fulfil the national requirements from NSCZ[34] with a percentage of 40/60 female/male representations, holding decision-making positions.

Thandiwe, who has international experience as an athlete in her sport discipline, has tried to offer her knowledge and experience to the national federation to help develop the sport discipline in Zambia. She has never been elected for a position on the board and neither does she feel like she has a "voice":

> *We (women) don't have a voice. Its like, my voice is not as loud as, than all the men that are around me. I don't have a final say, coz I don't have that*

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[33] Zambia Polo Association and the Paralympic Committee of Zambia.
[34] According to the acting General Secretary, Mr Major Muke, during interview 5th December 2012.

> *much support, coz am female. So I would say, like the challenge, we cannot be heard, there is no voice, as a female athlete.*

The challenge of "not having a voice" was also expressed by the sport coordinator Susan, who is frustrated about women's chances to get a coaching job in sport:

> *You do level 1[35], you do level 2 and then you go to another level so that you have the skills. But if I would say today: "Let me go to that club and send my application", even if I see an advert and I go there with my application, I might not even be considered.*

Women making it to the top of sport organizations in Zimbabwe (which is very rare) are often stigmatized and people believe that she made it to the top through "riding" on men's backs and/or engaging in sexual activities with powerful men (Manyonganise, 2010: 17). The results from this research indicate that men might prefer and that men are more likely to elect and/or employ men as board members, leaders or coaches in sport. As women from Zimbabwe (and in many other countries in Southern Africa) are socialized into a role as *receivers*, not as *initiators* in society (Manyonganise, 2010), men possess and continue to sit with most power in society in general and sport in particular. This continues to make women *receivers* of sport programs *initiated* by and for men, and not women initiating their own programs for and by themselves (but also for men). If women had *"a voice"* (Thandiwe) and programs were to be initiated and developed by and for girls and women in close collaboration with boys and men, it would most likely create greater gender equality in sport in Zambia. According to Meier (2005) a program created just for girls might produce jealous boys causing disturbances, teasing and/or even manipulations, which again might create more gender-based harassment of girls and women in sport. Creating new programs and projects for gender equality in sport need to focus on both sexes, not girls and women only.

6.2.2. Sexual harassment, power relations and abuse in sport

Results indicate that girls and women do not only face barriers to sport participation due to gender harassment, including verbal and non-verbal harassment, but also verbal, non-verbal and physical *sexual* harassment and abuse. The experiences the participants had encountered were often related to men's dominant position in sport (and in Zambian

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[35] Level 1 and level 2 means different coaching course levels.

society in general), where certain men had taken advantage of their power and position. Verbal (and non-verbal) sexual harassment was by far the most common type of sexual harassment, often experienced as unwanted questions; comments and/or looks from spectators who watch them play or pass the ground. Melita explains that boys and men often comment on women's sports attire from the sideline when they are watching or passing the ground:

> *It's a difference when guys are watching. A girl is playing and they will say: "No, look at your thighs, you are putting on a very short shorts!" The girl will be very disappointed and maybe next time she won't come and play (...) A decent girl cannot put on something very short going to the ground.*

Grace further explains how guys comment on girls and women's thighs especially:

> *(...) He will say like: "You, I have admired your thighs! They are...I want to be together with you! I want to have sex with you!" Things like that, those kind of words.*

Covering the thighs while playing seem to be of great importance for females involved in sports, as it is reported to be what boys and men comment on the most. According to Meier (2005: 16) many societies are not blaming the person watching and teasing, but the person who is infringing upon a social code, by not covering specific body parts for instance. At the same time, covering certain body parts might not be a guarantee against comments or looks from boys and men. In Zambia, according to Melita and Grace, women are not allowed to wear something short, but they should rather cover certain body parts properly (especially thighs and bum) when they are participating in sport. This might reflect that Zambian females in sport must follow the traditional dressing code, or else they would have to deal with the consequences (such as sexual harassment). After all, they are the ones who are infringing upon the social dressing code in the Zambian society. Men passing the ground or watching girls and women in sports might justify the sexual harassment by blaming girls and women for not dressing *decent* enough. According to an UN report (2007) sport clothing has long been a restriction for women's participation in sport, especially when recognising girls and women's socio-economical condition and their ability to afford appropriate sporting attire (as discussed in the pervious chapter). The socio-cultural situation (e.g. girls and women's dress code), as well as their socio-economical situation (poverty and not being

able to pay for a proper sporting attire) might be reasons why girls and women are being sexually harassed in sport. Similar findings were also found in Nigeria (Elendu & Umeakuka, 2011), were female university athletes mostly experience sexual harassment perpetrated on them by male athletes, sports administrators and spectators.

Sexual harassment may include incidents of verbal or non-verbal harassment as mentioned earlier in this chapter, but it might also include physical harassment and abuse. In most cases sexual harassment is an expression of abuse of power (NIF, 2010). Women involved or wanting to get involved in decision-making positions in sport, as coaches, leaders and board members, expressed receiving proposals for sexual relationships by men who already hold such decision-making positions. Since men already have more power because they possess most decision-making positions in sport in Zambia, men will also often determine if a woman will get the position or not. Susan, who is a coordinator for a NGO working with sport, explains that women often receive sexual proposals when applying for a sport jobs/positions:

> *A challenge, maybe also harassment. You see, even for you to get that, maybe job, for you to become a coach, definitely the person that will ask you to give, or do that favour. Lets say: "For you to get, I know you are a very good coach, I have seen you, I have watched you. But for me to give you this, why can't we have sex?*

She further explains:

> *It's the job that I want. I want the job. I cant do that! You see? So maybe a lot of girls would apply for such opportunities, and the person, because he is the boss, he is somebody who is, who gives that job to me and asked me for a favour, so if I cant accept that favour, I definitely wont get that coaching job.*

According to the National Gender Policy (GIDD, 2000: 2) women are under-represented at all levels of decision-making in the Zambian society due to various factors, such as low education attainment, traditional gender attitudes and prejudices among women and men and women's weak economic status. The Zambian National Sport Policy (MYS, 2012: 3) states that gender inequality in the management of sport also have negatively affected women's participation in sport. Since men possess most decision-making positions in sport and in Zambia in general, men also have a position to decide and determine women's opportunities to get involved in sports, women's job

opportunities as well as sporting carriers. It is not given that with more women in management it will automatically be less sexual harassment in sport, but with a higher number of girls and women it will hopefully challenge the powerful and dominant male-ruled sport situation in Zambia.

The results show that men in decision-making and/or power positions in sport often propose an offer and/or a deal the girls and/or women will have a hard time to turn down, in return of sexual favours. The offers/deals varies: A job offer, to be promised a position in the team and/or a sponsorship to go back to school. Melita explains how men in the supporting network might approach a girl or a woman in sport:

> *"If you just come to me, I have sex with you, then I will sponsor you to go back to school".*

Primary education, grade 1 to 7 is free for all Zambians, but if you would like to continue into secondary, high school and tertiary you have to pay for your own education – if you do not have a scholarship or someone to sponsor you to go back to school. If a girl or a woman is from a very poor socio-economical background, she might not have any other opportunity to go back to school than to accept the offer from the coach, board member or leader. She might also feel obliged to engage in a sexual relationship with the coach/board member/leader, because she knows it will help herself financially, and therefore also her family. Education is universally often a key to get a good job and a decent income later in life.

Experiences of sexual abuse were often linked to men in decision-making positions with power and authority, such as coaches, board members and/or teachers. Most participants explained about teammates and/or someone they knew that were involved in sport on this sensitive topic, so it is unknown if the participants have ever experienced sexual abuse themselves. However, it probably feels "safer" to talk about someone else than to talk about yourself, as experiences of sexual abuse definitely touches the roots of personal integrity and dignity. Bessie explains about her male teacher who used to date some of the schoolgirls, as well as forcing other players to pay to be in the team:

> *One of the teachers was like: "I want girls who can do well", and everyone was like "I can do it!" (...), And he was like "no, when we reach there, you have to pay me for you to be in the team, to be playing!" And the time that*

*we travelled there the same teacher made sure that he went out with the big
girls. (...) They (teachers) make sure that they maybe have sex with the girls
there; they make them their wives when they are there.*

Bessie explains that some girls might accept going out with the teacher because of the
recognition she gets from others because she is going out with the teacher, while other
girls do whatever it takes for them to play for the team.

*Some do it because they want to make a name: "I went out with this
teacher" or "I slept with this teacher", while some they do it because, in the
next selection, they want to be there (playing for the team).*

Even if Bessie states that some of the elder girls might have wanted to "make a name"
by doing whatever the teacher asked and/or made them to do, the teacher, or any person
in charge of a team/club, will always have more power and authority than the athlete.
He (or she) can make decisions athletes are not in a position to make, which will affect
the athletes in a way the athletes are not in a position to determine. The teacher, coach
or board member have power in terms of having a final say, because they often select
the participants/players for the next tournament or competition. They also have
authority and power in terms of knowledge about the sport. A person in the support
network can help an athlete to achieve their sporting goal, which is often referred to as
expert and/or power of position (NIF, 2010: 8). Even if some girls express that they
want to make a name by dating/sleeping with their teacher/coach, it might be a way of
hiding the actual power relation between the athlete and the person in the supporting
network, and in that way maintain dignity and respect from the rest of the team/class.
Schoolgirls and/or women involved in sports might also be victims of grooming, where
the teacher, a coach or someone in the supporting network gradually and over time build
a trustworthy relationship with the athlete. According to Brackenridge & Fasting (2005)
a coach might build a strong relationship where the athlete gradually becomes reliant,
and in the end totally trapped because compliance is assured by using threats, such as
cut from the team, withholding rewards and privileges. The process of grooming may
have occurred in the next cases. Jennifer explains about a girl in her village that got
pregnant after going out (dating) with her coach:

*It happened in 2009, a friend of mine who was going out with the coach and
now she is even, she has got a kid with the coach.*

Marion had also experienced a female athlete in her club who got pregnant after going out with one of the board members:

> *Last time she was in Nigeria and she used to go out with…whenever there was a tournament she had to go out with him. But when it comes to fighting, she used to loose. He was not a good person, someone noticed and put another person in his position. That's when the girl started doing well in … (the sport discipline). But right now she has a baby, from the same man.*

Marion further explains that men in the supporting network will hurt you if you do not do as he says, proposes and/or demands from you:

> *Men and coaches like young girls like me, they want you to make love to him, but I say no. He will tell me "I don't want to see you in the hall!" (…) That's the only big challenge that we (girls) have. If the coach or the board member wants you (in a sexual relationship) and you say no, he is going to hurt you.*

The abusers do therefore have position power vis-à-vis the female athletes and can determine the athlete's development and success in sport, as well as their access or exclusion from the sport activity. The athletes above might be victims of grooming, where the male coach and/or board member gradually positioned himself towards the female athlete. According to Meier (2005) may young athletes form a close relationship with for instance teachers or coaches because they consider them as friends or even idols? The athlete might not even be aware that a strong bond is being tied between her and the "abuser", until she is unable to withstand the abusers sexual wishes (NIF, 2010: 8). Sadly and unfortunately, both Jennifer and Marion explained that the two athletes in the cases above are single-moms today and not together with the father of the two children (the coach and the board member).

Sport is an arena where athletes often physically touch each other while playing and where coaches sometimes have to touch the athletes` body to teach them technical skills. Individuals will always react differently to coaches' touches, but there are certain body parts a coach should never touch. According to data collected girls and women involved in sport feel uncomfortable when male authority persons in sport are "crossing boundaries", which is according to Thandiwe touching the female athletes breasts or neck:

It all started with a certain touch. Yeah, he was crossing boundaries. I mean, as a coach, yeah you can patch your player on the shoulders, but when you start going up the neck and on the breast, and that becomes over boundaries (Thandiwe).

Several participants expressed that touching for coaching purposes is accepted conduct, as long as the coach/teacher/leader do not touch a girls or a woman's "private" body parts (e.g. breasts, neck, lower back, bum and/or abdomen). The coach-athlete relationship, however, might develop into real feelings in between the two and you can never fully avoid situations where the coach and the athlete develop a private relationship. Age is believed to be crucial here, and it is the adult's responsibility to act as sound role models and have a professional attitude to their role, their responsibilities and where the limits are for "acceptable behaviour" (NIF, 2010: 8). Results indicate that sexual harassment and abuse is one of the major gender-based barriers for female participation and involvement in sport in Zambia. Jennifer sums it all up by explaining that she will rather stop being involved in sport than to say "no" to male authority figures, and therefore not challenge the dominant male-ruled sport situation in Zambia:

If the coach proposes me or if the coach tells me something that is not ok (with sexual content), I can just stop.

6.3. Summary

As presented in this chapter, lack of safety for girls and women is also a major gender-based barrier in sport in Zambia. Results indicate that girls and women are afraid of the socio-cultural and socio-economical impact a serious injury will have for the individual and the family. The implications in terms of girl duties and economy were reported to be the constraining issues, as well as the difference in terms of care and responsibility between the two sexes when an injury do occurs. Gender-based barriers were also reported and linked to the high risk of being ridiculed, sexually harassed and abused in sport. Results show that male spectators and authority figures, such as coaches, leaders, board members and teachers, often misuse and take advantage of their power and their position. Lack of safety is therefore believed to be one of the major gender-barriers for girls and women in sport in Zambia.

7. What are the gender-based barriers girls and women experience in sport in Zambia?

This research study aimed to explore the gender-based barriers experienced by girls and women in sport in Zambia. 12 female athletes, coaches, leaders and organizers at different performance levels, aged between 19 and 35 were interviewed. The results in chapter 5 and 6 therefore reflect their experiences in sport. Findings showed that girls and women reveal several gender-based barriers in sport, discussed and presented as socio-cultural, socio-economical and safety barriers.

7.1. Summary

Results indicate that girls and women involved in sports meet various barriers regarding culture, traditions and expectations, in other words socio-cultural barriers. Social (re) constructed gender roles, norms and expectations are believed to hinder girls and women from sport participation more than their male counterpart. According to Connell (2009) gender as a social structure is multi-dimensional and reproduced socially (not biologically) by the power of structures to shape individual action. The social structures and gender roles in the Zambian society might hinder girls and women to get involved in sport, because sport activity is not an accepted activity for girls or women. The participants reported that girls and women are expected to fulfil a certain role in the family, where domestic responsibilities take up most of girls and women's time. According to Meier (2005: 12) women's work (providers of food and caretakers of the family) is not considered "proper work" and consequently not seemed to deserve leisure time. As girls and women grow up they are socialized into a role as a carer for the family and the house, which might favour boys and men in terms of sport involvement, because the uneven division of labour creates uneven division of leisure time for sport involvement.

Women may also face barriers because of stereotypes about physical ability, femininity, masculinity and the female body in society. According to an UN report (2007) women have long been perceived as too weak for sport, especially masculine characteristic sports such as weightlifting, boxing and wrestling. Girls and women involved in sport reported that they face challenges receiving respect and access to sport from their own

families. Zambian women might be seen as too weak for sport activities compared to male family members, and females might therefore face challenges in justifying their sport involvement and what they actually benefit (not only physically, but also mentally, socially etc.). According to Meier (2005) alliances between femininity and sport are still considered incompatible some places, and "deviant" females are often considered a disgrace to the entire family. Females in sport may be seen as a disgrace to the family's reputation, as they may deviate from society's stereotypes and gender schemas of accepted feminine behaviour. Men often reinforce and promote their masculinity when succeeding in sport, while women are considered as having rejected their feminine values (Stirling & Schulz, 2011). Ideas and stereotypes about femininity and/or masculinity were also reflected through discussions about the ideal body. The interviewees expressed that having a medium size body were beneficial both in sport and in life in general, as looking abnormal (too skinny or fat) were often connected to being poor and/or being sick (HIV-positive). As most interviewees described the body of Esther Phiri (Zambian, female boxer) as "male-ish" and expressed that most Zambian women would not like to look like her, the results indicate that there might be stereotypes about the female body in the society. Zambian families and/or husbands might also restrict their daughters/wives from getting involved in sport, because they fear that she will end up looking like Esther. Zambians might therefore lack the knowledge about how to develop such a strong, muscular (and masculine) body, and the fact that there is a huge difference (in terms of impact on your body) between grassroots activities a couple of days a week and several hours training every day.

The socio-economical situation in Zambia in general is believed to be a barrier for both men and women involved in sport, but more specifically for girls and women. The high percentage of poverty was indicated to affect female involvement in sport due to lack of funds and resources to access facilities, equipment and proper sport attire. As mentioned before, women's traditional responsibilities are not considered "proper work", and consequently the obligations, which are "innate" and socially engrained, do not seem to deserve leisure time (Meier, 2005: 11). Men's work, perceived as "productive work", due to the fact that men are often income-generators, might make it easier for them to justify leisure time and involvement in sport. Boys and men were also indicated to have a better financial foundation to cover sport participation expenses, such as sports attire, equipment and transportation. Girls and women might therefore face gender—based

barriers to get involved in sport due to their financial situation, which is also closely linked to the socio-cultural situation in Zambia.

Culture, gender roles, uneven division of labour and leisure time, personal and national economy and lack of resources are all indicated to be linked and affect the issue of safety. Results showed that girls and women involved in sport face challenges regarding injuries, as well as risking being ridiculed, harassed, sexually harassed and/or abused. According to Ramtohul (2010: 99) gender-based subordination is in sport reinforced through religious believes, cultural practices and educational systems that assign women a lower status and less power, because spheres of politics, sports and religion is still dominated and controlled by men. Men controlling and possessing most decision-making positions in sport, at all levels and spheres, might reinforce women's lower position in sport and in the Zambian society in general. Men holding decision-making positions, such as coaches, administrators and board members have power and authority and might reinforce their positions by taking advantage of their power and subordinate women by not giving them access to sport and decision-making positions. Leaving women alone to deal with injuries on the ground (if female players get an injury) might reinforce women's traditional gender role in society, as it is a woman's responsibility to care for someone, not necessary a mans responsibility. Leaving women out of decision-making processes reinforce men's powerful position and keep the power in the hands of men. Men's power in society in general, in sport in particular and the traditional gender roles assigned women (and men) in the Zambian society might be preserved and reinforced by men when they harass girls and women in sport.

7.2. Comments to the findings

This thesis has highlighted gender-based barriers girls and women experience in sport in Zambia. If I could draw a conclusion based on the discussions and results presented I will argue that girls and women do experience barriers in sport due to gender inequalities in society in general, but also in sport in particular. Seen from a feminist perspective and the various feminists movements, which often have developed when historical and political circumstances have encouraged public recognition of the discrimination of women (Massao, 2001: 19), one may argue that there is still a long way to go to reach gender equity in sport in Zambia. There are various feminist

approaches that would be helpful on the way in creating increased access and opportunities for girls and women in sport. According to Hall (1996: 91) liberal approaches seek to provide girls and women with the same opportunities and resources as men, while radical feminist recognize the difference among women and question male-dominated sport. Both approaches might have to be appreciated to achieve greater gender equity in sport in Zambia, because results show that women experience barriers accessing the same resources as men (liberal feminists), but at the same time sport is dominated and defined by and for men (radical feminists).

One possible reason why girls and women "do not have a strong voice" in sport in Zambia, might be lack of impact and knowledge among women themselves. According to Maerten (2004) African women's movements were influenced by the activism against colonial rule, and to a lesser extent to personal conditions (such as "Western" feminists). Movements in Africa did not start with middle-class women fighting for their civil rights, such as the right to vote, access to education and social welfare. In Africa on the other hand, intellectuals (most likely upper-class women since they had access to education) initiated the African feminist movements as a resistance against the Western feminism (Massao, 2001; Maerten, 2004). Even though a new and united African movement has addressed gender inequality from the late 80s (Maerten, 2004), the lack of initiative and knowledge among women all over the continent, regardless of background, might hinder girls and women in creating a strong and powerful voice against the male-dominated sport. There might be cultural and traditional explanations to the lack of women in decision-making and leadership positions in sport, as boys and men are assigned the high-valued decision-making roles in the Zambian society (GIDD, 2000).

With reference to the cultural expectations and gender roles assigned men and women, females are often restricted to stay at home doing house chores, while boys and men have leisure time to go and participate in sport and recreational activities. As culture is believed to play a central role in construction as well as maintenance of gender (Manyonganise, 2010: 15), one could argue that education for *men and women* on everybody's benefits from being involved in sport is absolutely necessary to create gender equality in sport in Zambia. It is important to educate boys and men *and* girls and women, as traditions, cultural believes, gender roles and girls and women's

subordination in the Zambian society need to be challenged and re-defined for any sport policy or initiative to be effective. Focusing on women only will leave boys and men out and may create a split instead of unity into a program, project or initiative. A sports program excluding boys and men might produce jealous boys causing disturbances, teasing and/or manipulation of the girls/women's program (Meier, 2005). Concepts and notions of femininity and masculinity, as well as cultural believes about women's lack of ability to lead, coach and organize others in sport may also need to be renegotiated to challenge the many barriers girls and women experience in sport in Zambia. If Zambia wants to meet their target by 2030 (80 % of the total population involved in sport activities) they would have to involve women (and men!) more at all levels of sport.

In areas of development, sport-in-development organizations and programs still believe that sport is a universal tool that may contribute to several development goals, such as social mobility and a challenge to traditional gender roles (UN, 2007). For such programs to succeed and development to take place, barriers experienced by girls and women have to be emphasized and their socio-cultural and socio-economical background fully considered. The cultural situation and traditional gender roles might differ in between African countries and even from one area to another. According to Meier (2005) post-colonial traditional societies, like Zambia, do have a relatively conservative concern around gender equity and equality. Changing existing gender roles might therefore take time, regardless of perfectly tailored initiatives and programs. Sancar & Sever (2005: 53) state that "sport for gender equality" programs require an acknowledgement of the relationship between the ideas of masculinity and femininity, and the implications of gendered division of labour and socio-cultural stereotypes. For a new program that seeks gender equity and equality in sport to succeed one could argue that various factors have to be considered before implementing the program. I have a few concluding comments and recommendations for decisions-makers in Zambian sport, which may change the current situation for girls and women, limit the gender-based barriers and hopefully create greater gender equity and equality in sport:

- Physical Education (P.E.) is currently not a compulsory subject in all governmental and private schools. Some schools have implemented physical education as part of their school schedule, but far from all schools have physical education and/or activities for the pupils. Growing up with P.E. as a compulsory

subject for both boys and girls might change some parents/guardians restrictions on girls and women's involvement in sport, as well as boys and girl's general perception and knowledge about physical activity.

- Development of a national "Code of Conduct", as well as a Disciplinary Action Plan for any misconduct of the Code, for all leaders in sport. This might be a long-term perspective objective, where leaders at national, executive level could agree and sign first, before one start implementing the Code of Conduct on a local level. By implementing a national Code of Conduct one may create awareness for both men and women, boys and girls: on their rights, reporting systems and disciplinary action that might take place if there is any misconduct of the Code. I also propose a "call centre" with a toll-free call-in-line, where anyone can call if they have questions about their rights or for victims of any misconduct of the Code. I believe the Anti Gender-Based Violence Act, which was introduced by the Parliament in 2011, will function as the legal legislation system for any misconduct of the Code.

- Women in leadership positions: Even if the NSCZ have a recommendation to all affiliated associations of a female quota, only a few women take up and/or are given the opportunity to sit in decision-making positions and/or leadership positions. Education, workshops and campaigns targeting boys and men, girls and women, parents/guardians and the community might create more knowledge, awareness and therefore also access to sport for girls and women. The focus should be on women's barriers for involvement in sport as well as benefits of being physical active, as it might help changing deep-rooted attitudes and gender roles in the society. Such initiatives will most likely have great effect in rural areas, where traditional gender roles still linger and where there is less exposure to sport and physical activity than in the urban areas.

- More recourses and increased availability for women to get involved in sport, in terms of number of playing accessible fields and available equipment. More media coverage of female role models might create a pathway for other girls and women to get involved in sports.

This study includes the voices of 12 women involved in sport at different performance and leadership level from two different provinces in Zambia. Data conducted is therefore not sufficient to generalize and compare with other studies in the country or in

the region. I hope, however, that this research is a modest contribution to the understanding of the various gender-based barriers women experience being involved in sport in Zambia.

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Figures

Abbreviations

ANOC   Association of Olympic Committees

ANOCA   Association of National Olympic Committees in Africa

ARV   Anti Retroviral Virus

AWISA   Africa Women in Sport Association

COSANOC   Confederation of Southern African National Olympic Committees

GIDD   Gender in Development Division

GII   Gender Inequality Index

IOC   International Olympic Committee

IPC   International Paralympic Committee

IWG   International Women's Group on Women and Sport

MDG   Millennium Development Goals

MYS   Ministry of Youth and Sport

MYSA   Mathare Youth Sport Association

NGP   National Gender Policy (Zambia)

NGO   Non-governmental organizations

NIBR   Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research

NIF   Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports

NOCZ	National Olympic Committee of Zambia
NORAD	The Norwegian Development Agency
NOWSPAR	National Organization for Women in Sport, Physical Activity and Recreation
NPCZ	National Paralympic Committee of Zambia
NSCZ	National Sport Council of Zambia
NSD	Norwegian Social Science Service
NSP	National Sport Policy (Zambia)
SAD	Swiss Academy for Development
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SCORE	Sport Coaches Out Reach
SCSA	Supreme Council of Sport in Africa
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
YSEP	Youth Sport Exchange Program

Appendix 1 – Interview Guide (Pilot Interview)

INTERVIEW GUIDE – PILOT INTERVIEW:

Linda S. Jacobsen // Supervisor: Professor Kari Fasting

Theme: "Female participant's experiences of gender based barriers in sport in Zambia"

Introduction:

Please go through and sign the consent form before we start the interview.

Welcome to this focus pilot interview today. The main objective of this pilot interview is to unveil gender-based barriers that I haven't yet thought of and that might be useful when I'm conducting the one-to-one interviews later. I have listed what I think are the most common gender-based barriers in sport into different "themes": Socio-cultural, socio-economic and safety. You might have other barriers that I haven't thought of yet, so the purpose of conducting a pilot interview is to

But before we start with gender-based barriers in sport, I would like to ask some questions about your background, your participation in sport and sport in general in Zambia. Later there will be questions, cases and discussions of pictures. Consider this as a conversation, not an interview, and talk about any barrier that might pop up in your mind while we are talking.

Please don't hesitate to ask me questions if you need clarification. I will record the whole interview, and hopefully we will be done after an hour. Any questions before we start?

List of themes and questions:

Personal Data – for the purpose of contact and communication:
1. How does a normal day look like for you?

Background information about sport and physical activity:
1. In what ways are you involved in sports today?
2. What do your family think about your involvement in sports?

Sport in General:
1. Can you mention some positive aspects/things about sport?
2. Can you mention some challenges with sports participation in general today?

Sport, gender and barriers (challenges) in Zambia:
1. When it comes to participation: Do you think there is any difference between boys/girls/women/men?
2. Do you think women face more challenges than men in sport?
3. Can you give 3 examples of challenges women face when they participate or organize sports?
4. What is the main challenge for women participating *in* sport?
5. What can be done to facilitate so that more girls and women can involve themselves, girlfriends and family members in sports?

6. **CASE:** I will now show you two pictures, one of a famous, Zambian, female athlete and one of a normal Zambian woman - who could have been one of your neighbours.
   I would like you to describe both of them for me as you see them and analyse them.

7. Tell me more about the division of labour and responsibilities as a woman in Zambia.

Socio-cultural barriers:

- Time, labour and the ideal African female body.
1. When I came back from the Christmas Holiday last time I was here, many people came to me and said: "Oh Linda, you look really good, you must have gained some weight!?". After some time I understood that this was meant as a compliment. How come it is ideal to carry some extra weight here in Zambia?
2. What kind of response do you get from your community when you are involved in sports?

Socio-economical barriers:

- Women depend on their husband's income, lack of resources, facilities and equipment for female participants in sport.
1. You are really broke and you have made an appointment with the team/club at 16hrs that day. At 15hrs your friend calls you to ask if you can come and help her out for a couple of hours for a 10pin. What do you do?
2. How do personal and the family's economy effects women's participation in sports?

Barriers regarding safety:

- Proper changing rooms, safe facilities and equipment, injuries, gender/sexual harassment (first aid kits, HIV/Aids and code of conduct)
1. Can you give examples of challenges women face regarding safety issues?
2. What is the biggest challenge regarding women's safety in sport in Zambia?
3. Have you ever experienced being ridiculed on the basis of gender in sports?
4. Have you experienced or do you know someone who has been harassed because of their gender in sport? (Harassment is to trouble someone persistently or incessantly).
5. Have you experienced or do you know someone who has been the victim of sexual harassment in sports?

Other questions:
1. Can you think of other challenges (barriers) women face when they are involved in sports?
2. Anything else you would like to add?
3. Do you have any questions about this research, your own participation or anything else?

Appendix 2 – Consent Form (Pilot Interview)

Request for participants to a pilot interview about

gender-based barriers in sport

Im a master student in Sport Sociology at the Norwegian School of Sport Sciences (NIH) and Im conducting data for my final master thesis this year. The theme for my thesis is gender-based barriers in sports in Zambia and I will investigate if female participants experience any barriers, for instance socio-economical, socio-cultural, lack of recourses, safety issues etc. in sports.

Before I can start with the interviews I would like to conduct two pilot interviews with 3-5 participants above 18 years of age. The first group interview will be held in Lusaka and the second one in Livingstone. I will ask you questions about gender based barriers in sport and also present different cases I would like you to discuss within the group. The interview will be recorded and it will take about an hour.

Venue, date and time:

NOWSPAR Offices, Suite GO40, Curriculum Development Center, Haile Saillase Rd, Long Acres, Lusaka, Friday 7th September 2012, Time: 14:00.

Kwenhua Offices, Kapano ya Miswalo Women Centre, plot 2072/334, Maramba, PO.Box 60138, Livingstone, Thursday 13th September 2012, Time: 11:00.

The main objective for conducting the pilot interviews is to unveil barriers in sport that I have not yet thought of and that might be important for my one-to-one interviews later.

It is voluntary to join the project and you can withdraw at any time without explaining this further. Any data conducted is anonymous, the information you give me will be handled confidentially and no individuals will be recognizable in the completed thesis. The data and recordings collected will be deleted after the thesis is completed by the end of July 2014. The study is reported to the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD).

If you have any questions please call me on +260977512138 (Zambian line) or +4740003094 (Norwegian line) or send an e-mail to lindasj5@hotmail.com. You will be given K20.000 transport refund when the interview is finished on Friday.

If you would like to take part in the group interview, it is nice if you sign the enclosed consent form and send it back to me as soon as possible.

With best regards,

Linda S. Jacobsen

Consent form:

I have received written information about this project and I am willing to participate in the study.

Signature ……………………………………………………………. Date:…………………….

Appendix 3 – Interview Guide

Interview guide

Linda S. Jacobsen – The Norwegian School of Sport Sciences (NIH)

Supervisor: Professor Kari Fasting

Theme: **"Female participant's experiences of gender based barriers in sport in Zambia"**

Introduction:

My fieldwork for my master thesis *"Female participant's experiences of gender based barriers in sport in Zambia"* will be conducted in Zambia from September to December 2012. I want to conduct semi-structured interviews with women above 18 years of age. My research will be based on a sample of 8-12 women and the main criteria for being interviewed is that you are currently *involved* in sports as a participant, coach or board member etc. I will record the interview and you consent on that in the consent form, to allow me to focus on the questions and on the conversation with you, as well as taking small notes during the interview.

You as an informant should have received adequate information about the study, whom it involves, how data will be used/published and your rights as a participant prior to the interview. The consent form has to be read, understood and signed for me to conduct the interview. I will try to meet the respondent's wishes of place, date and time of the interview to make sure informants are secured and anonymous, but at the same time that they are in in their natural environment.

We will touch many themes and various questions during the interview, but feel free to mention and talk about your own experiences if they differ from the questions and themes I will ask you about. There will be generic and specific questions, a few cases and some pictures in this interview, and the length depends on how much you have at heart (approximately 1-1 ½ hour). You are free to withdraw at any time, without explaining this any further.

Please note the importance of this study in highlighting the challenges women face in sport in Zambia. If you have any questions along the way, please don't hesitate to ask. Questions before I start the recorder and the interview starts?

I would like to start this interview by asking the first question and then I will answer the first question first, then you will answer the question after me.

List of themes and questions:

Personal Data – for the purpose of contact and communication:

Name, date of birth, residence/club/community and phone number (e-mail address).

1. **How does a normal day look like for you?**
   Possible probes:
   - When do you get up in the morning/go to bed, what do you do, who are you spending your time with, responsibilities during the day, what do you do for a living, church, spare/free time, activities.

Background information about her sport participation:

2. **How are you involved in sports today?**
   Possible probes:
   - Sport discipline, performance level, frequency, time (per day, week, month, events only?)?
   - How come you started with sports? (Friends, family, neighbor, relatives, community)
   - For how long have you been involved in sports?
   - Why have you continued to do sports?
   - What kind of sport activities have you been involved in?

3. **Are some of your family members active in sport?**
   Possible probes: Who? (Husband, children, father/mother, siblings) In what ways are they involved (coach, participant, bard member etc.)? If they are not involved in sports: Why?

4. **What does your family think about your participation in sports?**
   Possible probes/keywords: Mum/dad, sisters/brothers, *husband* and children?

5. **What kind of reactions do you get from your community when you are involved in sports?**
   Possible probes/keywords:
   - Positive/negative? Why?
   - Have the reactions always been the same?
   - Have their reaction hindered or empowered you to continue with sports? Why/why not?

Sport in General:

6. **Can you mention some positive aspects of doing sports and physical activity?**
   Possible probe: Why do you think these aspects are positive/important?

7. **Can you mention some challenges with sports participation today?**
   Possible probes:
   - Did you face any challenges when you started practicing sports?
   - Have you experienced other/different challenges after doing sports for a while?
   - Can you tell me about the challenges that men and women face in sports?

8. **Can you describe the difference between female and male participation in sport in Zambia?**
   Possible probes/keywords: Participation, access, facilities, sponsorship, support, managing sport activities, coaching, being a board member etc.

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Sport, gender and barriers (challenges) in Zambia:

9. **Can you give examples of challenges girls and women face when they participate in sports?**
Possible probes/keywords: Time, labour, responsibilities at home, ideal body, lack of money, transport, support, sports attire, access, facilities, role models, gender harassment, sexual harassment etc.

10. **What is the main challenge for women participating *in* sport?**
Possible probes:
   - Why is this the main challenge?
   - Do you think this is the main challenge for women all over Zambia (rural/urban areas)?
   - Do women face different challenges or the same challenges when they want *to start/get involved* in sports?

11. **What do you think are the challenges for women who are not active, but want to start participating in sports?**
Possible probes/keywords: Family, gender roles, responsibilities in the house, community, access, facilities, sports attire, resources? Is there any difference between rural/urban areas?

12. **How can we get more girls and women involved in sports?**
Possible probes/keywords: Code of conduct, proper changing rooms, support/sponsorship, information, workshops, advocacy, female role models, female coaches, get the parents involved?

Socio-cultural barriers:

13. **Can you describe the ideal female body in Zambia?**
Possible probes/keywords:
   - The ideal female body for a man/woman?
   - How do you think this effects women's involvement in sports?
   - Does this affect you and your own participation?
   - Do you think there are any differences between urban and rural areas? Why/why not?

14. **CASE: I will now show you a picture of a famous Zambian athlete. I would like you to describe the photo for me.**
Possible probes/keywords: Clothing, appearance, lifestyle, characteristics, body, does she has an ideal body here in Zambia? Role model?

15. **CASE: You are really broke, but you have made an appointment with the team/club at 16hrs that day. At 15hrs your friend calls and asks if you can come and help her out for a couple of hours. She will give you 50pin. What do you do?**
    Possible probes:
    - Why do you do it?
    - What is most important for you in your life? (Sport or money?)

16. **How does economy effect your participation in sports?**
    Possible probes/keywords: Personal income, husbands/family`s income, the sports clubs economy. Do you think this is the same all over Zambia? Urban/rural areas – is there any difference?

Barriers regarding safety:

17. **Can you give examples of situations where you or other participants in sport were put at risk?**
    Possible probes:
    - Can you give examples of challenges women face regarding safety?
    - How do you think this affects women's participation in sports?
    - Are women vulnerable in a sporting environment? Why/why not?
    - Are women afraid of getting involved in sports because of these barriers?

18. **What is the biggest challenge when it comes to women's safety in sport in Zambia?**
    Possible probes:
    - Is the issue of safety the same for men and women in sport? Why/why not?
    - Do you have any suggestions/ideas on how we can solve/do something about the issue of safety?

19. **To ridicule is to criticize, to make fun of someone or something or to use humiliating words or behavior. Have you ever experienced being ridiculed in sports?**
    Possible probes:
    - What happened? What did you do?
    - How often do you experience to be ridiculed?
    - Do you often talk about/discuss these experiences with others? With whom?
    - Did you report it? Where?

20. **Have you ever experienced or do you know someone who has experienced harassment in sport? (Unwanted attention)**
    (Harassment is to trouble someone persistently or incessantly.)
    Possible probes:
    - What happened?
    - Have you told anyone/discussed it with someone? With whom?
    - Did you do something about?
    - How common is harassment in your club/community?
    - Do you think there is any difference between rural/urban areas when it comes to harassment in sports?

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21. **Have you experienced or do you know someone who has been a victim sexual harassment in sport? (Unwanted sexual attention)**

Possible probes:
- What happened? What did you do?
- Have you told/discussed it with anyone?
- Who do you usually talk to about these issues?
- How did you go about it?
- Did you report it? To whom? (the club/police/hospital) What was their response/reaction?
- Do you think there is any difference between rural/urban areas when it comes to sexual harassment in sports?
- *Do you know what to do if you or one of your teammates experience sexual harassment?*

Other questions:

22. **Can you think of other challenges (barriers) women face when they are involved in sports?**

23. **Anything else you would like to add?**

24. **Do you have any questions about this research, your own participation or anything else?**

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Appendix 4 – Consent Form

Request for participants to an interview in connection with my master thesis

I am a master student at the Norwegian School of Sport Sciences (NIH) and I am doing my research for my final master thesis this year. The theme for my thesis is gender based barriers in sports in Zambia and I will investigate if female participants experience any challenges, for instance socio-economical, socio-cultural, lack of recourses or safety etc. in sport.

To write about women's experiences in sports, I would like to interview 8-12 physically active women above 18 years. The questions will be about your own experiences as an active participant in sports and what kind of barriers and/or opportunities women in Zambia face regarding sport activities. I will use a tape recorder and take notes while we talk. The interview will take about an hour and we will agree on the time and place.

It is voluntary to join the project and you can withdraw at any time without explaining this further. Any data collected about you are anonymous, the information you give me will be treated confidentially and no individuals will be recognizable in the completed thesis. The data and recordings collected will be deleted after the thesis is completed by the end of July 2013.

If you would like to take part in the project, it is nice if you sign the enclosed consent form and send it back to me.

If you have any questions please call me on +260972459908 (Zambian line) or +4740003094 (Norwegian line) or send an e-mail to lindasj5@hotmail.com. You can also contact my supervisor Kari Fasting at the Department of Cultural and Social Studies, NIH, kari.fasting@nih.no.

The study is reported to the Norwegian Social Research, Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD).

With best regards,

Linda S. Jacobsen

Consent form:

I have received written information about this project and I am willing to participate in the study.

Signature ……………………………………………. Phone no. ……………………………..

E-mail…………………………………………………………………………………………………

Appendix 5 – Code System

LEVEL 1	LEVEL 2	LEVEL 3
1. GENDER/SEX	1.1. BIOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES	1.1.1. MENSTRUAL CYCLES
		1.1.2. PHYSICAL CAPACITY
	1.2. GENDER DIFFERENCES	1.2.1. FEMININITY/MASCULINITY
		1.2.2. THE VULNERABLE "SEX"
		1.2.3. POWER RELATIONS/ INFLUENCE IN SOCIETY
		1.2.4. INTEREST
2. TRADITIONS, NORMS AND VALUES,	2.1 DUTIES/PERCEPTION OF BEING A WOMAN/GIRL	2.1.1. MARRIAGE
		2.1.2. HOUSE CHOWS
		2.1.3. PROPER ATTIRE
		2.1.4. THE IDEAL BODY
	2.2. PARENTS	2.2.1. SUPPORT
		2.2.2. PREVENTION
3. ECONOMY	3.1. SPONSORSHIP/SUPPORT	3.1.1. TALENT IDENTIFICATION
		3.1.2. TRANSPORT
		3.1.3. FACILITIES
		3.1.4. EQUIPMENT
		3.1.5. SPORTS ATTIRE
4. SAFETY	4.1. RISKS	4.1.1. INJURIES
		4.1.2. TO BE RIDICULED
	4.2. HARASSMENT	4.2.1. VERBAL HARASSMENT
		4.2.2. BENEFICIAL SERVICES
		4.2.3. SEXUAL HARASSMENT

OPEN CATEGORIES:
5. URBAN AREAS
6. RURAL AREAS
7. SCHOOL AND P.E. TEACHERS

Appendix 6 – Approval from NSD

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES

Harald Hårfagres gate 29
N-5007 Bergen
Norway
Tel: +47-55 58 21 17
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Kari Fasting
Seksjon for kultur og samfunn
Norges idrettshøgskole
Postboks 4014 Ullevål stadion
0806 OSLO

Vår dato: 14.08.2012   Vår ref:31121 / 3 / MAS   Deres dato: Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 07.08.2012. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

31121	*Female Participants' Experiences of Gender based Barriers in Sport in Zambia*
Behandlingsansvarlig	*Norges idrettshøgskole, ved institusjonens øverste leder*
Daglig ansvarlig	*Kari Fasting*
Student	*Linda Sletengen Jacobsen*

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet, og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger vil være regulert av § 7-27 i personopplysningsforskriften. Personvernombudet tilrår at prosjektet gjennomføres.

Personvernombudets tilråding forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, eventuelle kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og 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, 01.07.2013, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen
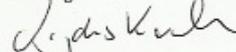
Vigdis Namtvedt Kvalheim
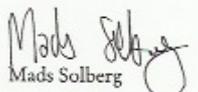
Mads Solberg

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Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering
Kopi: Linda Sletengen Jacobsen, Olav M. Troviksvei 46, H314, 0864 OSLO

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Personvernombudet for forskning

Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Prosjektet undersøker kvinners erfaringer med barrier for sportslig deltakelse i Zambia.

Utvalget på mellom 8-12 voksne vil rekrutteres i samarbeid med lokale frivillige organisasjoner og norske frivillige som jobber for disse. De rekrutterte er aktive i idrett og del av organisasjonenes programmer. Faglig/ansvarlig person i organisasjonene står for førstegangskontakt. I tillegg vil studenten selv rekruttere gjennom oppsøkende virksomhet. Det innhentes tillatelse fra organisasjonene for å gjennomføre studien.

Det gis skriftlig og muntlig informasjon samt hentes skriftlig samtykke.Ombudet finner informasjonsskrivet godt utformet.

Det registreres sensitive personopplysninger om helseforhold og seksuelle forhold jamfør personopplysningsloven § 2, avsnitt 8 c) og d).
Ombudet legger til grunn for vurderingen, jamfør telefonsamtale med student 13.08.2012, at det ikke vil registreres sensitive personopplysninger om tredjepart. Opplysninger av slik karakter vil registreres anonymt og manuelt. Ombudet anbefaler at studenten gjør utvalget oppmerksom på dette i forkant av intervjuene.

Prosjektslutt er satt til 1.7.2013. Senest ved prosjektslutt vil datamaterialet være anonymisert, det vil si at verken direkte eller indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger lenger foreligger i materialet. Lydopptakene slettes eller anonymiseres. Indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger i det øvrige materialet slettes eller grovkategoriseres på en slik måte at ingen enkeltpersoner kan gjenkjennes.