"Governing" the "Girl Effect" through Sport, Gender and Development?
Postcolonial Girlhoods, Constellations of Aid and Global Corporate Social Engagement

by

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Abstract

The "Girl Effect" is becoming a growing global movement that assumes young women are catalysts capable of bringing social and economic change to their families, communities and countries, particularly in the Two-Thirds World. The evolving discourse associated with the Girl Effect movement holds implications for sport, gender and development (SGD) programs. Increasingly, SGD interventions are funded and implemented by transnational corporations (TNCs) as part of the mounting portfolio of global corporate social engagement (GCSE) initiatives in development.

Drawing on postcolonial feminist international relations theory, cultural studies of girlhood, sociology of sport and governmentality studies, the purpose of this study was to explore: a) how young women in Eastern Uganda experience SGD programs; and b) how constellations of aid relations among a sport transnational corporation (STNC), international non-governmental organization (INGO), and southern non-governmental organization (SNGO) impacted and influenced the ways that SGD programs are executed, implemented and "taken up" by young women. This study used qualitative methods, including 35 semi-structured in-depth interviews with organizational staff members and young women, participant observation and document analysis in order to investigate how a SGD program in Eastern Uganda that is funded

by a STNC and INGO used martial arts to build young women's self-defence skills to help

address gender-based, sexual and domestic violence.

Results revealed martial arts programming increased confidence, challenged gender

norms, augmented social networks and provided social entrepreneurial opportunities. At the

same time, the program also attempted to govern young women's sexuality and health, but did so

while ignoring culturally distinct gender relations. Findings also highlighted the colonial residue

and power of aid relations, STNC's brand authority over SGD programming, the involvement of

Western actors in locating "authentic" subaltern stories about social entrepreneurial work in

SGD, and how the politics of the "global" sisterhood is enmeshed in saving "distant others" in

gender and development work. Overall, this study found that the drive for GCSE, when

entangled with neo-liberal globalization, impels actors working in SGD to look to social

innovation and entrepreneurship as strategies for survival in an increasingly competitive

international development climate.

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My intellectual journey has been influenced by many great minds, rallying family members and supportive friends. I wish to convey my heartfelt appreciation. First, though, I must thank the participants who took part in this research project, whom I am unable to identify, but to whom I owe a great deal of gratitude. You each shared important, sensitive and poignant stories which I am humbled by, and which I can only hope have been appropriately conveyed and described in these pages. In particular, I wish to thank the young martial arts trainers of "Winita," whose voices, aspirations and desires for social change and justice I wish to tribute and recognize through this work.

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continue to inspire me by always thinking about "what's next." To Dr. Kidd, it has been a privilege working with such an eminent scholar and SDP practitioner, and I thank you for our thought-provoking discussions on SDP, and for your concern not just with theory, but with the substantive implications of research. Someone once wrote: "if you are not occasionally frustrated, even angered, by a teacher or learning environment that seems bent on nothing more than highlighting your limitations, you are probably wasting your time." I can say with conviction that I have not been "wasting my time" during the last four years!

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List of Acronyms

GCSE: Global Corporate Social Engagement
STNC: Sport Transnational Corporation
INGO: International Non-governmental Organization
SNGO: Southern NGO
SGD: Sport, Gender and Development
SDP: Sport for Development and Peace
SENGO: Social entrepreneurship non-governmental organization
CSR: Corporate Social Responsibility

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Introduction: Global Corporate Social Engagement and Sport, Gender and Development

International development interventions are increasingly becoming 'girled,' with the emergence of recent global campaigns such as 'Because I am a Girl' (Plan International), and 'The Girl Effect' (Nike Foundation, UN Foundation) as examples of crusades that urge donors, transnational corporations (TNCs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and citizens around the world to take notice of 'the girl' as the next tenable solution for the development problems of our time.[1] In short, the Girl Effect movement has grown into a global initiative that presumes girls are the new agents of development and catalysts capable of bringing about "unparalleled social and economic change to their families, communities and countries" (Girl Effect, 2011). Proponents of this campaign argue, for example, that investing in girls' health and education will increase her family and her country's economic prosperity, using commanding statistics to back up their claims (e.g., the Nike Foundation [2011] claims that "when an educated girl earns income she reinvests 90 percent in her family, compared to 35 percent for a boy").

Coinciding with the focus on girls as the new panaceas of development are two other notable tendencies. The first is the "sport for development and peace" (SDP) movement which has emerged over the past ten years,[2] substantiated by a body of NGOs, sport federations, TNCs, and UN agencies that advocate for sport and physical activity as a tools to contribute to international development and health priorities as outlined by the UN Millennium Development Goals (UN, 2009).[3] Despite the growth of organizations and continued research in this area, there remain few studies that address the perspectives of those targeted by these interventions,

particularly girls. Nevertheless, sport continues to be used to address gender inequalities and improve the lives of girls and women around the world. I refer to such programs throughout this dissertation as 'sport, gender and development' (or SGD) interventions.

There has been a concerted interest in SGD programs in the Two-Thirds World by the private sector, governments, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).[4] Though boys and men in the Two-Thirds World are also marginalized in terms of accessing sport opportunities, it is recognized that girls and women participate less due to various historical, cultural, economic, and geopolitical influences that relate to power relations based on gender, race, nation and class (Hayhurst, MacNeill, & Frisby, 2011). Similarly, the SDP movement focuses on using sport as a catalyst for women's development, where it is suggested that sport and physical activity interventions not only promote gender equality and respect for women, but also challenge gender norms and teach healthy living, confidence and leadership skills (Brady, 2005; Saavedra, 2009). Other studies document that, for women and adolescent girls specifically, SDP interventions may be a useful tool to disseminate HIV/AIDS preventative education, as well as improve women and adolescent girls' control over fertility, lowering risk of teen pregnancy and contributing to their overall health (Saavedra, 2005; Sabo et al., 1998). And yet, the benefits of SGD programs have not been "empirically proven" as a tool for facilitating women's empowerment and improving their overall health and wellbeing, a dilemma that continues to be debated in recent literature (Hayhurst, MacNeill & Frisby, 2011; Larkin, 2007). Obstacles also exist in using sport as a tool for women's development, including concerns about women's safety, competing obligations (e.g. food, shelter, sexual division of labour) as well as issues surrounding gender and sexuality norms (Saavedra, 2005).

The second related and prominent tendency in international development is the augmenting involvement of corporations in governing, funding and implementing development programs in the Two-Thirds World. Besides the growth in development programs that use sport and physical activity to promote girls' wellbeing, health and development, there have also been an escalating number of development initiatives that are funded by TNCs. Neo-liberal political rationalities have necessitated, in part, a notable withdrawal and shift of the state and its functions (Nickel & Eikenberry, 2010; Rutherford, 2007). That is, increasingly, non-state actors such as TNCs, NGOs, civil society organizations, and even celebrity 'diplomats' and 'philanthropic governors' are taking on the social welfare agendas previously held by states, particularly in the Two-Thirds World. These actors have culminated under the wider movement of transnational philanthropic governance that has increased throughout the past decade – a partial response to burgeoning social, health, economic and political crises such as the rise in civil unrest, HIV/ AIDS pandemic and augmenting inequalities between the One-Thirds World and Two-Thirds World. While "traditional" humanitarian actors such as NGOs, faith-based entities and international organizations such as the United Nations (UN) continue to play an important function in terms of addressing these concerns; the roles of corporations and private foundations are becoming increasingly pertinent in funding, creating and governing international development interventions (Anheier & Daly, 2007; Bhanji, 2008; Tayart de Borms, 2005).

Current research in these areas explore the understandings, challenges and the struggles involved when seeking social justice and change through consumer-based, corporatized initiatives such as the Buy Red campaign endorsed by celebrities (e.g., U2's Bono; Ponte, Richey, & Ponte, 2009). Indeed, some argue that campaigns such as Product RED have the potential to "improv[e] a company's brand without challenging any of its actual operations and

practices, and increas[e] its value and perception" (Ponte et al., 2009, p. 314). In many ways, corporations are increasingly using development programs in the Two-Thirds World to demonstrate their 'socially responsible' platforms, enhance their corporate images, and reach 'untapped' markets. The development projects produced by SGD NGOs are thus increasingly funded and presided over by TNCs as part of a 'new' epoch of corporate social responsibility (CSR) in international development (Evans, 2007).

Despite these new forms of "private authority" (Cutler, 2010; Cutler, Haufler & Porter, 1999), in which non-state actors such as corporations and foundations are able to exercise power, govern global spaces and regulate global relations, little research has been carried out that critically explores and questions how these entities are evolving into the nascent private philanthropic governors in international development issues, particularly in the broader sport for development and peace context. Without question, the legitimacy of TNCs as the logical financial supporters of development interventions is largely buttressed by the neo-liberal development era, where companies are able to showcase their socially responsible platforms on a global scale. Overall, public relations campaigns that make development aid "sexy" and "branded" by celebrities such as Bono (Cameron & Haanstra, 2008; Ponte et al., 2009), works to enhance corporate images, resulting in new and powerful forms of transnational philanthropy that are perhaps distinct from those studied previously (Bhanji, 2008).

SGD programs are delivered through a complex array of actors that are part of a broad constellation of aid. Building on Massey's (1994) original notion of the constellation, I suggest that "constellations of aid" are well-suited to studying the social connections embedded in SGD work. In this sense, aid is not fixed in its meaning, and thus does not always necessarily suggest a unilateral relationship of power (e.g., North to South). Here, Massey's (1994) understandings

of place in the context of globalization is important, for she grounds the globalization as not some dominant, abstract, totalitarian exploiting force, but rather, as the intensifying connections between internationally local spaces. As Massey (1994, p. 154-155, italics added for emphasis) writes:

> What is happening is that the geography of social relations is changing. In many cases such relations are increasingly stretched over space. Economic, political and cultural social relations, each full of power and with internal structures of domination and subordination, stretched out over the planet at every different level, from the household to the local area to the international....What gives a place its specificity is not some long internalized history but the fact that it is constructed out of a particular *constellation of social relations,* meeting and weaving together at a particular locus…Instead, then, of thinking of places as areas with boundaries around, they can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings, but where a large portion of those relations, experiences and understandings are constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself…And this in turn allows a sense of place which is extroverted, which includes a consciousness of its links with the wider world, which integrates in a positive way the global and the local.

Thus, I attempt to build on Massey's salient understandings of particular places, or nodes within a constellation of shifting links and connections to other locales. As Thayer (2010, p. 6) argues, the local is therefore significant as "the primary site where globalization is constituted, as well as where its effects are played out." In the constellation of SGD aid relations explored here, I use

aid to invoke varying relations of benevolence, assistance, and support. Throughout this chapter, then, I advocate for a constellation approach to studying SGD interventions (see Figure 1.2) rather than the more generic "cause and effect" linear aid model of development (see Figure 1.1)

Figure 1.1: SGD Aid Chain
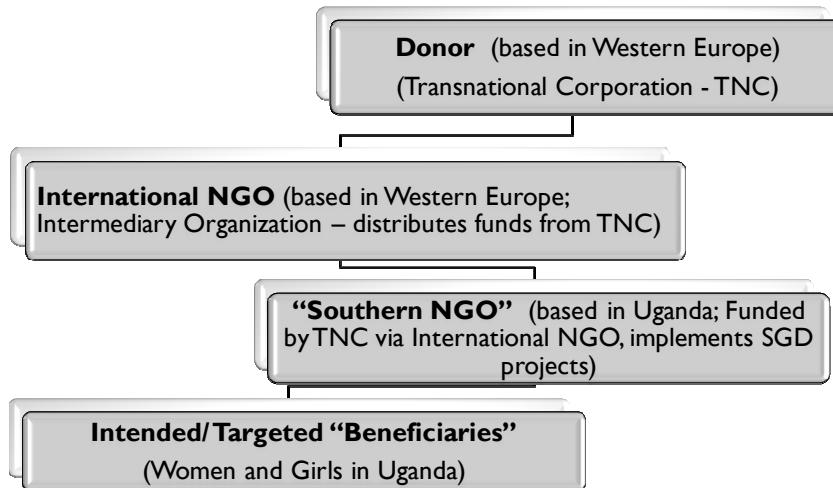
Figure 1.2: SGD Aid Constellation
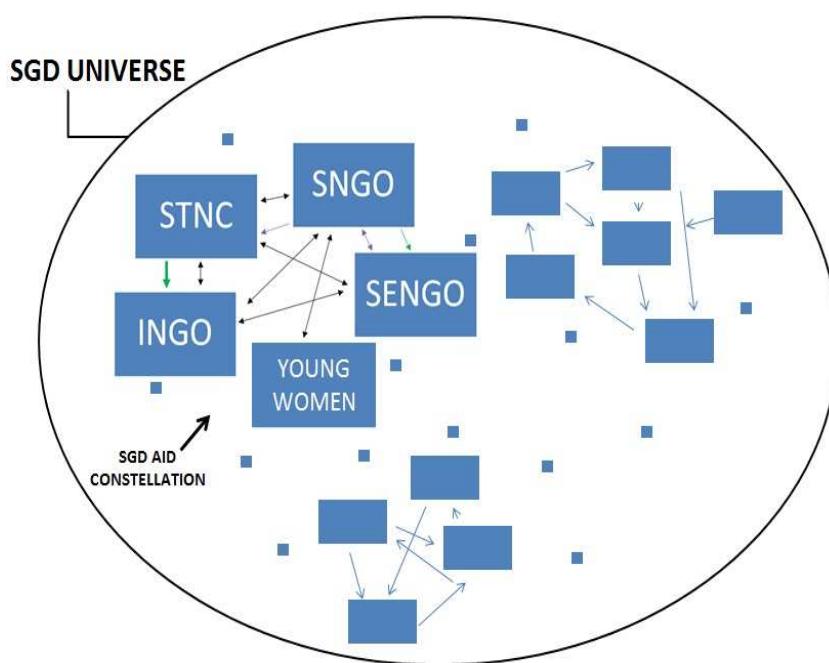
or the overly panoptic descriptions of aid that claim to observe and understand global connections from its "historically derived locus of power" (Eyben, 2010, p. 384). Panoptic and linear models risk being too substantialist and functionalist, where aid is understood in terms of rigid, predetermined entities, and there is minimal consideration for malleable intersubjective relations (see Eyben, 2010). For instance, aid classification, monitoring and evaluation practices, and the notion of "accountability" are all anchored in substantialist understandings of development (Eyben, 2010; Mosse, 2004).

Thus, I argue that constellations of aid account for the more fluid and relational aspects of development interventions: their multilayered character, creative framework and the hidden knowledge that operates externally from dominant schemas typically pursued by development actors such as NGOs and government. Relational frameworks work to unravel the concealed, discursive and inconspicuous nodes of assemblages embedded in SGD practices and programs. That is, using SGD as an initial locus, I hope to show how constellations of aid relations 'hang together' in formations of power, connected by nuanced and multifaceted relationships of structure and agency.

Specifically, this research will focus on the relations among an international NGO (INGO), a Southern NGO (SNGO), and the "intended beneficiaries" (also known as the "participants" and "recipients") of SGD interventions. These entities carry out structured projects that use "the power of sport" to transform marginalized individuals (such as women and adolescent girls, mostly residing in the Two-Thirds world) into "productive citizens." Here, the power of sport is assumed to be one of benevolence, flowing in a one-way direction from the One-Third to the Two-Thirds World.

In summary, the emergence and confluence of these three trends – "the girl" as the next tenable solution of development; the increasing number of sport for development initiatives that target girls and women; and the augmenting private governance and authority of TNCs over development interventions – present a dire need to critically explore the implications of corporate-funded, girl-focused, SGD interventions using a postcolonial feminist relational perspective. As I will argue, this perspective usefully attends to, and captures, the socio-political connotations and positions of the organizations and social institutions involved in designing, deploying and executing SGD initiatives. Perhaps more importantly, postcolonial feminist approaches focus on, and centre on, the experiences and perceptions of the targeted beneficiaries: the girls themselves. This is pertinent, as the voices of "subalterns" are noticeably absent from discussions of, and research on, the Girl Effect – and SGD programs more broadly. There is, for example, a lack of understanding as to the potential implications of the Girl Effect movement and its related discourses for physical activity and health-based development programs and policies, particularly in the Two-Thirds World. More broadly, the question remains as to what the Girl Effect truly signifies for a girl's relations with her family and communities. The purpose of this study was to attend to these questions and others, through empirical research conducted on a corporate-funded, girl-focused physical activity and health program that used martial arts to empower girls in rural Eastern Uganda.

Throughout this study, I attempt to respond to, and tease apart, recent contentions made by feminist scholars about the dangers of framing girls as the next tenacious 'can-do' subjects of capacity and social change, or the new sites of alteration (e.g., Harris, 2004; McRobbie, 2009; Murphy, 2011). To do this, I combine literature on postcolonial feminist approaches to international relations (IR) and development (Agathangelou & Ling, 2009; McEwan, 2009),

cultural studies of girlhood (Currie, Kelly, & Pomerantz, 2009), and governmentality studies (in particular, biopedagogies, biopower and technologies of the self) in order to think through the making of SGD subjectivities. I also try to connect, and build on, recent debates pertaining to agency, resistance, voice and silence as presented in literatures on gender and development (Kabeer, 2010; Parpart, 2010; Rankin, 2010) and girlhood studies (Willis, 2009).

Thus, this study is concerned with two related issues: first, the diverse ways that girls from Uganda experienced a martial arts SGD program that was being deployed in Winita, Eastern Uganda as part of a vast array of strategies used by a Southern NGO (SNGO) to address the domestic violence and abuse of women and girls. A secondary focus of this research was to examine global corporate social engagement (GCSE) interventions by considering how relations among a TNC, International NGO (INGO), and Southern NGO impacted and influenced constellations of aid as deployed in SGD. I define GCSE as the numerous strategies used by corporations to become politically, economically and/ or culturally involved, on a transnational scale, in social and development issues. As I will elaborate on in Chapter Two, GCSE is distinguished from CSR due to the latter's explicit focus on the economic, ethical, legal, and flexible responsibilities of corporations.

1.2 Background of Study: Translating Transnational Complexities in SGD Research

> *Research has yet to engage fully with the transnational complexity of the SDP sector. There has been limited sustained, comparative research across the different geopolitical conditions and contexts in which the SDP sector operates….Moreover, prior studies have not examined adequately the different scales, tiers, and professional networks which have rapidly grown up across local, national, and transnational levels within the SDP sector* (Giulianotti, 2011, p. 51).

This research project was designed to attend to, and explore, some of the complex relational aspects of SDP as highlighted above by Giulianotti (2011). I attempted to accomplish this through examining the perspectives of staff members from two SGD NGOs (one International

NGO, and one Southern NGO), a TNC that funded the SGD NGO's work, and the girls who received and "benefited" from this SGD intervention. A primary interest was the consequences of SGD programming complexities, particularly in terms of the connections between the perspectives of staff from the One-Third World, and the experiences and situations "in the field," (that is, on the ground, or where SGD programs are 'executed,' in the Two-Thirds World). The goal was to critically investigate STNC's recent 'socially responsible' activities in SGD, particularly in relation to an international non-governmental organization (INGO) that STNC funds (referred to as INGO throughout the rest of this thesis). Based in Western Europe, INGO was founded in 2007 and "supports innovative and sustainable sport and physical activity programmes worldwide as a strategy for social change and women's empowerment." INGO supports programs that are "high quality, grounded with a women's rights based approach, and aimed at women's economic empowerment." The INGO currently funds 20 NGOs in 15 countries throughout Africa, South America and Southeast Asia, with a budget (2009-2010) of €1.3 million (approximately $2.2 million CDN).

INGO uses funding from STNC (as well as funds from other donors, which will be discussed in more depth in Chapter Four) to fund SNGO, a women and girls'-focused development organization that aims to end domestic violence by working with survivors and their organizations to increase support and enable them become more effective and skilful in promoting women's rights. SNGO is based in the Winita District,[5] located in Uganda. In early 2009, SNGO developed a martial arts program that used karate and taekwondo to "improve the status of girls and bring about improvements in their [educational] completion rates while improving gender relations in the communities in which they live."

Taken together, these four groups (STNC, INGO, SNGO and the martial arts girls) constituted unique and overlapping sites within a larger feminist political space, a space where sport was positioned as a tool to promote gender equality and transform gender relations. Though global inequalities, and global forces of neo-liberal ideologies and policies, often resulted in SGD feminists from the One-Third World interpreting, conveying and implementing knowledge and resources to SNGO's professionalized staff members, and onto its grassroots constituents (i.e., the martial arts girls), this did not mean that SNGO, and the girls, were not autonomous, or able to contest and negotiate this apparent "hierarchical chain" of power.

This research study was strongly influenced by the work of global ethnographers who use the extended case method (Burawoy, 2001; Smith, 2006; Thayer, 2010).[6] In short, this method relies on ethnography spread across multiple sites, and uses semi-structured, in-depth interviews and document analysis to support observations. The extended case method builds on four key aspects of research, one in which the researcher "moves from observer to participant; from one temporal moment and geographic location to others; from micro experience to the macro forces in which it is embedded; and from observed empirical practices to theories reconstructed to make sense of them" (Thayer, 2010, p. 20). Global ethnography, and the extended case study method, also connects to the work of institutional ethnographers, who take up people's standpoints in the "local actualities of everyday experience," and reaches from their positionalities and experiences to "open up relations and organization that are, in a sense, actually *present* in them but are not observable" (Smith, D., 2006, p. 4, italics in original). Smith further argues that, by prioritizing the voices and concerns of those who have the least access to power, we are better positioned as researchers to understand particular "relations of ruling" (Smith, D., 2006). Though my study suggests that each entity had its own forms of power, influence and authority, SNGO and the

martial arts girls started from relative positions of marginalization (economically, culturally, socially, and politically) in comparison to the SGD actors from the One-Third World (STNC and INGO staff).

I conducted semi-structured interviews with various actors in the SGD aid constellation, including: 1) STNC CSR staff; 2) the employees from INGO; 3) the SNGO staff; and 4) the intended beneficiaries of this particular martial arts initiative, adolescent girls. These actors were not treated as distinct case studies; rather, I attempted to move both outwards and inwards, to examine the assemblage of connections in which they were located (also see Thayer, 2010). By examining these actors, and their connections within constellations of aid, I investigated the links among the situations experienced by program participants, the intermediary roles of the NGO staff members and the "socially responsible" agenda of the STNC employees.

1.3 Project Details: Research Questions, Purpose and Significance

Until recently, sport for development interventions have been neglected in global studies and development theory, with few exceptions (e.g., Black, 2008; Darnell, 2009; Donnelly, 2008; Giulianotti, 2011; Kidd, 2008). Research on the broader SDP project has mostly uncritically focused on sport's ability to contribute to development priorities and enhance citizen participation in sport (e.g.,Willis, 2000). To date, no studies have used a global ethnography of the various actors currently engaged in the sport for development and peace aid constellation. Furthermore, little research has used postcolonial feminist IR theory to examine the experiences of adolescent girls within the SGD aid constellation. Finally, minimal attention has been paid to the increasing role of TNCs as they engage in SGD through the "socially responsible" funding of NGO projects.

These lacunae in the literature need to be addressed for four main reasons. First, citizens in developing countries who participate in sport for development projects may have become "subaltern subjects" to be acted upon rather than active participants in their own development (Spivak, 1988), and more research needs to be conducted from their perspectives, a point to which postcolonial feminist approaches can attend (Benson & Nagar, 2006). [7] Second, there are an increasing number of corporations funding and administering development projects (for example, through "social partnerships" with NGOs or in conjunction with UN agencies) in the Two-Thirds World (Nickel & Eikenberry, 2010; Evans, 2007; Sharp, 2006). This requires critical attention, as there is a paucity of research that examines the consequences and implications of GCSE interventions "in the field," particularly when such acts are framed as "benevolent" and "philanthropic." Third, only a few studies have investigated the experiences of women and adolescent girls in the sport for development project (e.g., Brady, 2005; Holte-McKenzie, Forde & Theobald, 2006; Kay, 2009; Saavedra, 2005), despite an increase over the past two decades in NGOs and corporations explicitly targeting women through their development programs (Bushell, 2008; Cornwall, Harrison & Whitehead, 2007; Fernando, 1997). Finally, there is a paucity of studies in international development that have investigated the perspectives of multiple actors embedded in the aid constellations, with few exceptions (e.g. McNamara & Morse, 2004; Thayer, 2010; Wallace et al., 2006).

This investigation will consider the socio-political and relational implications of SGD by exploring and following the web of connections through which it "comes to life," and by considering how global processes are formed, shaped and deployed through links among social actors based in particular sites. As Thayer (2010, p. 26) explains of her global, multi-sited ethnography of transnational feminist movements in Brazil, Europe, and the U.S.: "Linkages

occur at multiple scales, from the local to the transnational. The point at which these multiple

connections intersect is the collective identity of a given movement, whether individual

organization, local alliance, discursive community, or transnational network." To pursue these

aims, the results and analysis of my study originated, and started from, the perspectives of

adolescent girls who are the "beneficiaries" of the martial arts SGD intervention in Uganda

(Chapter Five). Throughout each chapter, my analysis moves throughout the web of actors in the

SGD aid constellation, by considering how SGD practices are carried out, and how they are

"discursively shaped" (DeVault & McCoy, 2006, p. 22). By conducting a global, multi-sited

ethnography of the SGD aid constellation, I attempted to uncover how the intended or

unintended actions of SGD practitioners become intertwined with the processes they aim to

"regulate and improve" (Li, 2007, p. 27). Thus, though Chapter Five focuses mostly on the

perspectives of the girls and SNGO (the actors in the Two-Thirds World), and Chapter Six

centres mostly on the viewpoints of INGO and STNC (actors in the One-Third World), I chose to

scatter the standpoints of all actors throughout the two results chapters. By doing so, the aim was

to disrupt the monolithic or binary tendencies in SDP research, where the North is traditionally

"pitted" against the South. In effect, I argue that the combination of diverse voices in each

chapter promotes and supports a hybrid, fluid, and constantly shifting conversation on SGD, one

that seeks to illuminate intersubjective meanings of sport as a tool for promoting gender and

development.

1.3.1 Research Questions and Purpose

This study is framed by the following research questions, which subsequently guided my

analysis. The research questions are divided into two parts: The first part focuses specifically on

donor-NGO relations within the SGD aid constellation; the second set of questions explore SGD

programming as it impacts SNGO staff, and the young women who both experienced the program, and volunteered as martial arts trainers.

1. Understanding sport, gender and development programs

a) What issues are of central concern to staff (including the young women who volunteer as martial arts trainers) administering SGD programs, and how are these issues linked to their everyday experiences?

b) How do staff administering SGD interventions at local, national and international levels describe and interpret their experiences?

c) What forms of patriarchy exist in SGD, and how do these re(produce)/ challenge the worldviews of those working in and around SGD programs and funding agencies?

d) How are Western notions of 'empowerment', 'participation', 'development' and 'sport' taken up and/ or challenged by those executing SGD interventions at local, national, and transnational levels?

2. Understanding the SGD 'Aid Constellation:'

a) How are contemporary constructions of gender, race, poverty, sexuality, nation and culture shaped through the various individuals and institutions within the sport, gender and development aid constellation?

b) To what degree do corporations executing GCSE initiatives address the intersections of cultural difference and gender in their transnational programs?

c) How does domination and resistance mark sport, gender and development encounters at individual, institutional and societal levels?

d) How do institutional processes, as they pass throughout the aid constellation, influence the practices of knowledge that organize the SGD agenda; particularly as these processes

shape the experiences of women and girls and foster subject positions within the wider SDP project?

e) What is the nature of the relationships between entities in the SGD aid constellation?

f) How do SGD-based corporate/non-governmental organization partnerships affect the lives of the women and girls involved?

g) How are notions of 'empowerment', 'participation', 'development' and 'sport' taken up and/or challenged by donors and (I)NGO staff?

h) What are the complex dynamics of power behind cross-cultural notions of 'cooperation' and 'development' between donor and recipient groups?

i) How are TNCs using GCSE strategies and discourses in order to "legitimize" their entrance into the sport, gender and development arena without challenging any of their actual operations and practices?

j) Who are the agents of knowledge in GCSE initiatives and what languages are being prioritized and marginalized?

k) How is it possible that TNCs are accepted by the societies they operate in?

1.3.2 Overview of Chapters

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters. Chapter Two reviews the relevant the links, disconnections and key concerns of the literature on sport for development and peace, gender and development, and sport, gender and development. I pay particular attention to situating issues of empowerment, resistance, agency, voice, and choice among these literatures. I then outline a brief section on self-defence training, and the ways contemporary studies have framed martial arts as an important catalyst for promoting women's and girls' empowerment and resistance to domestic, gender-based and sexual violence. Finally, in the last section, I shift the

discussion to review current literature on global corporate social engagement strategies, and the geo-politics of aid relations in sport, gender and development. I include salient debates pertaining to the role of NGOs in development, citing studies that examine how these actors are playing an increasingly prominent role in what is becoming widely recognized as a "development industry."

Chapter Three explains the key theoretical tenets used in this study, including postcolonial feminist approaches to international relations theory, feminist cultural studies of sport and girlhood, and on three key aspects of Foucault's governmentality, including transnational governmentality, biopedagogies and biopower, and technologies of the self. I then put forth an argument for combining Foucauldian and Gramscian notions of power. This is followed a section explaining the relevancy of global governance theories for this project, including key concepts that fall under this theoretical umbrella, such as transnational private authority.

Chapter Four describes the methodology for collecting and analyzing data. In this chapter, I explain the benefits and challenges of using a multi-sited, global ethnography for conducting this research. I also outline some of the key ethical dilemmas I encountered while engaging in feminist-oriented, cross-cultural research on gender and development with a marginalized population.

Chapter Five focuses mostly on the perspectives of the young martial arts trainers (adolescent girls), and the SNGO staff, as they understand the benefits and challenges of the martial arts program. Here, I consider how development is increasingly becoming "girled" (Murphy, 2011), particularly in the context of SGD interventions. I use the Girl Effect discourse to investigate the ways the martial arts girls are positioned as agents of capacity, economic

productivity and social change in their communities through the martial arts program. Building on the literatures and theories presented in Chapters Two and Three, I explore whether they have inevitably become, as Angela McRobbie (2009) might argue, the "new subjects of capacity and social change." This Chapter considers why and how SGD is, in effect "empowering," and what this development "buzzword" actually means from the varying perspectives of SGD "feminists" conducting work from the West, in relation to those girls and women "on the ground" in Winita, engaging in this work. I attempt to fuse Foucauldian and Gramscian notions of power by carefully considering power as *relational* and productive, not simply repressive. While I examine how this martial arts program serves to regulate, discipline and militarize the girls' bodies, I also show how it enables the girls of Winita to express agency and resistance in important ways.

Chapter Six explores the multifaceted funding relationships among STNC, INGO, and SNGO, primarily through the lenses of nation, race, gender and class. I demonstrate how each entity in the constellation of SGD aid experienced, and contributed to, global neo-liberalism in complex, inadvertent and diverse ways. I provide discussions of NGOization and hierarchies of class, focusing on the ways that SNGO staff struggled to negotiate their positions as increasingly "professionalized," middle class employees (in the Ugandan context) working in the "charity business," I also try to show how the multiple identities and roles of staff members and young women were shaped by hierarchies of race, class, gender and nation, which meant that their involvement in the SGD constellation was never static, but fluid. In other words, social relations did not necessarily always function in a binary fashion (i.e., corporate employee, White woman from One-Third World vs. SNGO staff member, African woman from Two-Thirds World) but were fuzzy and interchangeable. I also stress the importance of SNGO's resistance to INGO's moral authority and STNC corporate power by citing examples of instances where SNGO staff

demonstrated that NGOs in the Two-Thirds World are not always passively susceptible to corporate influence and "Northern" control. Through their various social enterprises, including the martial arts program, SNGO staff exercised local agency by promoting self-reliance, not just among their staff, but also to the martial arts girls. Overall, this chapter concludes by showing that social entrepreneurship-as-agency was used as a strategy for SNGO's survival in neo-liberal times.

In Chapter Seven, I conclude by outlining some of the key contradictions and challenges uncovered through this work in lieu of providing a repetitive summary of findings. I then move on to what I believe to be the methodological, theoretical and substantive contributions of this study, and make some suggestions in terms of future research. I propose a loose framework for thinking about how researchers might move towards mutual accountabilities and a more ethical and responsible SGD praxis.

CHAPTER TWO
Review of Literature

2.1 Introduction

The review of literature is divided into two parts, and seven sub-sections. The first part focuses on summarizing key studies that relate broadly to SGD. Initially, I provide a brief backdrop on the SDP movement, lending important contextual elements to the study at hand, such as the history of this movement, as well as its influences and impacts as it has shifted and progressed over the past decade. I then turn to literature on gender, development and empowerment in order to discuss and reflect on how the SDP agenda addresses gender issues such as agency, resistance and choice. These issues, and concepts, are further theorized and elaborated upon in Chapters Three and Five. The literature on sport, gender and development takes up issues of empowerment, agency, resistance, and voice in a multitude of ways, and I attempt to summarize how these literatures enmesh throughout the next section of the review. The discussion then shifts to providing a brief overview of the literature on self-defence through martial arts training as a specific example of SGD, and one explored empirically in this dissertation. This literature highlights some salient benefits, caveats and concerns in terms of using karate and taekwondo as tools to promote girls' development, empowerment and agency.

The second part of this chapter moves to examine studies on the socio-politics of NGOs, and NGOizaton, and the involvement of transnational corporations in funding, delivering, and implementing development initiatives through global corporate social engagement tactics. I reflect on the political, social and economic reasons behind the emergence of corporate-NGO partnerships in development, and in SDP more specifically. Finally, a brief exploration of how corporate social responsibility norms are deployed via global authorities such as the UN Global Compact follows. I argue that the Global Compact represents an important force for legitimizing

and encouraging companies such as STNC to enter into the SGD space as private authorities through NGO-corporate partnerships.

2.1 Sport for development and peace: Background and Context

Sport is embedded within civil society and global capitalism in important ways, particularly as physical education programs are becoming increasingly recognized by governments as delivering more than just Olympic medals. From a functionalist perspective, sport has been viewed as potentially contributing to the building of (global) civil society, generating social capital and fostering community development (Jarvie, 2003; Giulianotti, 2011). It has been argued that sport contributes to sense of 'civic pride' (Ingham & McDonald, 2003), has a vital role to play in the regeneration of deprived urban communities (Frisby, Reid & Ponic, 2007) and fosters social integration and peace (Gasser & Levinsen, 2004; Schwery, 2003). Physical activities are also viewed as entry points for civic engagement, as evidenced in community 'fun runs,' volunteerism through sport and sport-based clubs and leagues (Harris, 1998).

By harnessing these social aspects of sport, over 500 sport for development NGOs have created a distinctive platform that has not only garnered attention from the UN, but also from the International Olympic Committee, Ministries of Sport and Education as well as the media (e.g., I0C, 2009; Right To Play, 2009). In short, SDP is based on the argument that grassroots, community-based sport, with a focus on participation and increased access to citizens, holds considerable promise as a development strategy in both the One-Third and Two-Thirds Worlds. As various researchers have discerned, this mandate contrasts sharply with the traditional logic of competitive elite sport associated with the IOC, high performance sport, often sponsored by and upheld by TNCs: a sport ideology that centers on winning, individualism, rivalry, and tends to dominate the increasingly neo-liberal agendas of contemporary governments (Frisby et al.,

2007). These two viewpoints result in an elite sport/mass sport tension, where each approach often competes for government funding, partners, public approval, and policy voices (Hayhurst & Frisby, 2010).

Sport for development is perhaps more distinctive than other social terrains because it attempts to funnel its policy objectives through various channels, such as education, health, foreign policy, social services and sport itself. Similarly, SDP NGOs are able to mobilize their cause using other human rights campaigns as catalysts for furthering their policy objectives, where important advances in human rights campaigns have occurred, such as through the anti-apartheid movement (see Kidd & Donnelly, 2000; Guelke & Sugden, 1999), and in the fight for workers' rights against Nike (e.g. Sage, 1999).

In effect, then, sport is arguably to be a human right, and is part of women and girls' rights – a key point that INGO, and STNC deemed central to their organizational mandates. This is also noted in the UN Declaration of 1948, Article 24, which states that, "everyone has the right to rest and leisure;" while Article 27 highlights the individual's "right to freely participate in the cultural life of the community" ([UN, 1948] as cited in Giulianotti, 2004, p. 358). Conversely, the Declaration is in itself ironic, particularly because, although a human rights framework presents an established agenda from which to attend to social inequalities and the marginalization of particular groups in sport, sport can also contribute to the "colonial subjugation of non-Western cultures" (Giulianotti, 2004, p. 358). Thus, sport has been simultaneously implicit in the denial of human rights to these same disadvantaged groups. For example, the violation of children's rights in sport has been well-documented by Donnelly (1997). Despite these ambiguities, the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG) claims framing sport as a human right brings with it, "an obligation on the

part of governments, multilateral institutions, and other actors in civil society to ensure that opportunities exist for everyone to participate in sport and physical activity" (SDP IWG, 2006, p. 8).

For the past ten years, a variety of entities, such as UN agencies, faith-based groups, universities, international organisations, governments, sport federations, NGOs, and academics, have been involved in what has come to be known as the 'international movement of Sport for Development and Peace' (Kidd, 2008). This movement has been "legitimized" through a series of conferences, and the 2005 UN International Year of Sport and Physical Education, which culminated in Magglingen, Switzerland in December 2005, with multiple of stakeholders in attendance. These conferences often tackle a variety of issues encompassed by SDP, and are also used as a platform to discuss the diverse theoretical and methodological approaches used to study SDP. These perspectives include: functionalist and instrumental approaches (Schwery, 2003; Beutler, 2008; Willis, 2000); managerial, monitoring and evaluation standpoints (Beacom, 2007; Coalter, 2007); rights-based viewpoints (Giulianotti, 2004; Donnelly, 2008); feminist theory/and gender-based approaches (Saavedra, 2005); international relations, global governance theory, and globalization-focused investigations (Black, 2008; Maguire, 2008); socio-political and peace studies (Armstrong, 2004; Sugden, 2006); global civil society studies and social movement theory (Giulianotti, 2011; Hayhurst, Wilson, & Frisby, 2011; Wilson & Hayhurst, 2009); and postcolonial (feminist) theory and critical race approaches (Darnell, 2007, 2009; Fabrizio-Pelak, 2005; Nicholls & Giles, 2007). The distinctions in this brief overview of SDP scholarship are somewhat artificial, and I argue that these perspectives function more as a palimpsest; in that each standpoint is informed by and/or builds on the other (e.g., Giulianotti's 2004 analysis combines theories of globalization with a rights-based approach to SDP).

The concerns encompassed by these perspectives pertaining to using sport as a tool for development are paramount, and for the purposes of this research, it is important to emphasize how the social, political and economic power of sport's apparent 'utility' is invoked in various ways. For example, sport has been used as a means to disseminate particular bodily norms, shape interests, define identities and contribute to capitalism (Brohm, 1978). Moreover, from a critical perspective, sport-based development initiatives may be viewed as tactics to control, train and deploy Western values among developing country citizens by development aid workers (Darnell, 2007, 2009). Sport has been inextricably linked to colonialism and the extension of the neo-liberal project, both in the Two-Thirds World by Christian missionaries (Willis, 2000), and within Canada (Paraschak, 1995). For example, research by Paraschak (1995) has documented the efficacy of sport to control and suppress native populations. This was evident in the government's attempt to use 'Canadian' sport to maintain specific ethnocentric assumptions throughout a nine year period (1972-1981), with the aim of assimilating native people into the mainstream sport system.

Thus, while it may be argued that the passing of Resolution 58/5, entitled 'Sport as a means to promote education, health, development and peace' (UN, 2003) by the UN General Assembly on November 3, 2003, 'institutionalized' the sport for development movement and led to its growth, I concur with other scholars (e.g., Kidd, 2008) who submit that the use of sport as a tool for the development of 'marginalized' groups such as women, youth-at-risk, immigrants, the disabled and many others is, in fact, not necessarily 'novel.' Arguably, what may be potentially new is the ways in which sport's ties to global capitalism and neo-liberalism are being extended into the sport for development regime via corporate social responsibility norms, and corporate-NGO partnerships.

The confluence of sport, gender and development, and its links to CSR, will be further

explored in the upcoming sections of this literature review. Before doing so, I suggest that, in

order to further contextualize the research at hand, it is imperative consider social inequalities as

they relate to gender, race, sexuality, nation, socio-economic status (SES) and class.

2.2 Gender and Development: Critiquing the assumptions of "empowerment"

For Amartya Sen (1999, p. 1) development is simply a "process of expanding the real freedoms

that people enjoy." From this perspective, development requires the elimination of

"unfreedoms," such as poverty, poor employment opportunities, oppression, and the "systematic

social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or overactivity of repressive

states (Sen, 1999, p. 1). Here, women are understood to be 'active agents' of social change who

can challenge, resist and transform systems that perpetuate 'unfreedom' and social inequalities,

as long as they choose to do so. This viewpoint is largely endorsed by the Girl Effect discourse,

where 'gender' as a category has been accepted and legitimized as a domain of intervention in

mainstream development (Rankin, 2001; Wilson, 2011).

Over the past four decades, there have been many forms of 'gender and development'.

Originating in the 1970s, the gender and development movement was conceptualized as 'Women

in Development' (WID), and was widely accepted by radical, socialist and liberal feminists. In

1976, the United Nations declared the commencement of the decade for women, resulting in the

integration of gender issues into various social policy arenas, including sport. While the decade

proved to be useful for addressing distinct approaches to feminist theory and highlighting social,

historical, cultural and geographic differences between women, many fundamental issues were

ignored (Beetham & Demetriades, 2007). One of the central problems with the WID framework

was that it did not question underlying power relations and failed to challenge hierarchies of

class, race and dependency or account for the diverse groups of marginalized women (Beetham & Demetriades, 2007; Jennissen & Lundy, 2001; Mohanty, 1988).

In the 1980s, a new approach to women and their relationship to development, known as "Gender and Development" (GAD) was formed (Jackson, 2006). One of the main goals of this approach was to avoid isolating gender discourses as separate, while bringing about other circumstances in determining women's oppression such as race, class, and sexuality. The 'empowerment' of women, then, was understood as a prerequisite for their development. Under the GAD approach, empowerment must occur at the grassroots level, starting with women's active roles in development, thereby taking up a more "participatory approach" (Beetham & Demetriades, 2007). Yet, one of the central problems with this approach is that women's 'empowerment' is based upon the premise that "people with power can and will give it to people without" (Smillie, 1995, p. 81). Overall, GAD failed to account for "women's oppression as a product of colonial and neo-colonial power" (Larkin, 2007, p. 96), a serious oversight which postcolonial feminist approaches aim to address.

Without question, the notion of empowerment is convoluted with Western feminist undertones, complex power relations and ambiguities that continually shape and influence its meaning. Since the mid-1980s, empowerment has been a fixture on the development landscape (Batliwala, 1994; Cornwall & Brock, 2005), a "buzzword" that is thought to be understood (particularly by development agencies and practitioners) in terms of "measurable outcomes" (Kabeer, 1999; Mosedale, 2005). The third UN Millennium Development Goal, for instance, highlights various indicators to be used for measuring women's empowerment – such as access to education, share of non-agricultural wage employment, and political participation. Some argue that women's empowerment is to be achieved by having access to educational opportunities,

health, resources, land and employment (e.g., Grown, Rao Gupta & Kes, 2005); and by unleashing strategies for increased autonomy, self-esteem, confidence, engaging in the public sphere (Fiedrich et al., 2003). If women successfully access these opportunities, some suggest that patriarchal power structures will potentially be challenged (e.g., Kabeer, 2005). Others attest that empowerment is not just a matter of "who has power"; instead, Parpart, Rai, and Staudt (2002) argue for more nuanced studies of empowerment that recognize its places in institutional structures, languages, identities and cultural practices. However, recent literature has critiqued these understandings of empowerment for being couched in a neo-liberal terms, where it is instrumentalized and framed in terms of "smart economics," an "efficient" and "effective" way to increased women and girls' productivity, which Eyben and Napier-Moore (2009) argue ignores political perspectives that focus on the transformative, social justice and moral arguments for development.

Another critique of the current development epoch, particularly from a feminist perspective, is that of Western women "saving" the Two-Thirds World "other." As Abu-Lughod (2002, p. 789) writes, "projects of saving other women depend on and reinforce a sense of superiority by Westerners, a form of arrogance that deserves to be challenged." Without question, probing how underlying relations of neo-colonial power impact SGD programs is imperative for uncovering how notions of "salvation" and "solidarity" influence and are embedded in Two-Thirds/ One-Third World relations. Homogenizing women's experiences, ambitions, needs and identities is dangerous, for it connotes that, women were conceived globally as suffering from common forms of oppression, and seamlessly sharing concerns for surmounting universal structures of patriarchy (Mann & Kelley, 1997). This "universalizing" conception of the oppression of women as understood by Western Women is also known as the

"Western Feminist Perspective" (Mohanty, 1988), and is interrogated in the next section. First I will briefly review research on sport, gender and development that has mostly been located by sport scholars who tend to use a 'Western Feminist Perspective' to examine issues in women's sport.

2.2.1 Situating Resistance, Agency, Voice, and Choice in Gender, Development and Empowerment

This dissertation tells a tale of structure, agency and resistance by exploring how "people are empowered and changed through resisting disciplinary power relations, but [at the same time] this very action/ agency may also strengthen their incorporation into the status quo" (Parpart, Rai, & Staudt, 2002, p. 6). Processes of resistance, then, may include instances where oppression is transformative. At the same time, we cannot assume that gender identities are monolithic and that the girls targeted by SGD interventions take up, benefit, challenge and resist these programs in the same ways (Lairap-Fonderson, 2002; Parpart, 2010). Thus, the themes explored in the chapter that follows attempt to group the experiences of each girl in martial arts SGD initiatives into various thematic categories, while acknowledging that these experiences are not homogenous.

Recent studies of gender-focused development and empowerment programs have demonstrated that gender identities are context-specific, shifting, and assembled in contradictory ways by "administrative practices" (Sharma, 2008, p. xxxvii). In other words, STNC, IO and SNGO each govern, unleash and mediate power in a myriad of ways, making it tricky to pinpoint how particular notions of 'empowerment,' 'participation,' 'development' and 'sport' are taken up and/ or challenged by the multiple actors involved in the SGD aid constellation.

Recently, debates pertaining to issues of silence, voice, agency and women's empowerment have become rampant throughout the gender and development literature. Most

notably, Jane Parpart and Naila Kabeer – two leading scholars in gender and development – have pointed to the continued misunderstandings and conflations surrounding voice and agency and the need to rethink how empowerment 'works' in theory and practice. The main debate centers on the confusion between voice, silence and agency, and how processes of empowerment take up and engage with such concepts. These discussions are not only being entertained by academics, but also by practitioners who are struggling with the implementation and the blurry boundaries presented when executing these 'buzzwords' 'on the ground' (e.g., see Rankin, 2010; Standing, 2007). Others have pointed to concerns pertaining to the changing nature of these words in the face of neo-liberal development (Parpart, 2010; Sharma, 2008).

For Kabeer (2010), choice is the starting point of any process of empowerment, which is enacted by agency, though she foregrounds this viewpoint by suggesting that choice depends on *context* and the *types of choices* being made. From her perspective, it is imperative that choice challenge (and not reproduce) inequalities. Kabeer (2010) further argues that empowerment involves a critical consciousness, including the innate ability to "recognize oppression and injustice" (p. 19). However, Parpart takes issue with Kabeer's notion of choice, since Kabeer argues that choice is only significant if there was an opportunity to have chosen *otherwise*. For Kabeer, choice depends on resistance to domination and injustice, that is, "the ability to dominate and control people, communities and events, as well as the capacity to resist such domination" (Parpart, 2010, p. 21). Parpart counters that Kabeer (and many other scholars and practitioners in the development community), fail to recognize that agency needs to be contextualized in a development schema that prioritizes neo-liberal ideologies and practices, where specific postcolonial conditions and contexts result in decreased possibilities "for interrogating and challenging local, national and global power structures and ideologies"

(Parpart, 2010, p. 21). This is of utmost importance in terms of recognizing agency, empowerment and choice in terms of processes that are "nuanced, situated and multi-leveled" (Parpart, 2010, p. 22). Ultimately, Parpart suggests that broader understandings of agency need to be taken up, where the focus is not on the end result, but rather on the often slippery, sporadic and inconsistent possibilities for growth in consciousness and actions.

The well-known interplay of agency and structure is also of crucial importance for exploring both the micro relations of power (i.e., the routinized, day-to-day practices of how people interact with one another); and the wider structural domains of power emphasizing how large-scale, interlocking social institutions are organized to reproduce inequalities (Collins, 2009). The study explored here attempts to negate the perpetual dualism of agency/ structure. Rather, the goal is to follow Parpart's concern for more nuanced approaches to the agency/ structure debate in theorizing empowerment, rather than exclusively understanding structure as some "limits to freedom [and agency]" and some "logic or social force that has to be overcome in order that the structures be breached or transformed" (Rose, O'Malley, & Valverde, 2006, p. 100). As McKee (2009, p. 478) points out, the use of top-down strategies of empowerment often position the practitioners (e.g., NGO/corporate staff) as automatically adhering to "top-down policy discourses," yet this presents a monolithic, essentialized understanding that these staff are out to "exert a negative effect on subjects' agency." Such top-down discursive approaches fail to recognize that "subjection is neither a smooth nor a complete project; rather one inherently characterized by conflict, contestation and instability" (McKee, 2009, p. 474). Structures are never fully severed from the influence of the agency of the participants and the ideologies shaping the ways that "social actors interpret and make sense of their worlds" (Cooky, 2009, p. 280).

These points are instructive for thinking through the governing strategies of the organizations that constitute the SGD aid constellation, and the ways that the actors involved in this constellation claim to "fund empowerment" for Ugandan girls through martial arts. However, as the empirical evidence throughout Chapter Five shows, it is clear the relations that imbue governmental programs, and infiltrate its 'targets', are never stable, but are contradictory, mutating and complex, resulting in multiple, unpredictable outcomes (Mosse, 2004; 2005a,b). Indeed, one of the major critiques of governmentality is its "lack of attention to the specific situations in which the activity of the governed is problematized" (McKee, 2009, p. 478). This study attempts to address the discursive with a more grounded, material focus on the actual experiences of individuals as active agents in a SGD program. I further discuss theories of governmentality as they relate to empowerment, and gender and development, in Chapter Three. Before doing so, the next section addresses the issues highlighted above in the sport, gender and development context.

2.3 Sport, gender and development (SGD)

From the mid seventies onwards, several pertinent gender-equity campaigns and legislations were formed in Western countries to promote the participation of girls and women in sport (Larkin, 2007). For example, the Brighton Declaration marked an important step in advancing the creation of women's sport organizations such as the 'International Working Group on Women and Sport,' subsequently leading to increased lobbying efforts and sport participation. According to Saavedra (2005), advancements made within the women in sport movement influenced the official gender and development movement, as evidenced by the fact that women in sport is mentioned in the Beijing Platform for Action (1995). However, these campaigns were problematic in that they mostly ignored women's sport experiences in the Two-Thirds World.

Various researchers have demonstrated that sport is a useful tool to contribute to gender and development in various ways, particularly as a means to enhance girls' and women's health and well-being, facilitating their self-esteem and self-empowerment, fostering social inclusion and social integration, challenging and transforming gender norms, educating women and girls about HIV/AIDS prevention, and providing them with opportunities for leadership and achievement (Nicholls & Giles, 2007; Larkin, 2007; Saavedra, 2005; Willis, 2000). While these are important insights into sport, gender and development programs, Saavedra (2005, p.1) calls for more research to "sensitize us to the gendered implications of any and all work related to sport and development, not just to that focused on females" (p. 1). She also cautions those attempting to involve women and girls in SGD projects to be concerned with safety (particularly sexual violence in sport), competing obligations (e.g. sexual division of labour creates heavy demands on women and girls' time for leisure) and finally, gender and sexuality norms (Saavedra, 2005). These points of contention emphasize the importance of using a postcolonial feminist lens in order to explore how SGD practitioners may actively confront Western-based social and cultural norms embedded in gender and sexual relations of sport.

SGD scholarship focused on the Two-Thirds World mostly positions "development" in very different ways. The confusion around the framing of these terms stems from the problem of sport's recent use as a tool for *international development* by, for instance, the United Nations (e.g., UN, 2003), versus the more traditional notion of elite sport development/ high performance sport (Houlihan & White, 2002). Brady (2005) and Willis (2000) define sport as a tool to contribute towards 'development' using language from the United Nations Development Programme. Other studies focus on how an effective sports structure may contribute towards

social, economic, and cultural development objectives for women and girls (Brady, 2005; Pelak, 2005).

Various scholars submit that the secular organization of sport may serve as a barrier to the social development of women and girls (Walseth & Fasting, 2003; Brady, 2005). For instance, the importance of religion, social order, different understandings of sexuality, and women's perceived "lack of autonomy" (from a Western perspective) in Muslim countries such as Egypt, often means that women and girls may not achieve the same development "benefits" through sport as those from other countries and cultures. However, cultural relativists may counter that the ability of those in the Two-Thirds World to decide what constitutes valuable sport practices for women and girls is crucial, and that greater cultural agency in non-Western societies is imperative to the success of sport, gender and development interventions in these nations (Giulianotti, 2004). I agree with Giulianotti's (2004) suggestion that such arguments should be approached with caution, as he warns that these perspectives fail to account for how claims to "radical cultural difference" may be advanced by non-Western elites to "justify their oppressive powers" (p. 363). For example, he asks if it is acceptable to "ignore the prohibitions, violence and killings surrounding women's football teams in Algeria, on the grounds of 'radical cultural difference?" (Giulianotti, 2004, p. 363). Giulianotti (2004, p. 362) further argues that it is pertinent to question whether "altruistic beliefs in human rights and development [are] merely the velvet gloves that soften the double whammy of Western colonialism and neo-colonialism." Here, I turn to Narayan (2000, p. 91), who helps to amplify Giulianotti's concerns with the relationship between human rights and (neo)-colonialism:

> "The assertion that 'equality' and 'human rights' are 'Western values' is surely complicated by the historical reality that Western doctrines of equality and rights

coexisted for decades with support for slavery and colonialism, and that equality

and rights were denied to women; to racial, religious, and ethnic minorities within

Western nations; and to virtually all subjects of colonized territories…Thus, one

could argue that doctrines of equality and rights, rather than being pure 'products

of Western imperialism' were often important products of such struggles *against*

Western imperialism."

These points are pertinent to consider for the purposes of this research, particularly as,

throughout interviews, INGO and STNC continued to speak of the importance of using a

women's rights-based approach to SGD programming. This will be further highlighted in

Chapters Five and Six.

Regardless of whether various scholars frame sport as a tool of neo-colonial power that is

"racially 'colour-blind'" (Darnell, 2007, p. 563), or as a mechanism to promote social

development (e.g., Willis, 2000; Brady, 2005), high performance sport development (e.g., Pelak,

2005), or both realms blended together (Hargreaves, 1997; Burnett, 2001); the majority of

research on the sport, gender and development nexus portrays the lives of women and girls as

"enhanced" in various ways through access to sporting opportunities. However, an obvious

limitation in making these observations is that the majority of literature on sport, gender and

development in the Two-Thirds World is mostly only carried out in Kenya, South Africa and

Egypt, thus generalizing these findings to other countries is inappropriate.[8] Of critical concern is

that gender-focused sport for development interventions (for example, a NGO that uses football

as a tool to promote gender equity) may be taken up by participants in different ways.

Pelak (2005) and Hargreaves (1997, 2000) are two of the most notable scholars who

have considered how the experiences of women and girls participating in sport and physical

activity in the Two-Thirds World are often impacted by the intersections among gender, race, class, socio-economic status, and colonialism. Pelak's (2005) study uses a highly detailed conceptual framework that clearly demonstrates the importance of considering categories of difference as they influence sport and physical activity, and encourages those studying sport, gender and development to view culture as hybrid, fluid and inherently dynamic, and to actively avoid universalizing women's sporting experiences. Put differently, we must be mindful of how "gender intersects with other systems of power, namely race and class" (Pelak, 2005, p. 55) and need to be attentive to ways in which current scholarship on women's sporting experiences focuses on the White, middle-class, Western woman (Hargreaves, 2004).

An abundance of SGD scholarship is based on fieldwork that took place in South Africa, mostly by "outsiders" who are White, middle-class, Western scholars (e.g., Hargreaves, 1997; Pelak, 2005). However, in keeping with a postcolonial approach, most of these authors are reflexive in terms of their social location, though few scholars explicitly discuss insider/outsider relations, which is imperative for highlighting the importance of being reflexive of one's privileges, race, class, and social position when conducting research. I extend this discussion of insider/ outsider relations further in Chapters Four and Seven.

Certainly, a postcolonial feminist approach is imperative in considering fieldwork in a country such as Uganda, where some of the fieldwork for this dissertation was based. In particular, reflecting on the intersections among race, class and socio-economic status is of particular importance within this context. Hargreaves (1997) understands the gender/race/class nexus as "triple oppression," and argues that it is important for researchers to ensure that "theorizing is embodied in the life stories of South African sportswomen, and how their experiences are in tension with the dominant structures of racial, gender, and class relations"

(Hargreaves, 1997, p. 197). However, hooks (1984) cautions against using this kind of language, arguing that "triple" suggests that one oppression can be "added" to others, when in fact, oppressions operate in multiple and different ways depending on the context. In Hargreaves' (1997) study, several female participants discussed the impenitent racial discrimination they experienced in attempting to participate in sport. Further to this point, Pelak (2005) notes that "new teams organized within 'African communities' disband at a much faster rate due to financial difficulties than those in 'Colored communities'" (p. 62-63). Thus, an aim of the research explored in this dissertation was to build on the important advancements made by Hargreaves and Pelak by using intersectionality to attend to the interactions between gender, race, class and other categories of difference. I elaborate on discussions of intersectionality in Chapter Three.

Notably, most studies that examine the intersections among sport, gender and development allude to a lack of resources and poverty as the most prominent barriers experienced by women and girls in terms of sport participation (Brady, 2005; Burnett, 2001; Hargreaves, 1997; Pelak, 2005). In fact, Hargreaves (1997) argues that the "feminization of poverty" has resulted in dire situations for many African women, as the "lack of adequate housing, safe water, sanitation, and basic health care – the main causes of preventable disease – are almost exclusive to the African population and mainly to women" (p. 198). Others refer to the lack of parental involvement and financial support in young girls' activities, mostly due to the impoverished conditions in which they live (e.g., Burnett, 2001; Brady, 2005; Shehu, 2010). Specifically, the lack of sports facilities, equipment, and human resources were mentioned in most sport, gender and development studies as negatively impacting the programs under investigation. Moreover, gender inequalities, 'gendered spaces' and patriarchal sport systems

were other important factors that prevented women and girls from participating in physical activity (e.g, Brady, 2005; Walseth & Fasting, 2003). Finally, in countries such as Zimbabwe (and Uganda), women are dissuaded from playing sports such as soccer by the patriarchal ideologies that participating in vigorous activities will impact their fertility, wellbeing, and sexuality. As Daimon (2010, p. 10) demonstrates, soccer in Zimbabwe exposes women and girls who participate to various forms of violence through "hooliganism, sexual molestation; discrimination, lack of sponsorship, *juju* stigmatizations, and gender socialization problems within the home."[9]

In order to address gender-based and sexual violence in sport, many of the programs that STNC and INGO fund use self-defence programs to help empower women and girls. In the next section, I briefly touch on the relationships among women and girls' self-defence, and women's resistance to violence using martial arts such as karate and taekwondo.

2.3.1 Self-defence Training, Empowerment and Women and Girls' Resistance

Self-defence programs based on martial arts for women and girls are increasingly being used by feminist activists around the world as viable strategies for improving their social, psychosocial, physical, emotional and mental health and wellbeing, and for preventing gender-based violence,[10] sexual abuse and aggression against women (Brecklin, 2008; Ceremele, 2010; Di Zio, 2010; Hollander, 2004, 2009). Here, it is important to discern that "martial arts" is a broad term, and for the purposes of this research, I use the term to refer to the karate and taekwondo programs implemented by SNGO for Ugandan girls for the primary purpose of self-defence. As I further describe in Chapter Four, the two senior martial arts trainers from SNGO were experts in taekwondo and karate (one trainer for each area). In fact, SNGO selected these particular types of martial arts *because* each trainer was already educated in these disciplines, therefore

increasing the efficiency of the programming process. Not only did the martial arts trainers also teach the girls the physical movements involved in karate and taekwondo (i.e., kicking, punches, etc.), but they also tried to educate the girls on the Eastern philosophical principals, intrinsic values, rules, ethics, and merits of traditional martial arts (e.g., discipline, restraint, obedience, etc.). At times, these efforts were usurped by competitive, Westernized tones that focused on training the girls to become karate and taekwondo "champions," and encouraging them to participate in elite global martial arts competitions, or to locate corporate sponsors to help them succeed. I further explain these tensions in Chapter Five.

Research on martial arts for self-defence programming in school curricula note that it is imperative that any successful martial arts intervention, especially those implemented among young people, emphasize meditation, mental discipline and character development (Carleton & Chen, 1999; Lu, 2006). In other words, "combativeness is only a means, not a goal in itself" (Lu, 2008, p. 73). And yet, those programs administered by practitioners trained in the West tend to re-work these traditional and important indigenous Eastern philosophies and pedagogies (Di Zio, 2010; Lu, 2008). Instead, martial arts as practiced and taught in the West emphasizes and encourages other values, such as individual competitiveness, a focus on winning and building champions, and full contact training – as evidenced by the recent success of Ultimate Fighting Championship in North America.

Despite the burgeoning research in this area, no studies could be located that examine self-defence programs for girls and women in the Two-Thirds World. Most of the literature considers martial arts initiatives in schools, community centers, and programs in North America (Lu, 2006; Reilly & Friesen, 2001). Some of the main tensions outlined in this literature include concerns that initiating martial arts programming among young people (especially young

women) would only exacerbate, provoke and instigate incidents of violence (Brecklin, 2008; Hollander 2004; 2009). In Italy, Di Zio (2010) shows that, although parents, community members and school administrators were initially sceptical of the Italian Federation of Judo, Karate, Fight and Martial Arts in teaching its discipline in schools, parents eventually were supportive of the program after its first year. This was mostly because Other literature suggests that, in particular, there is a strong resistance to teaching women and girls martial arts programming for self-defence because it radically shifts mainstream gender ideologies to position women as valuable, assertive, strong and powerful (Ceremele, 2010; Hollander, 2009). In effect, such studies suggest that challenging gender stereotypes may effectively undermine violence against women (Brecklin, 2008; Hollander, 2004; 2009). Other research describes how female-only self-defence classes are paramount in order to negate traditional gender-role socialization and to encourage females that they have the capability and the right to defend themselves (Ullman, 2007). Various studies strongly advocate that schools should make self-defence classes a requirement as part of their physical education curriculum, particularly in order to encourage females that they have the ability, and the right, to defend themselves (Huddleston, 1991). And yet, the concern remains that changes at the individual level do little to actively change the patriarchal ideologies, social institutions, and structures that promote and encourage sexual violence against women and girls in the first place. Put differently, are self-defence martial arts interventions targeted at women and girls just another strand of the neo-liberal, 'do-it-yourself', self-empowering, corporatized, Girl Effect mantra?

In an attempt to address some of the barriers faced by women and girls in the Two-Thirds World, corporations such as Adidas, Standard Chartered, Nike, Vodafone and other have 'stepped in' to fund SGD development interventions, particularly in the Two-Thirds World.

These corporations are not only interested in enhancing the lives of women and girls via sport interventions, but view their involvement as a unique opportunity to enter new consumer markets, enhance their public images, increase profits, engage employees and influence policy (Prescott, 2008). However, the roles of corporations and other non-state actors such as NGOs in development are complex, as is detailed in more depth below.

2.4 NGOs, Moral Authority and the 'Development Industry'

One of the key considerations of this research is to understand how SGD NGOs are possibly being increasingly subjected to 'new managerialist' norms, or what others refer to as "NGOization" (Kamat, 2002). NGOization is a key tenet of development hegemony, where development ideologies are reproduced in the resistant spaces of political action, often through homogenization, the politics of funding, and the ideologies of the intellectual class at the grassroots (Kamat, 2002). Kamat (2002) goes on to explain that there needs to be more nuanced explorations and understandings of NGOs and grassroots social activism so as to challenge the dominant conceptualizations of NGOs as either "service contractors" or as extensions of equalizing forces of power and improved democracy. The increasing preoccupation with delivering services at "private-sector levels of cost control" (Brinkerhoff, Smith & Teegan, 2007, p. 62), managing projects in a hierarchical form, preoccupations with efficiency, and remaining accountable to those funding their projects in lieu of ameliorating the conditions of the marginalized communities they aim to serve, are all convincing characterizations of NGOization (Cooley & Ron, 2002; Ebrahim, 2003). In a similar vein to development hegemony and NGOization, the practice and rhetoric of "gender hegemony," suggests that the most powerful feminist-oriented NGOs end up compromising "radical politics" by prioritizing interventions that serve the interests of global capital, despite their claim to be feminist in orientation, and thus

ignore key concerns about gender politics and inequalities (Sangtin Writers & Nagar, 2006, p. 146-147).

These issues are particularly salient in considering how NGOs are funded by TNCs, and how this relationship possibly exacerbates a 'privatization label' for NGOs (Fowler, 2000). While NGOs are categorized as private authority actors, they also possess a 'moral authority' which they are granted because of their "non-state nature, their substantive expertise, and their positive normative commitments" (Biersteker & Hall, 2002, p. 212). This moral authority is compounded by philanthropic norms (widely circulated through the media and CSR campaigns) that enhance the global public's perceptions of NGOs as preferred mechanisms for fostering social change (Edwards & Hulme, 1996), or as key regulators of "all systems of power…creating more co-operative values and behavior among those involved as producers and consumers" (Edwards & Sen, 2000, p. 612). This moral authority lends NGOs the legitimacy to work in international development and make normative demands for accountability from states to marginalized groups, while positioning themselves as specialists in their area of focus (e.g., SGD).

Until recently, researchers have documented the ways in which NGOs and activists have campaigned against TNCs to change their human rights records, as well as their social, economic and environmental practices, while encouraging them to become 'global corporate citizens' (e.g. Keck & Sikkink, 1998; Sage, 2000). In fact, various studies demonstrate how NGOs are becoming more closely aligned with firms in a variety of ways, particularly due to their increasing materialistic and instrumental motivations and increased competition for resources. Not only this, but I argue that TNCs potentially use forms of productive power (Barnett & Duvall, 2005),[11] to acquire and exploit the moral authority of NGOs by funding their activities

and 'partnering' with them, and that such relations are legitimized by new corporate citizenship norms driven by the UN Global Compact and by the UN Office of Sport for Development and Peace. By obtaining 'authority from below' (Ruggie, 2003), TNCs are able to gain legitimacy and access to pursue new markets and reach customers at the 'bottom of the pyramid'.[12]

It is important to consider the perspectives of scholars who tend to view these NGOs as the "trojan horses for global neo-liberalism" (Harvey, 2005). Heightened concerns pertaining to the increased bureaucratization of NGOs are mounting. In the realm of sport, scholars have accused NGOs of indulging in competitive and business-oriented approaches to development via sophisticated marketing strategies, sport celebrity ambassadors, and/or through their affiliations with corporate sport partners (see Armstrong, 2004; Wilson & Hayhurst, 2009). The competitive nature of SDP NGOs is also evident in their efforts to secure funds from transnational corporations and national sport organizations (Hayhurst, Wilson & Frisby, 2011; Hayhurst & Frisby, 2010; Wilson & Hayhurst, 2009). A certain irony is evident here, in that as SDP NGOs are supposed to address key concerns pertaining to marginalization, social inequality and material disadvantages, they are "often uncritically, reluctantly and/or seemingly unavoidability active participants in a market-driven competition for scarce resources" (Wilson & Hayhurst, 2009, p. 174).

In summary, there are diverging views and multiple critiques on what it means to "fund social change" through donor-NGO relations:

> For [the radical left] it is revolution or nothing; for the post-modernists it is total
> rejection of the development industry; for the discursive deconstructionists it is
> new language consistent with practice; for the academic critique it is a call for

new identities, legitimacy, and new forms of financial security for those who seek

an autonomous route from backfunders (Pearce, 2010, p. 631).

To further explain the idea that NGOs are possibly becoming marketized through their

interactions with corporations, I extend these arguments using literature on GCSE and the

politics of aid.

2.5 GCSE and the Politics of 'Aid' in Sport, Gender and Development

 Recent scholarship on development aid has explored the convergence of celebrity culture,

consumerism, aid and development in the Two-Thirds World. This literature examines the

meanings, contestations, and the restrictions of seeking social transformation and justice through

initiatives such as the Buy Red campaign endorsed by U2's Bono (Cooper, 2007; Ponte, Richey,

& Baab, 2009; Richey & Ponte, 2008). One of the key critiques of such campaigns is that they

seemingly aim to "improv[e] a company's brand without challenging any of its actual operations

and practices, and increas[e] its value and perception" (Ponte et al., 2009, p. 314). As a neo-

liberal era interlocks with international development practices (Blaikie, 2000), and as

corporations are increasingly using development interventions to demonstrate their "socially

responsible" platforms, the potential for public relations campaigns to make development aid

"sexy" and "branded" by celebrities (Cameron & Haanstra, 2008; Ponte, Richey, & Babb, 2009)

and to enhance corporate images, has meant that new modalities of aid are being created that

possibly differ from those of the past.

Besides the literature outlined above, most studies on CSR in the Two-Thirds World

context in general are limited (Newell & Frynas, 2007).[13] Those investigations on sport and CSR

in the Two-Thirds World pertain to critiques of Nike's labour practices in Asia (e.g., Knight &

Greenberg, 2002; Sage, 1999). Outside the realm of sport, the studies that do exist separate CSR

in the Two-Thirds World from the One-Third World in various ways. One major distinction is that framing CSR *as a business tool* focuses more on outputs, in the sense that there is a concern with 'financializing' CSR in terms of appealing to shareholders, budgeting for CSR activities, and calculating its contribution to a given corporation's bottom line. Some counter that, to be effective, CSR *as a development tool* needs to be more concerned with process; that is, it needs to focus on the most marginalized and disadvantaged groups in a collaborative, accessible, and participatory way (Newell & Frynas, 2007). For example, this may mean providing the tools for poorer groups to protest against "badly conceived investments in which their interests may have been overlooked" (Newell & Frynas, 2007, p. 676).

While the majority of the world's greatest social and economic inequalities are located in the Two-Thirds World, these nations also represent the most rapidly expanding and 'untapped' growth markets for business. Many refer to this as the 'bottom of the pyramid' model, suggesting that those residing in extreme poverty (three billion low-income consumers outside of mainstream markets at the 'bottom of the pyramid') can be a 'market' in themselves that can be served with low-cost goods and services (Prahalad, 2005). Certainly, for TNCs, the 'bottom of the pyramid' is perceived as an innovative form of engaging in CSR by enabling the most marginalized and disadvantaged groups be "empowered consumers," and simultaneously drives new forms of business and contributes to a company's bottom line. In fact, the bottom of the pyramid model is advocated by the IBLF as a useful strategy for reaching markets in the Two-Thirds World: "sport is a significant social force in developing countries, and therefore it represents – for companies who are thinking laterally – a means to meet the needs of markets 'at the bottom of the pyramid'" (Prescott, 2008, p. 11). Besides this example, Visser (2008, p. 492) suggests that CSR in the Two-Thirds World has many specific characteristics, such as:

1) CSR is more informal in the Two-Thirds World, for example in terms of labour codes, standards, etc.

2) Formal CSR practices are usually exercised by transnational corporations (as opposed to local/ national-based businesses).

3) Formalized CSR codes, standards, and guidelines that pertain to the Two-Thirds World are most often "issue specific" and "sector-led." For example, pertaining to HIV/AIDS, or focused around mining, or the agricultural sector.

4) Economic investments are the most pertinent ways that corporations may foster a social impact (e.g., through job creation).

5) CSR is more tied to 'charity' in the Two-Thirds World, particularly via corporate social investment in terms of private foundation philanthropy (e.g., Nike Foundation), or for instance, by investing in sports development.

Some scholars accuse governments, UN agencies, and NGOs for failing to "rid the planet of under-development and poverty," and argue that the time has come for large corporations to 'step in' by taking responsibility for promoting economic development and filling the 'governance gap' (Hopkins, 2007, p. 2).

For the purposes of this study, the rise of GCSE interventions in SGD is of particular interest. The various modes of GCSE in sport (many of them in sport for development) are detailed in Table 2.1 below. This study focused on two forms of GCSE interventions: corporate-NGO partnerships, and social entrepreneurship. Of crucial importance is to highlight that GCSE differs from corporate social responsibility (CSR), or the idea that "corporations have an obligation to constituent groups in society other than stockholders and beyond that prescribed by law or union contract" (Allouche & Laroche, 2006, p. 3). That is, CSR connotes that

Table 2.1	Taxonomy of Global Corporate Social Engagement Activities and Examples in SDP[14]
Type of GCSE activity	**Example**
Corporate social responsibility (CSR)	Adidas partnered with the SOS Children's Villages and FIFA (International Federation of Association Football) campaign to fundraise for '20 villages across Africa for 2010' (SOS Children's Villages, 2009).[1]
Professional sport league philanthropy	The NBA runs a program called 'Basketball without Borders' in Africa NBA players, coaches, and scouts are involved in these camps, actively providing lessons ranging from skill development to education on HIV/AIDS (see Millington, 2009).
Cause-related marketing	Nike's partnership with the Lance Armstrong Live Strong campaign (see McGlone & Martin, 2005).
Private foundation philanthropy	Nike Foundation's activities around adolescent girls in the Two-Thirds World (see Nike Foundation, 2011).
Sport celebrity diplomacy	Right To Play's athlete ambassadors (see Cooper, 2007 for more on "celebrity diplomacy" in international development more broadly).
Consumer-based philanthropy	Right To Play recently joined forces with Adidas through a "limited edition" of the signature Right To Play red ball that as of June, 2007, was sold in Adidas stores worldwide, and on adidas.com (Right To Play, 2007). All proceeds from the sale of the mini red ball go to support Right To Play's projects around the world.
Market Multilateralism	Nike Inc.'s partnership with UNHCR (see UNHCR, 2006).
Corporate-NGO partnership	Nike's partnership with Ashoka (see Changemakers, 2009)

will comply with approved labour codes, environmental regulations and become advocates for human rights. This role of the corporation opposes contentions by classical liberalists such as Milton Friedman who reiterate that the only social responsibility of business is to turn a profit (Wood & Jones, 1996, p. 42). CSR is also traditionally distinct from notions of philanthropy, or the act of donating money or goods, with no financial or material reward to the donor, to a religious, charitable or educational organization or social cause (Hayhurst & Kidd, 2011).

At the same time, it is important to point out that the lines between CSR and philanthropy are rapidly beginning to blur. As King (2006) argues, in the last two decades, the notion of *strategic* philanthropy has shifted corporate agendas to account for the "'value,' 'strategic direction,' and 'mission' of their charitable activities" (p. 4). In other words, donations are no longer simply made without a *strategic understanding* of how such financial contributions impact a corporation's bottom line, markets or employees. King (2001) uses the term "global strategic community relations programs" (GSCR) to describe the vast efforts of corporations to create transnational philanthropy and community relations interventions that pair community involvement with a particular "aspect of corporate social responsibility" (p. 268). Bhanji (2008) defines global corporate social engagement (GCSE) interventions as "the varying terminology used by transnational corporations to set their normative terrain in social policy issues" (p. 55). For the purposes of this study, I attempt to combine King and Bhanji's conceptions of GSCR/

GCSE may also be understood as a vast array of strategies used by corporations to become politically, economically and/or culturally involved, on a transnational scale, in social and development issues. CSR is thus distinguished from GCSE (as King carefully delineates above) due to its broader/more general concern with the economic, ethical, legal, and flexible responsibilities of corporations. As suggested in Table 2.1, CSR is a type of GCSE activity.

As I will further explain in Chapter Three, understanding GCSE interventions in SGD using a postcolonial feminist international relations theoretical framework allows us to not only uncover the norms embedded within acts that are considered 'socially responsible,' but also the geopolitical inequalities, power relations and particular understandings of race, class and gender interwoven within such actions. If, as some suggest, the socially responsible behaviour of companies merely reflect patterns of corporate interests (Himmelstein, 1997), then it is crucial to expose the normative values of CSR that shape the behaviour of TNCs and influence their corporate interests – interests that are also embedded in the social relationships within CSR's broader cultural environment.

CHAPTER THREE

Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

The literature review outlined in Chapter Two revealed key insights and contextual information pertaining to sport, gender and development as it relates to global corporate social engagement interventions. In order to connect this literature with a sound theoretical framework, this chapter provides an overview of how postcolonial feminist theory informs and interlocks with sporting feminisms, cultural studies of sport and girlhood, international relations (IR) theory and development, and theories of govermentality. I highlight the debates within these theoretical fields, while also suggesting that bridging and fusing these vast theories is beneficial for further explaining and critically investigating the recent shifts and ever-changing landscape of SDP programming, particularly in studying gender-focused development programs that use sport in the Two-Thirds World.

3.2 Postcolonial Theory: A starting point

A useful starting point for exploring post(-)colonial theory is to consider the significance of the hyphen between 'post' and 'colonial.' Some researchers argue that the hyphen represents a period *after* colonialism: post means 'past,' therefore suggesting that colonialism and its effects have 'definitively terminated' (Hall, 1996, p. 243). However, one may counter that though a formal 'decolonization' has taken place in many of the nations of the Two-Thirds World, those regions are still devastated by the impacts of colonialism and neo-colonialism, and many scholars argue that re-colonization of the Two-Thirds world has occurred through global capital and neo-liberal globalization (Li 2007; Saul 2008). In short, postcolonial perspectives are concerned with the impact of colonial practices on the construction and representation of

identities, the relationship between power and global capital, and the significance of race, gender, and class for understanding domination and resistance (Hall, 1996).[15]

A postcolonial lens aims to subvert the prevailing ethnocentric discourses of imperial Europe while also paying attention to "shifting the unit of analysis from local, regional and national culture to relations and processes *across* cultures" (McEwan, 2001, p. 106). Building on this theoretical framework, a postcolonial *feminist* approach is concerned with unleashing a cross-cultural feminist politics that challenges the "unacknowledged and unexamined assumptions at the heart of western disciplines that are profoundly insensitive to the meanings, values and practices of other cultures" (McEwan, 2001, p. 94). This approach also pays close attention to the ways in which gender and race interlock to create oppressive conditions that are exacerbated by dominant discourses of representation, development and power relations which may be resisted through "counter-narratives" (Chowdhry & Nair, 2002, p. 27). With these guiding insights in mind, I now turn to explain how postcolonial feminist theory, cultural studies and sporting feminisms may be used to inform this dissertation.

3.2 Sporting Feminisms, Development and the "Post-Feminist Masquerade"

In this section, I briefly detail three waves of feminist theory, and explain the significance of these waves for sporting feminisms. I then consider how interdisciplinary approaches to cultural studies and feminist tenets of poststructuralist perspectives, such as postcolonial feminist studies, may be useful for investigating sport, gender and development-focused GCSE interventions.

The *first wave* of feminist theory (in the late 19th and early 20th century) mainly refers to women's suffrage movements and the right to vote. This wave was concerned with gaining political power, the right to own and inherit property, and for women to control their bodies and reproductive rights (Hargreaves, 2004). Feminist theories in this era were mostly critical of how

traditional and scientific theories concealed women's experiences, while portraying men's behaviours as 'the norm' (Frisby et al., 2009).

The *second wave* (1960s to late 1980s), considered ideas and actions associated with the women's liberation movement that commenced in the 1960s, and campaigned for legal and social equality of women. During the 1960s and 70s, different emerging feminist theories shared concern that 'measuring up' to male-defined standards inevitably involved women acting like or accommodating men. Marxist feminist theories highlighted issues of class difference, capitalist structures and material aspects of life, which privileged class over gender (Hargreaves, 2004). Black feminist theorists such as hooks (1992) were extremely influential in foregrounding race in oppressive relations instead of criticizing simple male/ female binaries. Issues of sexuality and gender were advanced by lesbian and queer feminist theorists who demonstrated the exclusive nature of hetero-normative norms tied to male/ female binaries (e.g., Butler, 2004). Overall, these theoretical advancements contributed to the formulation of more equitable laws, government policies, and services for women, in that the focus was on larger structures and practices (e.g. laws, policies, media representations) contributing to the gendered social order (as opposed to individual attributes). Put differently, diverse women's voices were crucial in reshaping the gendered social order (Frisby et al., 2009).

The *third wave* (1990s to, arguably, the present) began in the early 1990s as a response to perceived failures of the second wave, and also as a response to the backlash against its initiatives and movements. Third wave feminism seeks to challenge or avoid essentialist definitions of femininity that tend to emphasize the experiences of upper middle-class white women. One of the major contributions of poststructuralist feminist theories is that they reject specific feminist standpoints and have deconstructed the overarching systems of power related to

capitalism, patriarchy, and 'race.' In lieu of the essentialist grand narratives of modernism, postcolonial researchers embrace deconstructionism, and seek to incorporate the impacts of colonization, imperialism and globalization ignored by earlier theories (McEwan, 2009).

In the seminal years of sport sociology, sport feminisms mostly assumed sportswomen to be a homogeneous category, with a shared culture, one that was assumed to be White, middle-class, Western, heterosexual, able-bodied (Hargreaves, 2000; Saavedra, 2009). Thus, "women who c[ame] from minority groups and from countries outside the West have been marginalized, and their experiences, problems, struggles and achievements have been excluded from mainstream history and practice" (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 6). Sport sociologists have increasingly moved towards exploring social inclusion, and prioritizing the perspectives and needs of women from multiple ethnic and social backgrounds to build a unified front that aims to use sport to improve the opportunities for all women's participation (Hargreaves, 2000). Nevertheless, the focus on "sameness" and cohesion emphasizes essentialist claims that negate the diverse experiences of gender and feminism across race, age, patriarchy and capitalism. As Shedu (2010, p. x) attests:

> Despite the pressures created by feminists and other social movements to open up the sport arena to women and other previously excluded groups, the age-old patriarchal principles embedded in sport, reinforced at every turn by the mass media and gendered socialization, remain a major obstacle to personal fulfillment and advance in sport for many African women….[African] women, perceived as a threat to the male system of power relations in sport, become targets of toxic myths, stigmas, and harassment in sport spaces to perpetuate the domination of these spaces by heterosexual, masculine males.

Shedu's (2010) warnings hold important implications for considering the contradictions of SGD:
its apparent utility as a tool for empowering and challenging gender norms for women and girls;
and yet, its simultaneous ability to act as a catalyst for women and girls' subordination and
various forms of sexual violence and gender-based discrimination. Moreover, Third Wave
feminist assumptions that "gender equality has been achieved" in sport holds important
consequences in African context, as Shehu (2010) and colleagues demonstrate in their recent
edited volume on sport, gender and development in Sub-Saharan Africa. That is, the agendas and
aims of Western-backed feminist movements in SGD are experienced and taken up much
differently in the African context. This is a key irony of the "post-feminist masquerade" in sport,
one that still fails to account for racial and class inequalities in the fight for gender equality.
There is, in other words, an underlying assumption that "the fight for racial equality is no longer
relevant" (McRobbie, 2009, p. 69). This is largely because the post-feminist masquerade
"implicitly re-instates normative whiteness and it exacts a violent exclusion of diversity and
otherness thereby resurrecting and solidifying gendered racial divisions in the cultural realm"
(McRobbie, 2009, p. 70).

Feminist sport sociologists have also argued that there is an inherent assumption that
women and girls no longer need to fight for equality to "level the playing field." For example,
Cooky (2011, p. 218) argues that, for Third Wave feminists, "sport itself is no longer a 'man's
world,' equality has been achieved, and the need for feminism has passed." In this light,
Chapters Five and Six show the multiple contradictions of SGD by specifically focusing on girls'
experiences in these initiatives (as opposed to conflating the experiences of girls and women in
SGD).

In short, the three eras of feminist theory have been mirrored in what Birrell (2000) coins as the three stages of feminist sport sociology, including: a) atheoretical attention to women in sport (1970s); b) the modernist project (1980s); and c) the 'move towards synthesis' (1990s). Throughout these stages, studies by feminist sport sociologists has considered categorical research (which segregates race, sex and class differences in sport); distributive research (examining how sporting resources, opportunities and access are unequally distributed); and relational levels of analysis that aim to understand and theorize experiences of other oppressive groups by conducting relational analyses, including how sexuality, race and class combine with gender to reflect the diversity of women's lives (Birrell, 2000). Feminist sport scholars have, for the most part, fused these categories throughout the 90s by conducting relational analyses – for instance, by examining gender in relation to sexuality (Wheatley, 1994), sexual oppression (Dewar, 1993), race and culture (Hargreaves, 1997) and ageism (Vertinsky, 2000) for defining gender relations. In the next section, I submit that feminist cultural studies perspectives, combined with postcolonial feminist approaches, hold value for critically capturing the multiple and diverse experiences of girls and women involved in SGD interventions.

3.2.1 Linking Feminist Cultural Studies with Postcolonial Feminist Theory

Feminist cultural studies approaches recognize that women and girls are active agents struggling for better sporting opportunities. This follows critical cultural studies standpoints that view sport as a site of struggle and resistance, and demonstrates the relationship between power and culture while showing how sport is constructed and contested, and maintained or reproduced within society as a whole (Andrews & Loy, 1993; Giulianotti, 2005). More specifically, hegemony theorizes social control or power as a socially negotiated process of coercion and consent. Hegemony takes both structure (i.e. sporting organizational structure and sport rules) and agency

(individual compliance or resistance strategies) into account. Hegemony, then, resists the idea that people are "passive recipients of culture;" instead, a dialectical relationship is proposed between individuals and society, accounting for ways in that individuals are both determined and determining (Andrews & Loy, 1993). In fact, agency can also reproduce social structures. A hegemony framework focuses on *how* and *why* a particular situated subject mobilizes to contest their oppression, while "help[ing] to identify specific strategies of resistance appeals to people concerned about sport and problematic relations of power" (Pringle, 2005, p. 270).

As I will show in the chapters that follow, postcolonial feminist approaches to sport link in important ways to cultural studies feminisms' concern with agency by recognizing that it is no longer viable to represent those in the Two-Thirds World as "passive, helpless victims" (McEwan, 2009, p. 246). That is, postcolonial feminist theory recognizes that, for example, Ugandan girls participating in SGD programs are able to represent, mobilize and 'carve out' their own identities, experiences and understandings of SGD practices. This builds on actor-oriented standpoints that are often used in development studies; perspectives that are primarily concerned with "how to re-conceptualise the relations between knowledge, power and social agency" (Long 2001, p. 239) within a global development context. A key concern here is with the everyday lived experience of social actors, and how citizens exercise human agency 'from below'. Indeed, SGD may be taken up and experienced by participants in diverging and capricious forms. For example, Fabrizio-Pelak (2005, p. 67) demonstrates how South African women footballers are not a 'homogeneous unified group'; instead, they assume gender inequalities in multiple ways, as "local contexts and histories create different geospatial configurations in the sport [in this case, football]."

Postcolonial feminist approaches, then, are also useful for building on social

constructivist perspectives by uncovering how authority and influence are used in social

contexts, and to unearth questions concerning power, knowledge and geopolitics. [16] In particular,

studies on SGD may be usefully informed by postcolonial approaches that focus on the agency

of women and girls in the Two-Thirds World. As McEwan (2009) explains, postcolonizing

development studies forces a deep engagement with "debates and practices from 'the margins:'

> No longer is development knowledge thought of as putatively Northern, but
>
> instead it is re-conceptualized as both local and global, situated and networked,
>
> relational and complex, mutually constituted and sometimes conflictual. Such an
>
> approach opens up the possibility of 'theorizing back' from the South and also of
>
> transversal knowledge production (McEwan, 2009, p. 278).

In sum, postcolonial feminist studies poses significant questions about the politics of

development, and problematizes speaking and writing about others, while also creating new

spaces for articulating cross-cultural relations among and between women and men (Kim, 2007).

3.3 Postcolonial Feminist Theory, Development and Cultural Studies of "Girls"

This study is concerned with the experiences of girls in SGD interventions, specifically, in

Eastern rural Uganda. To this end, theories of girlhood are a crucial departure point for

considering the intersecting socio-politics of gender and youth as they pertain to international

development. There is a glaring gap in sociological, development and feminist studies that use

postcolonial approaches to examine "girlhood," particularly to critically explore development

interventions that specifically center on girls. While some scholars have focused on the

experience of "girlhoods" of marginalized girls in One-Third World nations (e.g. Jiwani,

Steenbergen & Mitchell, 2006; Willis, 2009), this dissertation aims to take these studies a step

further by considering postcolonial approaches to investigating girlhood through a transnational lens.

For example, STNC has funded SGD programs throughout Two-Thirds World in countries such as Ethiopia, India, Brazil, Bangladesh, Kenya, Afghanistan, Uganda and Zambia, and the with its head offices in Western Europe and the U.S.. Similarly, INGO funds programs in Colombia, Cameroon, Zimbabwe, Malaysia and Fiji, with its headquarters in the Western Europe. I suggest, then, that the ebbs and flows SGD interventions call for a transnational, postcolonial feminist perspective to exploring girlhood. While there are some tensions involved in bridging transnational and postcolonial feminisms, I argue that both are useful for considering how to theorize across borders, understanding the "interconnectedness" of race, class, nation/states, sexuality, etc. – issues that are often separated analytically and politically (Kim, 2007, p. 119). Both theories, then, focus on acknowledging "issues of voice, authority, and subjectivity of groups (or women) in subjugation" (Kim, 2007, p. 108).

A useful starting point is examining the recent literature in the "politics of girlhood" that explains how girls in the twenty-first century are powerful and confident individuals who participate in global society (Harris, 2004; Jiwani et al., 2006; McRobbie, 2000, 2009). Critical girls' studies focus on troubling the category of 'girl' as an assumed social location. Such scholars refuse to position 'the girl' as either a static subject/ object, but rather understand girls as a complex and contextual beings who are able to challenge and disrupt linear/ binary discourses (e.g., girl as 'powerful/ powerless') (Pomerantz, 2009). However, most literatures on girlhood are embedded in/ explore the contexts of Western capitalist locales such as the UK, Canada and Australia. Such research tends to ignore the intersecting politics of class, race and sexuality that interlock to exacerbate inequalities on a *global scale* and subsequently do not

consider the experiences of the "Two-Thirds World" girl who has not immigrated to an Imperial

centre. [17] Overall, then, though this research discusses the struggles and marginalization of

visible minorities and immigrants, the analyses are framed using a transnational lens that seems

to only operate in a one-way exchange, by exclusively considering racialized minority girls

living in white settler nations (e.g., Lee, 2006).

Nevertheless, some of these literatures, to a certain degree, attempt to address

interlocking categories of oppression. For example, although McRobbie (2000, p. 200-201)

asserts that young women in Britain have "replaced youth as a metaphor for social change" (p.

200-201), she simultaneously acknowledges that the "category of young women" cannot be

detached from social class, ethnicity, race, sexuality and ability. She furthers that the visual

culture in Britain of 'slim blondeness' merely "perpetuate[s] daily a series of violent exclusions,

of the non-white, non-heterosexual, non able-bodied" (McRobbie, 2000, p. 198). Similarly,

though Harris (2004) considers the marginalization of the "at-risk girl," she mostly speaks of

those residing within the One-Third World (and in Australia more specifically). In fact, Harris

(2004, p. 25) concedes that young women at-risk are "those who are seen to be rendered

vulnerable by their circumstances," but suggests that "unlike the can-do girls, who know how to

successfully engage in the market, these other young women [at-risk girls] make poor

consumption choices and enact the gains of feminism in problematic ways" (Harris, 2004, p. 29).

However, Harris' abovementioned categories seem to assume a homogeneity of what it

means to be a girl (for example, in terms of race, class and sexuality). For, what if the "gains of

[Western] feminism" don't necessarily account for the perspectives, situations, experiences and

life histories of girls in the Two-Thirds World? As Lee (2006, p. 90, italics added for emphasis)

cautions, "claiming 'girlhood' as an act of construction or deconstruction is not in itself a

liberatory or emancipatory act because the question of liberation for *which* girls is never asked."

Discussions of global girl citizens, then, as buttressed by the Girl Effect discourse, take on the

post-feminist masquerade in dangerous ways that claim particular formulations of girlhood. As

McRobbie (2009) explains, the global girl, unleashed through a "Spice Girl-endorsed Grrrrl

Power!" is defined in a very specific way:

> [The global girl] is defined in terms of an intersection of qualities which combine
>
> the natural and authentic, with a properly feminine love of self-adornment, and
>
> the playfully seductive with the innocent, so as to suggest a sexuality which is
>
> youthful, latent and waiting to be unleashed. This marks out a subtle positioning,
>
> a re-colonisation and re-making of racial hierarchy within the field of normative
>
> femininity (McRobbie, 2009, p. 89).

From this perspective, essentialist frameworks such as the "at-risk girl" prove to be dangerous

because they mostly eschew how we think about race, class and gender and the "political links

we choose to make among and between struggles" (Mohanty, 2006, p. 46).

By carefully taking up Mohanty (2006) and Lee's (2006) warnings, Harris' (2004)

typologies of the "at-risk" and "can-do" girl may still prove useful for critically considering SGD

interventions that target girls in the Two-Thirds World. These constructions are particularly

beneficial for contemplating current neo-liberal developments that characterize the global

economy, which reinforce the "can-do" and "at-risk" discourse as personal effort, self-regulation,

competitiveness, material capital and cultural resources are required in order for a girl to succeed

under the current world order. That is, the "can-do" girl is the ideal neo-liberal subject, one who

is able to successfully take individual responsibility for social change. She is self-inventing,

entrepreneurial and ambitious. In short, part of what I hope to demonstrate throughout this study

is that the Girl Effect's aim to transform and develop the "at-risk, Two-Thirds World girl" into a "can-do" success story is largely driven by the current neo-liberal era of development that "relies on a missionary girl power discourse in which she must obtain all of the things that she is presented as lacking (mobility, education) to save herself from her 'Third World girl' status" (Sensoy & Marshall 2010, p. 299). Below, I build on these arguments by discussing key theoretical works in girlhood studies and the sociology of sport.

3.3.1 Connecting Girlhood Studies to the Sociology of Sport

Most research that focuses on cultural studies of girls and sport are based in the One-Third World (e.g., Azzarito, 2010; Cooky, 2009, 2011; Daniels & Leaper, 2006; Evans, 2006; Heywood, 2007, 2008; Messner, 2009; Sabo, 2009). In terms of youth and gender-related sporting experiences specifically, Messner (2009) argues that, although girls' movement into sport "created a stunning challenge to categorical assumptions underlying beliefs in natural male superiority" (p. 203), there is still much work to be done. Specifically, he suggests that "the combination of sex-segregation, routine gendered interactions, and the ascendant ideology of soft essentialism has stripped youth sport of much of its revolutionary possibilities" (Messner, 2009, p. 203). Cheryl Cooky's (2009, 2011) recent research on girl-focused sport empowerment programs in California reminds us that the benefits of sport do not automatically occur by simply *increasing* opportunities for girls' participation. In fact, Cooky warns that while it is important that such sporting activities expand structures of opportunities and allocate resources, *a key necessity* is that communities and adults, in particular, use their agency in socially and structurally transformative ways to help challenge gender inequalities to enable and activate girls' interest in participating. She further argues that "Spice Girl-endorsed" discourses of Girl

Power! fail to account for intersections of race, class and gender that complicates the ways girls

take up empowerment through sport messages:

> While the public celebration of girls' sport and Girl Power! reflected the
>
> experiences of many girls who play sport, it did not reflect the experiences of *all*
>
> *girls.* And yet, this single representation came to dominate the culture terrain of
>
> girls' sport, and often was the only representation of girls' sport made visible in
>
> popular culture. Focusing solely on the popular culture celebration of Girl Power!
>
> and girls' sports may lead one to make drastically different and somewhat limited
>
> conclusions on the state of 'real' girls' sports today" (Cooky, 2011, p. 224).

In other words, the current moment – where post-feminist messages suggest that "sport itself is

no longer a 'man's world,' equality has been achieved, and the need for feminism has passed"

(Cooky, 2011, p. 218) – simply re-colonizes the aims of global sport girlhoods by ignoring

postcolonial feminist concerns. This is particularly salient since most studies of sporting

girlhoods fail to account for the hybrid ways that girls in the Two-Thirds World experience sport,

and eschew discussions of gender as a relational category (exceptions include Brady, 2005;

Forde, 2008; Holte et al., 2006; Saavedra, 2009). In other words, sport is often used as a tool to

position gendered identities as ones that must be changed, improved or re-articulated, without

considering how dominant cultural constructions girlhoods, and SGD, are limiting in terms of

empowering girls in the Two-Thirds World. As Azzarito (2010) puts it, a neo-liberal tone is

evident in the context of Girl Power! through sport, where the onus is placed on the girls to learn

"self-managing skills, [to be] resourceful, mobile, productive and self-motivated, constituting

themselves alongside discourses of healthism and consumption, and eventually becoming global

girl citizens" (p. 267). It is with these understandings of postcolonial feminist sensibilities to

cultural studies of girls that I approach the current discourses pertaining to the promise of girls as catalysts for development, particularly *economic* development, vis-à-vis the Girl Effect.

3.4 Neo-Liberalism, Agency, Postcolonial Feminisms and Development

Within the neo-liberal development paradigm, the power of the market takes precedent over local knowledge. This occurs because local choices, narratives and policies are all driven by global capital (Blaikie, 2000). In neo-liberal times, markets are in fact created, according to Harvey (2005), where they did not previously exist (and by state action if needed). The market overrides the state, and therefore "state interventions in markets (once created) must be kept to a bare minimum because, according to the theory, the state cannot possibly possess enough information to second-guess market signals" (Harvey, 2005, p. 2). In other words, true economic power dominates, everything becomes "financialized" and state power is scaled back (Ferguson, 2006; Gibson-Graham, 2006; Harvey, 2005).

In recent years, various studies have identified neo-liberalism as a political, racialized and gendered strategy that is articulated through microcredit, microfinance and social entrepreneurship programs geared towards the needs of poor women and girls (Rankin, 2001; Roy, 2007). These points are relevant for this study because one of INGO's areas of focus is on 'women's economic empowerment,' which is further discussed in INGO's annual report (2009) as a particularly promising area for SGD programs that aim to promote social entrepreneurship and empowering forms of new work that have become available to women and girls (e.g., coaching).

Some contend that programs focusing on women and girls' social entrepreneurship are useful for fighting against poverty and promoting gender equity. The key argument here is that girls are especially valuable purveyors and/or recipients of social entrepreneurial ventures

because, "livelihood skills development is a process that must start early and be sustained….In turn, it is critical for determining the status of women in general over the life cycle as well as across generations" (Sharif, 2001, p. 223). Yet, critics contend that conflating "women's empowerment" and entrepreneurship simply frames women and girls as more efficient and responsible, thereby underlining their compliance with normative expectations (Cornwall, Gideon & Wilson, 2008; Wilson, 2011). Others further that such initiatives only serve to monitor, discipline and supervise women so that "poverty alleviation is valorized [as] an entrepreneurial subjectivity" ([Briggs, 2001] as cited in Roy, 2007, p. 33).

As I argue throughout Chapters Five and Six, the agency and empowerment of women and girls, as positioned through SGD initiatives (particularly those funded and promoted by Western-based NGOs and corporations) mostly occurs amidst the hegemony of neo-liberal development, which often renders such initiatives as upholding patriarchal institutions and power relations, more so than evidence of *structural change*. Though it is important to accentuate that there have been moments of progress through feminist activism vis-à-vis SGD programming, where women and girls have gained employment opportunities, challenged gender norms, and are now part of policy narratives (e.g., Forde, 2008; Holte-McKenzie et al., 2006); these instances of empowerment are nonetheless still represented in very explicit ways (e.g., heteronormative, racialized, etc.), and still perpetuate specific assumptions about how gender relations 'play out' in development. That is, universalistic, and imperialist conjectures continue to permeate Gender and Development, and subsequently, SGD, as a field. While some SGD programs do offer crucial spaces through which to challenge development inequalities (e.g., see Forde, 2008), there still seems to be few ways to facilitate politically charged or radical alterations to the dominant political, social and economic order that exacerbate girls' poverty,

marginalization and inequality in the first place. As Cornwall, Gideon and Wilson (2008, p. 4) attest:

> Neo-liberal empowerment narratives not only empty 'empowerment' of any contentious political content, they also make money – microcredit loans, conditional cash transfers, enhanced access to markets and livelihood assets – the magic bullet, as if that were somehow enough to effect wholesale transformation in women's lives.

Sequentially, social entrepreneurship, micro-finance and micro-credit possibly serve to legitimize what Roy (2007, p. 37-38) argues is the "new global poverty management," which acts as chain of regulation for Two-Thirds World girl:

> The gender/ global order of poverty management requires not just the disciplined subject but also, in fact, a chain of discipline, one that extends from the relationship between indebted country and donor country to the disciplining of NGO staff all the way down to the borrowers…[This] is ultimately a system of debt as development.

Roy's observations fold neatly into Ferguson and Gupta's (2002) discussions of transnational governmentality, which, in the following section, I unpack along with two other tenets of Foucauldian analytics of power: biopedagogies, and technologies of the self.

3.5 Governmentality: Transnationality, Biopedagogies, and Technologies of the Self

For the purposes of this dissertation, I focus on three key aspects of Foucault's governmentality. First, I consider recent work on transnational governmentality as a key analytic of power. Second, I discuss biopedagogies, which draws on Foucault's notion of "biopower" as a critical conjecture for considering the ways that SGD programs convey knowledge through pedagogical

strategies, often in obscured forms. Finally (and relatedly), I examine technologies of the self as a useful concept for teasing apart the various discourses of self-management, self-reliance and self-presentation that seem to be embedded in SGD interventions. As I argue in Chapters Five and Six, these discourses work to promote a culture of self-surveillance that permeates through the lives of the martial arts girls.

3.5.1 Transnational Governmentality

For Foucault, "governmentality," begins with the idea that "power relations have been progressively governmentalized… elaborated, rationalized, and centralized in the form of, or under the auspices of, state institutions" (Foucault, 2000, p. 220). Foucault (1991, p. 87) specifically writes on the "government of children" which emerged in the sixteenth century, whereby concerns of self-regulation, as well as the governance of others, became prominent. Accordingly, the welfare of entire populations is of concern for government, whereby through both indirect and direct actions, people will be controlled and regimented (Foucault, 1991, p. 100). Of central importance for the purposes of this research is Foucault's example of direct control of the "flow of a population" where the government will, "without the full awareness of the people" direct them into "certain regions or *activities*" (1991, p. 100, italics added for emphasis). Thus, we need to remember that those who govern the activities used in the SGD programs (such as STNC, INGO, board members and other partners) are "the experts," often reside in the West and as such fortify the rules and regulations of these philanthropic ventures from a Western hegemonic perspective. What this means, as Bale and Cronin (2003) write, is that:

> While we look to national or regional playing styles as indicative of postcolonial
> sporting and bodily practice, we have to be wary that such forms are played out

under the rules of international sporting bodies and in the context of a global sports

business that both remain symbolic power structures indicative of a continuing

informal imperialism (Bale & Cronin, 2003, p. 5, italics added for emphasis).

The transnational aspect of sport, as Bale and Cronin (2003) convey, is of central importance.

For Foucault was interested in tentacles of government located not only within the state, but also

outside of it. Rose and Millar (1992) build on the important work of Foucault by extending the

idea of technologies of government to argue that power must also be analyzed in terms of its

political rationalities in addition to its connections to the activities of expertise. In the context of

this research, then, it makes sense to consider how the increasing roles of TNCs as "expert"

authorities in SDP, and SGD more specifically, is potentially legitimized and exercised through

political rationalities, as well as in terms of their (transnational) governmental technologies.

Rose and Miller (1992) further explore the interconnections and interdependencies

between these two ideas. First, political rationalities denote "the changing discursive fields

within which the exercise of power is conceptualized [and] the moral justifications for particular

ways of exercising power by diverse authorities" (Rose & Miller, 1992, p. 175). Following this,

governmental technologies are the "complex of mundane programmes, calculations, techniques,

apparatuses, documents and procedures through which authorities seek to embody and give

effect to governmental ambitions" (Rose & Miller, 1992, p. 175). Using these theoretical tenets,

this study will consider how STNC's focus on the Two-Thirds World girl vis-à-vis INGO, and

SNGO, is a CSR strategy that may be examined both as a technology of governmentality and as

a political rationality.

In discussing Rose and Miller's (1992) framework, it is imperative to note their analysis

applies to geo-political issues, which, in their framework, embodies "diplomacy, envoys, treaties,

agreements, borders, customs…at the same time as the writ of authorities is claimed over the

subjects and activities composing a nation" (p. 178). By extension, then, the *transnational* aspect

of STNC's philanthropic governance is therefore of central importance. In returning to the work

of Foucault, it is pertinent to note that he was interested in the multiple tentacles and processes of

government, not only those located within and directly controlled by the state (Pringle, 2005).

Overall, Foucault was concerned with the functions of government spread across different

international actors, both state and non-state entities, a phenomenon that has been termed

"transnational governmentality" (Ferguson & Gupta, 2002).

Taken a step further, research that has built on transnational governmentality studies

describes how non-state actors have become more prominent in exercising power, governing

global spaces and regulating global relations (Biersteker & Hall, 2002; Cutler et al., 1999).

Within transnational governmentality, then, private and political authority can be exerted by

TNCs, NGOs, faith-based entities and other non-state institutions. In other words, the various

"modes of government" are being constructed across various actors, and on a global scale.

3.5.2 Biopedagogies and Biopower / Biopolitics

Biopedagogies constitute a form of biopower, or the "power over life." Two poles, or forms,

encompass this power over life, and the ways that it is deployed (Foucault, 1978, p. 139). The

first pole centers on the body as a machine, or the disciplines of the body including "the

optimization of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness

and its docility, its integration into systems of efficient and economic controls" (Foucault, 1978,

p. 139). This aspect focuses more on the individualization and regularizing power that is

"massifying" (Harwood, 2009, p. 18). The second pole is concerned with the regulations of the

population or the "body imbued with the mechanics of life and serving as the basis of the

biological processes: propagation, births and morality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity, with all the conditions that can cause these to vary" (Foucault, 1978, p. 139). It is through this supervision over the conditions of life that those who govern may influence the ways that the population conducts itself in the most appropriate way for the continued success and power of government. Importantly, Foucault (1978, p. 141) argues that bio-power was an essential aspect in the development of capitalism, as he submits: "[Capitalism] would not have been made possible without the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the phenomena of population to economic processes."

In a related discussion, Darnell (2010) remarks that bio-power is fundamental to the making of the SDP movement, and its support of the global neo-liberal project. This is because bio-power lends SDP legitimacy, and helps it to transform life, wellbeing, and bodies through development-focused sport interventions (Darnell, 2010). I concur with Darnell's assertions, while also suggesting that biopedagogies, and technologies of the self, present crucial ways to understand the highly gendered, pedagogical and instructive elements of both the individualized body and with the making of populations through SDP (and SGD).

Biopedagogies focus on the "practices that impart knowledge writ large, occurring at multiple levels across countless domains and sites" (Harwood, 2009, p. 21), while also working to uncover the "pedagogical practices in the biopolitical." Thus, this analytic also offers a way to "formulate an empirical analytic to interrogate the concealed pedagogical practices of biopower" (Harwood, 2009, p. 21). In effect, biopedagogies help us recognize and interrogate how SGD programming, via martial arts, is understood as an intricate and relational cultural practice that produces makes certain types of knowledge intelligble (Harwood, 2009). This analytical framework usefully links to technologies of the self in important ways.

3.5.3 Technologies of the self

> *It becomes increasingly difficult to function as a female subject without subjecting oneself to those technologies of self that are constitutive and self-presentation expected not just in leisure and in everyday life, but also in the workplace, and government concerns itself with this aspect of self-management through various initiatives* (McRobbie, 2009, p. 60).

Technologies of the self have been widely used by feminist scholars such as McRobbie, as well as several researchers in sociology of sport, who have used Foucault's technologies of the self to explain how women with disabilities understand their embodied experiences in sport (Guthrie & Castelnuovo, 2001), how disciplinary practices are used to obtain the ideal, narrowly defined feminine body through spots such as rowing, bodybuilding and gymnastics (Chapman, 1997; Wesley, 2001), and the ways that sport nutrition, as a governing practice, exposes athletes to constant self-surveillance and observation by coaches and fellow athletes (Johns & Johns, 2000). As I will demonstrate, though the ways that the martial arts girls used karate and taekwondo practices to "transform themselves" may not differ from those of other athletes and sport participants described in other studies, there was a clear intentionality behind the martial arts program to alter the girls into vigorous, respectful, fit and 'developed' global girl citizens. In Chapter Five, I use technologies of the self to demonstrate that the ability of the girls to generate politically apt bodies and subjectivities *qua* martial arts practices as technologies of subjectivity and citizenship. I also use this framework to explain how their drive to be self-disciplined, respectful, educated and economically valuable citizens linked to the wider aims of SNGO, INGO and STNC to promote social order, stability and development – not only in Winita – but also across Uganda. In this sense, there was a clear logic of self-esteem building through the martial arts program, where the "norm of self-esteem links subjectivity to power" (Cruikshank, 1996, p. 235), and where the self is not personal, but a product of power relations. In other

words, power is not simply enacted when one has "*power over* people, resources and institutions" (Parpart, 2002, p. 176, italics in original), but also, power over *oneself*.

Similarly, I use technologies of the self to think through empowerment as self-governing strategy deployed through SGD interventions. Here, the work of Triantrafillou and Nielsen (2001, p. 63) is particularly apt:

> Empowerment projects seek to constitute beneficiaries as active and responsible individuals with the ability to take charge of their own lives. Thus, empowerment should be viewed not as a transfer of power to individuals who formerly possessed little or no power, but as a technology seeking to create self-governing and responsible individuals, i.e. modern citizens in the western liberal sense.

Empowerment, then, is facilitated as a governance mechanism through a multitude of actors, including NGOs and TNCs (Sharma, 2008; Triantrafillou & Nielsen, 2001). The constellation of development actors (STNC, INGO, SNGO) strategically coalesce around very particular rationalities such as improving confidence, building physical fitness, and fostering social change through sport.

3.5.4 An Argument for Combining Foucauldian and Gramscian Notions of Power

Throughout this study, the discursive and the material enmeshed and comprised one another as modes of power. That is, Foucauldian *and* Gramscian notions of power are crucial to detecting SGD tactics as they are deployed and received throughout the aid constellation. For example, transnational governmentality, biopedagogies and technologies of self act as imperative tools for understanding how sport works as a technology of governance, where governmental strategies, forms and tactics position girls as subjects of agency, capacity and social change. At the same time, hegemony and cultural studies works to recognize moments of resistance, and for counter-

hegemonic strategies for emancipation. That is, while hegemony is a useful standpoint for lending critical attention to the resilience and resourcefulness of the marginalized, while also helping to theorize the origins of power, strategies for resistance, and the material implications of unequal power relations (see Darnell, 2009); I argue that the aspects of governmentality as outlined above are also imperative for understanding how SGD works as a productive form of power. As Wilson (2011, p. 320, drawing on Hall, 1997) advocates, Gramscian notions of hegemony overlap with Foucauldian notions of power because both involve "coercion and consent" as well as "the identification of power in multiple locations." That is, although Foucauldian approaches may reject a specific locus of power, I seek here, like other development scholars (e.g., Li, 2007; Rankin, 2010; Wilson, 2011) to fuse insights from postcolonial feminist theories on knowledge construction, representation, agency, global capitalism, and discursive constructions of gender with Gramscian Marxist perspectives to locate agency 'from below', but through an understanding of relational materialism (Wilson, 2011). Relational materialism builds on Marxist notions of a division of labor in the making of histories, but where the social location of the inquirer "generally reflects, though it is never reducible to, social relations that stem from a particular material context" (Agathangelou & Ling, 2009, p. 98). In the next section, I apply these perspectives to theories of global governance and international relations in order to consider SGD interventions as part of a wider system of global actors vying to preside over a complex system of unequal power relations in development.

3.6 Approaches to International Relations Theory: Advocating for a Postcolonial Feminist Approach

In this section, I chart the tripartite inter-paradigm debate in international relations theory, while also briefly highlighting the limitations and critiques of each paradigm. I then turn to discuss which of these theories is most valuable for critically examining GCSE-based SGD

interventions. To conclude, I discuss global governance theory and the notion of 'private authority,' and outline how a postcolonial feminist IR theory lens is useful for this research.

There have been three main worldviews in international relations between 1950 and the end of the Cold War. First, realist views argue that nation states maintain and pursue their own interests. As such, realist scholars are primarily concerned with the power wielded by states, which are viewed (assumed to be) the 'natural' actors of the international system (Gilpin, 2001; McKinlay & Little, 1986). The major assumption underlying realist perspectives is that human beings are mostly governed by a drive for power (Rosenau, 1999). Realists view the world system as anarchic, with conflict as a central issue of concern. Thus, a major goal for the realist agenda is to establish and maintain a society of sovereign states. For realists, the principal role of non-state actors in the world order is to maintain or increase their share of world power (McKinlay & Little, 1986).

Neo-realist approaches to international relations are concerned with the role of the state within the international system and its struggles for power, and as such, "downpla[y] the role of corporate actors in shaping the world political economy" (Cutler et al., 1999, p. 6). Advocates of a state-centered approach to CSR advocate that "national and international policy makers should actively promote the creation and enforcement of CSR obligations on companies" (Michael, 2003, p. 118). Using this lens, the roles of non-state actors, such as NGOs, corporations and international organizations, become largely ignored, as the primary focus is with "the balance between co-operation versus control exercised by the state" (Michael, 2003, p. 126). Thus, the state centered approach is firmly grounded in "an anarchic world filed with ever-competing, ever-power-mongering states" (Ling, 2002, p. 16). One of the major criticisms of realist scholarship is the way in which it limits world-ordering schemes to the polarity of state

capabilities in anarchy. Ontologically, realism is about states, therefore it provides no basis for asserting the independent utility functions for IOs (Barnett & Finnemore, 1999). Moreover, postcolonial IR theorists would challenge realists by suggesting that state power and sovereignty are not only embedded in the structures, cultures, and social relations of local and nationally organized communities, but are also always grounded and mediated on a transnational scale (Chowdhry & Nair, 2004).

Second, liberal IR theory uses a highly rationalistic frame, and is considered central to the tradition of the Western world, where it provides the dominant ontology for thinking about national and international politics (Keohane & Nye, 1977). In this perspective, governments cooperate around common strategic or instrumental interests, particularly when they hold common values or when they face uncertainty (Keohane & Nye, 1977). Governments play an important but limited role to primarily protect the market to enable economic freedom (McKinlay & Little, 1986). For liberalists, suitable free market arrangements are required for a viable political system to operate. Here, individuals are key actors and are seen as rational self-maximizers who operate best within maximum liberty (McKinlay & Little, 1986).

Postcolonial IR theorists (e.g., Agathangelou & Ling, 2009; Ling, 2002; Chowdhry & Nair, 2002) critique liberal standpoints by arguing that such views of 'great politics and power' only naturalizes racialized, gendered, and classed hierarchies, and thus reproduces the status quo. Overall, both realist and liberal IR theories fail to acknowledge the independent functionality of international organizations (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). While 'neo' versions of both realist and liberal have emerged, Finnemore and Sikkink (1998, p. 890) argue that the 'new' element in both cases was simply an "injection of microeconomic insights."

The third school of thought in international relations is critical IR theory and neo-Marxist scholarship. This strand of IR theory focuses on the decline of the welfare state as a foundation for international relations in the post WWII era (Price & Reus-Smit, 1998). Centering on the work of Marx, these scholars argue that it is through the nation state that capitalism flourishes and subordination occurs. The development and expansion of European capitalism depends on the 'underdevelopment' and 'peripheralization' of the Two-Thirds World and the structuring of the capitalist world economy. Power is believed to be rooted in unequal ownership and exchange relations, uneven development, and the extension of domination and control over the many by a privileged few (Price & Reus-Smit, 1998).

Social constructivism emerged in order to alleviate the "individualist, interest-calculating realist utilitarianism" (Ling, 2002, p. 15) evoked by neo-realist approaches to international relations. A central aspect of a constructivist standpoint is to recognize how the way that things are situated together "makes possible, or even probable, certain kinds of political behavior and effects" (Finnemore & Sikkink, 2001, p, 394). Social constructivists explore the role of "human consciousness" in international life, while also understanding how norms define identities, form social realities and shape the interests of actors and their complex interactions (Finnemore, 1996; Keck & Sikkink, 1998). As this dissertation is concerned with interactions between multiple entities (e.g. TNCs and NGOs), it is essential to note that social constructivists explore the social content of the organization, including its "culture, its legitimacy concerns, dominant norms that govern behavior and shape interests, and the relationship of these to a larger normative and cultural environment" (Barnett & Finnemore, 1999, p. 706). These perspectives are primarily concerned with "how to re-conceptualise the relations between knowledge, power and social agency" within a global development context (Long, 2001, p. 239). Thus, questions pertaining to

GCSE in development from a social constructivist standpoint may be concerned with the processes and implications of transnational corporations engaging in international development interventions.

Constructivist scholarship sees room for culture and sociality in IR theory, not simply game theory (Ruggie, 1998). It emphasizes examples of norm-driven change in the international system. As Mundy (2007) observes, empirical work by young IR scholars such as Ruggie, Finnemore and Price opened the door to new discussions about global governance. She argues that constructivist scholarship challenges rational paradigms (liberal and realist) in two key ways. First, constructivists counter that "states are historically constructed actors, with interests that are not primordial but which are continuously modified through normative and social processes" (Mundy, 2007, p. 342). Secondly, constructivist scholars argue that other non-state actors can exert transnational power through norms, interests and ideas (Mundy, 2007). Here, I turn to global governance theory and private authority in order to elaborate on the 'constructivist turn' and its connection to contemporary IR research.

3.7. Private Authority, Moral Authority, and Theories of Global Governance

Keohane (2005) defines 'governance' as the making and implementation of rules, and the exercise of power, within a given domain of activity. Global governance (GG) describes a developing set of processes and interactions in the world polity at various levels and scales, including local, national, international, and transnational (Mundy, 2007). GG implies the absence of a central authority, and the need for collaboration or cooperation among governments and others who seek to encourage common practices and goals in addressing global issues (Keohane, 2005; Scholte, 2005). Keohane (2005) criticizes the legitimacy and accountability of global governance, as entities that wield power and make rules (such as TNCs, transnational

governmental networks, faith-based organizations and movements, terrorist networks, etc.) are often not authorized to do so by general agreement. Therefore, their actions are not often regarded as legitimate by those who are affected / impacted by them. Keohane (2005) furthers that the only way for GG to be 'legitimate' is if there is a substantial measure of external accountability.

There are four 'clusters' of constructivist research within global governance scholarship as outlined by Mundy (2007, p. 344-345). First, there are 'structural liberalism/ embedded liberalism' strands (e.g. Ruggie, 1998); second, neo-institutionalist sociology (e.g. Barnett & Finnemore, 1999); third, 'moral authority' as wielded by social movements (e.g. Mundy & Murphy, 2001); and finally, the radical/ postmodern scholars (e.g. Lipschultz, 2005). The important point to emphasize here is that GG augments IR theory by adding non-state actors and a global level of analysis (Kelly, 2007). Biersterker and Hall (2002) suggest TNCs (and other non-state actors, such as NGOs) work in spaces that governments either cannot or will not enter (which constitutes *governance*, as opposed to *government*).

Private international authority is also a *form* or *instance* of governance (Cutler et al., 1999). Authority exists when an individual or organization has decision-making power over a particular issue area, and is regarded as exerting power legitimately. The term 'private authority' has come to emphasize the ways in which private actors, at international and domestic levels, are increasingly engaged in authoritative decision-making that was traditionally the focus of sovereign states (Cutler et al., 1999; Biersteker & Hall, 2002). In related literature, Nickel and Eikenberry (2010) further explore non-state philanthropic global governance. Philanthropic governors, they contend, "*make* social policy through the accumulation and discretionary redistribution of wealth, thus depoliticizing discourse about global governance by reducing the

visibility of the market and the negative impacts that it has on human well-being" (Nickel &

Eikenberry, 2010, p. 276). They submit that philanthropic governing capacities give rise to

important questions about moral authority, legitimacy, accountability and social responsibility,

especially in terms of whose well-being philanthropic governors aim to influence through their

wealth. I argue that philanthropic governing strategies lend important insights for further

understanding the how the voices of the most marginalized tend to be ignored, disavowed or lost

amongst the powerful authority of wealthy TNCs.

Bhanji's (2008) constructivist-oriented study of the 'private authority' of Microsoft in the

fields of education in Jordan and South Africa provides a salient example of research that

explores the philanthropic governing strategies of a TNC. I consider Bhanji's (2008) novel

research of central importance in terms of exploring how TNCs have entered social sectors such

as education (and sport) through the 'governance gap' via 'market multilateralism,' as well as

through ad hoc GCSE activities. For example, Bhanji (2008) demonstrates how GCSE

initiatives, such as corporate/NGO partnerships, are on the rise in the education sector,

particularly as the UN has called for TNCs to contribute to the achievement of social and

development issues encompassed by the UN Millennium Development Goals via the UN Global

Compact (Ruggie, 2003; UNGC, 2007). A social constructivist approach to private authority as a

form of global governance would try to understand how new forms of private sector engagement

in a given area (e.g. TNCs in SGD) mobilize norms to legitimize their influence over their

activities in a given regime. That is, private, non-state actors (TNCs, NGOs) are capitalizing on

the failures of sovereign (public) authority to fulfill certain basic functions or to provide

fundamentally vital public goods for the citizenry (Biersteker & Hall, 2002).

Although social constructivism is a beneficial approach for investigating the "why" and "how" behind certain changes in the global political landscape, such perspectives ignore the "non-Western traditions of world-making to see how they *mix* the West to produce our contemporary world" (Ling, 2002, p. 31). Thus, in order to study GCSE and SGD, I advocate for a postcolonial feminist approach to international relations (Ling, 2002; Chowdhry & Nair, 2002; Agathangelou and Ling, 2004, 2009). Postcolonial feminist IR theory is useful in order to place power relations and identities within historical constructions of race, gender, class, and culture (most recently intensified by Western colonialism and imperialism), attempting to demonstrate how world politics reflects and sustains global inequalities (Agathangelou & Ling, 2009; Ling, 2002).

Whereas global governance scholars recognize the increasing scope and intensity of authority held by non-state actors on a global scale (Rosenau, 1999); postcolonial IR theory draws attention to how race, class, gender and colonial power relations interlock to create oppressive conditions for disadvantaged groups (Agathangelou & Ling, 2009). Postcolonial IR feminist standpoints are useful for building on social constructivist perspectives by uncovering how power, authority and influence are used in social contexts.

In essence, while constructivism asks "how" GCSE interventions work, postcolonial feminist theory acts as a tool to re-think the possibly racist, sexist, classist and neo-liberal tendencies of GCSE, and helps to point us in the direction of "what" we should study (Ling, 2002). Postcolonial feminism, then, is essential for untangling the intricacies of GCSE and SGD programs, as it "theorizes about the material and ideological struggles of historically situated agents in a neo-liberal world economy" (Agathangelou and Ling, 2004, p. 518). Ultimately, if the "socially responsible" activities of corporations are messy, complex and pose both intended

and unintended consequences (Sharp, 2006), then postcolonial feminist international relations theory also acts as a useful conceptual tool for understanding how the purported "beneficiaries" of GCSE initiatives are ostensibly positioned.

If we accept the possibility that postcolonial feminist international relations theory may be a useful tool for exploring GCSE and SGD, then it is essential to locate methods which will similarly account for the possibly neo-liberal and Eurocentric character of these interventions. Furthermore, sociologists of sport have requested that we begin to locate a methodology that can expose the "impact of global forces on local experience" while also considering how the "frenetic global expansion of transnational corporations" has impacted "both the local and global environments and indigenous cultures" (Jackson, Batty & Scherer, 2001, p. 185). In Chapter Four, I discuss the research design and methodology that was used to attend to the theoretical tenets outlined above.

CHAPTER FOUR

Research Design and Methodology

4.1 Introduction: A Multi-Sited, Global Ethnography of the SGD Aid Constellation

This chapter outlines the basis for using a qualitative methodological approach, including a multi-sited global ethnography of the SGD aid constellation. This research design was also inspired by, and borrowed from, key tenets of institutional ethnographies, and postcolonial feminist approaches to participatory action research (PFPAR) (though it is important to note that this study did not fully *use* participatory action research, or institutional ethnography). In the sections that follow, I unpack how I built on, and borrowed from, these approaches through my methodology. In using these methodological strategies, I was not concerned with the "best practices" encompassed by SGD interventions; rather, my focus was on the (un)intended material impact of these initiatives, and the discursive practices embedded in the SGD aid constellation. That is, I aimed to take up Eyben (2010) and Thayer's (2010) understandings of aid as relational, and embodied through connections and links among NGO and corporate staff, their allies, adversaries, and dominant institutions. The geo-political, social and economic concerns, goals, strategies and structures of the entities in the SGD aid constellation, then, are created and substantiated through their engagement with others.

At the same time, I recognize the hegemonic nature of the relations among the entities, and girls, involved in the SGD aid constellation. In other words, through this dissertation I show that the young women, SNGO, INGO and STNC are not simply "passive dupes" that retain all the discourses transmitted to them. Rather, they make *active* choices about which meanings to incorporate and how to (re)construct them. However, their options are increasingly shaped by global neo-liberalism as it pervades and controls the social structures and communities in which they reside (also see Thayer, 2010).

First, I outline a rationale for connecting global ethnography, informed by institutional ethnographic practices, to postcolonial feminisms, while also discussing the inherent tensions of linking "ethnography" with postcolonial theory. I then discuss the research communities involved in this study, and explain the research sites and sampling techniques used. The next section is dedicated to providing pertinent background information on Uganda, with a focus on its political-economic context, the Ugandan women's movement, and a discussion of sexuality, health and gender inequalities as they relate to adolescent girls in this context. I then provide detailed background information on the entities involved in this study: Southern NGO (SNGO), International NGO (INGO), and Sport Transnational Corporation (STNC). The techniques used to collect data are then outlined, including semi-structured, in-depth interviews, participant observation, field notes, and document analysis. I also explain the recruitment and research community consultation strategies, the processes and limitations of translation in cross-cultural research, and elucidate the complexities and challenges involved in conducting interviews in Uganda. Next, the strategies for data analysis are explained, followed by a discussion of access and ethical issues that surfaced throughout my research. To conclude, I consider what it means to be "reflexive" when conducting cross-cultural, multi-sited, ethnographic research, and then reflect on the methodological limitations of this study.

4.2 Connecting Global Ethnography to Postcolonial Feminisms

For this dissertation, I carried out a global ethnography to guide the collection of my data. It was particularly imperative to attend to questions of scale through this research, since I considered local, national and global dimensions of the Girl Effect, SGD and discourses of CSR as they passed through various levels. For this purpose, feminist approaches to institutional ethnography are a useful reference, as this methodology calls for researchers to map the "social organization

of women's oppression," which is a key component for understanding the global nuances involved in individuals' "local and localized experiences" (Ng & Mirchandani, 2008, p. 37). By using institutional approaches to inform this global ethnography, the multi-sited, multi-level aspect of global connections (e.g., webs, flows and networks) between institutions (i.e., STNC and INGO in the One-Third World, and SNGO in the Two-Thirds World) were constantly in view, with an eye also to the experiences of the girls participating in SGD interventions. Finally, a central concern was the link between the social relations that are embedded in and embodied by the girls targeted by SGD interventions, and the examination of these practices and activities.

4.2.1 Tensions using A Multi-Sited, Global Ethnography with Postcolonial Feminist Theory

L.T. Smith contends that invading a population to find out what 'they' do in 'their' space holds deep colonial implications. Colonizing is about producing, inscribing and "consuming the Other" (hooks, 1992) through the silencing and rejection of agency (Swadener & Kagendo, 2008). In these ways, the very act of ethnography is colonizing. In the early days of ethnographic work, researchers went to "foreign" settings to investigate the culture, customs, and habits of another human group, and often, this was a group that was an "obstacle" for white settlers. Ethnographic reports of these groups were incorporated into colonizing strategies, ways of controlling the deviant or undeveloped "other" (Li, 2007; Smith, L.T., 2005).

For Clair (2003), postcolonialism is a commitment to exposing the past and present terrors of colonialism. Other scholars take this a step further by stressing that ethical research that is *decolonizing* must begin by replacing Eurocentric prejudices with new premises that value diversity over universality (e.g., Battiste, 2008). More specifically, Gonzalez (2003, p. 83-85) outlines four ethics for a postcolonial ethnography, including truthfulness, accountability, community and context. *Truthfulness* involves using a decolonial voice to be fully aware of the

colonial imperatives rather than fighting against them, daring to speak 'the truth' in spite of them. '*Account-ability*,' Gonzalez writes, is, quite literally the 'ability' to 'account' in such a way that we are telling *our* story, of how we came to know the ethnographic tale. This also means questioning who decides what elements of a culture deserve Geertz's (1973) 'thick description.' The ethic of *community* implies that once we step forward with an ethnographic tale, we can no longer simulate separation from those with whom we have shared our story. Finally, the ethic of *context* is about open-mindfulness to one's surroundings. Gonzalez's four concepts thus connect to L.T. Smith's (2005) contention that ethics should be formulated in collaboration with the community. Though this study was informed by these issues in a myriad of ways, implementing these strategies and ensuring they were upheld proved to be extremely challenging. I further reflect on these salient issues in section 4.12, where I consider the ethical dilemmas in pursuing the research I conducted for the purposes of this dissertation.

When there are questions of scale (i.e. the global-local nexus) at stake in a given research project, it is imperative to keep concerns about the ethics of representation in view. In this sense, it was vital that I remained responsible to location and place throughout my study. As Fine et al. (2008, p. 172) caution:

> It is necessary that those of us who desire to leap between local participatory and global analyses build, self-consciously and transparently, mechanisms of participation so that our work remains situated, even if multisituated, and accountable to place.

Issues of 'situatedness,' location, scale and place were central to the multi-sited and multi-level research that I conducted.

In keeping with these items, a caveat must be addressed in calling for a multi-sited, global ethnography that is informed by postcolonial feminist approaches due to the ways that ethnography was embedded in the colonial order (Ahmed, 2000; Benson & Nagar, 2006; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). However, and in a departure from the colonizing gaze of the anthropologist, Burawoy (2001, p. 148) asserts the arrival of a "global ethnography," which aims to "examin[e] the standpoint of participants located at the intersection of the most remote forces, connections and imaginations." A global, ethnographic perspective means that the "global is produced in the local" (Burawoy, 2001, p. 157), meaning that one may study the effects of globalization in specific localities, from precise perspectives. When informed by postcolonial feminist theory, a global ethnography is able to challenge, critique and de-center the dominant discourses and taken-for-granted structures inscribed upon us through the effects of globalization. In effect, then, a postcolonial feminist discourse would enable us to examine processes of globalization that have structured the world from "varied positionalities" (Anderson, 2000, p. 225).

Dorothy Smith's (2006) institutional ethnography starts from the standpoint of the participant (the local) in terms of the "social lifework" of people who are entangled in its discursive practices, an ethnographic approach that is quite useful for the purposes of this dissertation. However, the Foucauldian "transnational governmentality" framework outlined in Chapter Three may not effectively interlock with Smith's approach, as she grounds power and governance in a way that is perhaps less abstract. In contrast to Foucault, Smith is more "committ[ed] to grounding inquiry in the activities of *actual individuals*" (DeVault & McCoy, 2006, p. 44, italics added for emphasis). Foucault's conceptions of power and governance work on a larger scale, as he is more concerned with how power shapes the conditions in which lives are lived (Foucault, 1991). A Foucauldian notion of power works through practices that are

more mundane and routine, relations which are rationalized, governmentalized and centralized (Foucault, 1991). Of course, Foucault draws attention to the ways in which institutions govern populations, but does not necessarily focus on "specific situations in which the activity of governing is problematized" (McKee, 2009, p. 478). He therefore tends to neglect the micro-practices of local initiatives and the behaviour of local actors. Taken together, both Smith and Foucault's theoretical perspectives of micro and macro power structures provide useful tools for advancing our understandings of the workings of power from multiple standpoints.

For the purposes of this research, I do not find it necessary to chose between either Smith or Foucault's conceptions of power and governance. Rather, I suggest that a multi-sited, global ethnography may successfully encompass both perspectives. Here, I follow the work of Tania Li (2007, p. 25), as she suggests that some forms of power "trigger conscious reactions adequately described in terms such as resistance, accommodation, or consent. Other modes of power are more diffuse, as are peoples' responses to them." Below, I attempt to reconcile Foucault and Dorothy Smith's conceptions of power within Burawoy's global ethnography, while keeping a postcolonial feminist perspective in mind.

In returning to the SGD aid constellation (see Figure 6.1, Chapter Six), a global ethnography may mean that the nodes of STNC connect to discursive practices of INGO, and to think about SGD as a relational construct. In this sense, "globalization is the production of (dis)connections that link and of discourses that travel" (Burawoy, 2001, p. 157). A global ethnography of the SGD aid constellation is useful, then, for augmenting an exploration of specific SGD interests within a given institution (e.g. STNC) as they connect to other sites and actors, both "*up* and *down* as well as *beyond* the global chain [where] there are interconnected political struggles" (Burawoy, 2001, p. 158, italics added for emphasis). Such an analysis may

begin from "where people are...[by] taking up women's/ [girls']/people's standpoint in the local actualities of the everyday" (Smith, D., 2006, p. 3). In a similar vein to Burawoy (2001), Smith's (2006, p. 3) approach is positioned as a way of "looking out *beyond* the everyday to discover how it came to happen as it does." Whether such a position is as an employee of STNC, INGO, or SNGO, or as a targeted beneficiary of SGD programs, by examining the connections and relationships among these social locations within the SGD aid constellation, and beyond it, the "'local' no longer opposes but constitutes the global" (Burawoy, 2001, p. 158). The aid constellation is therefore a set of relationships that are always fluid and changing interactions with a variety of supporters and intermediaries, whether individuals, organizations, discourses, or other social structures.

By fusing Burawoy's (2001) global ethnography with critical insights from D. Smith's (2006) institutional ethnography, this goal of this study was to shed light on how the experiences of participants and practitioners in the SGD aid constellation were experienced through social relations. I advocate that these relations are specific and concrete and may start from a girls' standpoint, where she is "implicated…in a complex of relations beyond her view" (Smith, D., 2006, p. 3). And yet, I also suggest that these relations result from discourses that travel up, down and beyond the containment of bounded entities of STNC, INGO, and SNGO but also through transnational connections, on multiple sites. Here, the "global" is "produced through a chain of (dis)connections and dissemination of ideologies, but it looks different from different nodes in the chain" (Burawoy, 2001, p. 156). Put differently, the importance of location remains paramount. By conducting a multi-sited institutional ethnography, one can use various perspectives from the aid chain and usefully gain insights into the SGD nexus in its entirety, "into the connections, disconnections and reconnections" (Burawoy, 2001, p. 156) interwoven

within its discursive framework. In using postcolonial feminist theory to guide this global ethnography, I attempted undermine discourses of imperialism located within SGD aid relations, and use the worldviews of marginalized voices as a starting point for producing alternative understandings and frameworks of knowledge, particularly as these voices collided with, interacted and informed corporate and donor perspectives.

4.3 Research Communities

From September 2009-January 2010, I carried out a multi-sited global ethnography that considered the social relations among entities operating at institutional, organizational and individual levels in sport, gender and development. The organizations involved in this analysis are all part of what I refer to as the SGD aid constellation (see Chapter One, Figure 1.2). They included: Sport Transnational Corporation (or STNC, based in Western Europe), International Non-governmental Organization (INGO, based in Western Europe), Southern NGO (or SNGO, based in Eastern Uganda), and finally, the young martial arts trainers, who were employed by SNGO's martial arts program (paid a small stipend), as well as active program participants.

4.3.1 Research Sites and Sampling

In March 2009, I was accepted to participate in an international graduate research exchange through U of T to Utrecht University (UU) to the Netherlands to work under the supervision of Dr. Annelies Knoppers from the Utrecht School of Governance, in the Department of Educational Sciences. Dr. Knoppers specializes in sport sociology as it intersects with gender studies, feminist theory, social issues, public governance, and organizational culture. I initially chose Utrecht for a variety of reasons. First, I felt as though UU's School of Governance would offer an excellent environment for pursuing research on gender, international development and corporate social responsibility, particularly as one of its mandates is to explore private

organizations with public duties to understand how these organizations deal with current social issues and give shape to their public responsibility. Second, from an initial scan of websites and documents, it seemed as though the Netherlands hosted a strong coalition of gender/ sport for development NGOs/ advocacy groups. Finally, I was aware that STNC's European Head Office/ CSR headquarters was in close proximity, and I would therefore be ideally located for carrying out interviews and participant observation with their CSR staff.

In May 2009, Dr. Knoppers approached me with a research opportunity that arose though her relationship with INGO, as she is on their advisory board. She discussed how the INGO staff were interested in my research on SGD and were looking for researchers to assist with evaluating their programs. Several emails were exchanged between myself, Dr. Knoppers, and two of the INGO staff (Megan, the former research manager, and Rosie, the program director). During an initial phone call with Rosie and Megan in late May 2009, we discussed INGO's strategic direction, their affiliation with STNC, the current programs they funded, and what they were looking for in terms of a researcher. I described that I was interested in researching the experiences of girls in SGD interventions, in particular, social entrepreneursip, and corporate/ NGO partnerships in SGD aid. Given my research interests, and their key concerns (program evaluation, and the ways SGD programs impact girls "on the ground"), it was suggested that I examine two of the NGOs they fund (out of a possible 15). In mid June 2009, after a phone call with Rosie, it was decided that SNGO, based in a rural district of Eastern Uganda (which I refer to as the "Winita District"/ "Winita" throughout this dissertation), would be a suitable organization. Rosie indicated that SNGO was also interested in being involved with this research project (Research Notes, May 26, 2009).

To lend further context to SNGO and its work, I provide details below on the historical, social, political and economic landscape in Uganda, with a particular eye to the women's movement, gender relations, development (aid relations), and adolescent Ugandan girlhoods, particularly in terms of sexuality and health. I focus on the last two items specifically because these are the key issues the martial arts program seeks to address. I then provide background and important contextual information on each of the organizations involved in this study. Importantly, I try to avoid treating these organizations as separate "case studies." Rather, and following Thayer (2010, p. 7), I attempted to move externally/outward, by considering the relations between these three organizations, and how these relations influenced the ways that the martial arts program was taken up by the girls of Winita.

4.4 Country Context: Uganda
4.4.1 The Political Economic Context of Uganda

From 1971-1979, 300,000 Ugandans were killed under the military rule of former president Idi Amin, devastating the country with widespread social, economic and political unrest (Hansen & Twaddle, 1998). From 1980-1984, Obote II was in power, a regime known for further human rights violations and political corruption. Tushabe (2008, p. 48) speaks from personal experience as she struggled to survive throughout these two presidencies (1971-1984):

> Women struggled to feed their children as most men fled into exile or spent days
> and nights hiding in bushes, forests and mountains. Families that were lucky
> enough to obtain some of their basic needs dug holes in house floors or in banana
> plantations to hide items such as containers of kerosene, bags of salt and sugar,
> bars of soap, syringes, and medicines. Money and business stocks had to be
> buried further away from the home since soldiers and police looted and killed

indiscriminately. It was unsafe for citizens to keep such items in their houses.

Secrecy in families and government became the order of the day.

Indeed, the conditions described above by Tushabe still characterize the lives of many in Uganda. In 1986, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) led by Yoweri Museveni came into power, and Museveni has led the country ever since. In the earlier years of Museveni's presidency, Uganda was in a state of deep political, economic and social turmoil; government-based education and health services were almost non-existent, with NGOs providing the majority of social support (Flanary & Watt, 1999; Tushabe, 2008). However, the bulk of NGOs suffer from a lack of funds, and most of the staff employed and/ or involved in these entities are severely marginalized, poor and not often in a position to participate fully in activist-related work (Flanary & Watt, 1999).

Since 1990, Uganda's GDP has grown, yet as of 2008, thirty-eight percent of the population still live in absolute poverty. Uganda also ranks 154th out of 177 countries in the most recent UNDP Human Development Report (UNDP, 2008). Nonetheless, allegations of corruption continue to plague Museveni, his family, and closest allies, and Ugandan scholars avow that his government fails to "practice a democracy that can protect equal human rights and ensure possibilities to provide basic needs to Ugandans" (Tushabe, 2008, p. 48). Still, in spite of such accusations, Museveni won the most recent national election in February, 2011, although national media outlets reported that the opposition, civil society organizations and international community condemned this result, suggesting that the election was "fraudulent" and "rigged" (Kalyegira, 2011). Consequently, NGOs and other civil society organizations continue to work together to keep the government "in check," and represent "important pillar[s] in the fight against corruption" (Flanary & Watt, 1999, p. 531).

My dissertation research in Uganda took place in multiple villages and sites across Winita, a district in the northeast, with a population of approximately 500,000. This region's central town, which I will refer to using the pseudonym "Junita," is approximately 230 kilometres east from the Ugandan capital, Kampala. There are a wide range of ethnicities throughout the district, including Jopadhola, Iteso, Samia, Bagwere and Banyoli. The languages most frequently spoken / understood throughout Winita include Dhopadhola, Lusamia, Ateso, Lugwere and Lunyoli, though in urban centers like Junita, English, Swahili and Luganda are the most common languages. All interviews with SNGO staff and the young women were in English. For the interviews with the young martial arts trainers, a translator from SNGO (Elisa and/ or Trisha) was always present to assist with interpretation. I explain these details in more depth in section 4.8.3.

Poverty in the Winita District is severe and widespread, and, like many other regions in Uganda, there is a weak local economy, which mostly centers on the "Winita" Cement Factory, one of the largest Cement and Steel Products manufacturing companies in Uganda. The average income in the district is very low, and thus local growth cannot sufficiently be supported. As a result, NGOs have had a noteworthy influence on employment and capital flows into the region and its immediate surroundings, particularly SNGO, which has provided substantial employment to hundreds of locals since its establishment in 1997. I provide more background on SNGO's presence in Winita in section 4.5.

4.4.2 Charting the Women's Movement in Uganda

In Uganda, like many other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, the term "gender" has emerged as a contentious term, most often conflated with "female," and tends to center more on the search for women's agency in a postcolonial male-dominated world (Mugambi, 2007). In spite of their

diverse social and ethnic backgrounds that has historically divided the nation, Ugandan women have a strong and politically active social movement, and their dedication to women's and girls' rights is represented by the increasing number of women in parliament (Mugambi, 2007; Tushabe, 2008). Ugandan women have successfully organized many grassroots initiatives – particularly through civil society organizations such as NGOs – to fill the void in state social, health and education services (Tamale, 2007).

Despite these efforts, since colonization in 1894, Uganda has promoted and adopted policies and practices that encourage men to join the military, obtain an education, and locate work outside the home, resulting in women and girls being left at home to rear children and care for the elderly (Tushabe, 2008). Ugandan society is patrilineal, therefore girls are often subjected to the discipline of their fathers, and, once married, their husbands. Various studies have confirmed that female subservience is promoted by most Ugandan men (Obbo, 1995; Tamale, 2001). For example, "bride price," a common cultural practice throughout Uganda, gives men rights over their wives and children, and effectively suggests that women are a commodification to be purchased (Mugambi, 2007). In effect, then, bride price payment and domestic violence pose significant hindrances for advancing reproductive health and gender equality agendas (Kaye et al., 2005).

A double standard characterizes the Ugandan gender system: for example, women are assumed to be asexual and only married to one man; and yet, it is permissible, and even expected, for men to be hypersexual, promiscuous and engaged in polygamous relationships with other women (Mirembe & Davies, 2001; Muhanguzi, 2011). Consequently, these aspects foster an environment that promotes and sustains gender inequalities and asymmetrical power relations between males and females (Mirembe & Davies, 2001; Tamale, 2007; Tushabe, 2008),

irrespective of class or status which do not necessarily exempt women from gender oppression (Mugambi, 2007). Men also continue to hold better paying occupations, as they are "twice as likely as women to be earning income through self-employment" [(Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2006) as cited in Wyrod, 2008, p. 803]. As Ochieng (2003, p. 40) explains, the social norms in most Ugandan communities are strongly influenced by a "deeply rooted patriarchal ideology which still considers women and girls inferior to males;" and where the role of Ugandan women centers mostly on mothering and reproduction (Tamale, 2001), This results in the exclusion of women from decisions that impact their well-being. Furthermore, Ugandan women have extremely low educational statuses, high rates of illiteracy, and as such, "few skills and knowledge with which to improve their livelihood" (Ochieng, 2003, p. 40).

Despite these obstacles, the women's movement in Uganda has made some progress in promoting women's and girls' rights, particularly in the 1980s. During this period, Mugambi (2007, p. 292) notes that "internal local pressures from militarized women…along with other factors, led to the formation of a Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Services, an important force in the transformation of gender relationships across the nation." Thus far, the women's movement has mostly focused on challenges related to land ownership and marriage laws, and is also supported by one of the largest higher education institutions dedicated to women and gender studies in Africa, at Makerere University in Kampala.

4.4.3 Adolescent Girls in Uganda: Sexuality, Health and Gender Inequalities[18]

Currently, Uganda faces considerable public health challenges, although progress has been made in reducing HIV prevalence; six percent of the adult population is HIV positive, with infection rates higher in urban areas and among women (Wyrod, 2008). In Uganda, girls are three times more likely to be infected with HIV than boys (Ministry of Health Uganda & Marco, 2006).

Given that this research focuses on a SGD intervention used to address gender-based violence and domestic abuse, it is imperative to provide background on recent research that examines the experiences of Ugandan adolescent girls in terms of sexuality, health and gender inequalities. Ugandan feminist scholars note the glaring lack of institutional support for Ugandan girls (i.e., schools, the church, state legislation, and the family), and that, for the most part, these institutions influence and help maintain a sexual landscape that is characterized by "homophobia, misogyny, male domination, female marginalization, lack of self-esteem, sexual abuse and harassment and control of female sexuality" (Muhanguzi, 2011, p. 722).

Until the development of the new Republic of Uganda Constitution in 1995, young women mostly married shortly following puberty; but presently, due to the new legal age of marriage, they now spend extended periods of time in their parents' house until age 18 (Nobelius et al., 2010). And yet, researchers suggest that the impact of this legislation has meant that unmarried adolescent girls have no social role and very few social outlets, hence placing them in somewhat of a "social limbo" until they reach 18 years (Nobelius et al., 2010). In effect, then, adolescent girls must contend with multiple sexual and health-related pressures from the moment they enter into puberty and start to "develop breasts" (as early as 10 years old), as they are continually harassed for sex (Muhanguzi, 2011). Put differently, there are particular "assumptions concerning girls' acceptance of boys' sexual invitations through which girls are imagined as passive recipients of boys' sexual advances, incapable of deciding for themselves and obliged to meet boys' sexual desires" (Muganguzi, 2011, p. 716). Muganguzi (2011, p. 718) argues that a "double standard" exists, as male sexual desire is upheld and encouraged, resulting in girls being 'taken for granted' and as "experimental zones for boys' sexual agency;" while, at

the same time, girls' sexuality is constantly regulated and controlled by boys, as they are viewed, and taught, that they lack any sexual capacity.

Fears about sexuality and sexual orientation are particularly evident in Uganda, and subsequently translate into the lives of youth upon entering puberty. Tamale (2007, p. 17) argues that Ugandan homophobic culture is characterized by its "bigotry and injustice," further explaining that homosexuality became a prominent issue during February 2003, when homophobic fears were prompted by a recommendation originating from a section of the women's movement that "urged and proposed Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) to address the rights of homosexuals as members of the category of marginalized groups in Uganda." Since then, there have been notable physical assaults, threats, and virulent verbal attacks against activists who are working to improve the status of gay and lesbian organizations in Uganda (see Mutua, 2011). Despite this hostile environment, these entities continue to operate and push boundaries, working to educate Ugandan citizens on the dangers of anti-homosexual campaigns and attacks. For example, while conducting this research in November and December, there were protests in Kampala, and the international media was covering Uganda's anti-homosexuality bill that was introduced on October 13, 2009. Though still under discussion in parliament (due to outcries from LBGT activists and the international community), the bill would criminalize same-sex relationships in Uganda, introducing the death penalty for repeat convictions, and HIV-positive people engaging in sexual activity with people of the same sex or those under 18. It would also penalize individuals, organizations or companies promoting LBGT rights (Miwambo, 2010). Notably, African scholars suggest that there is a perception in Uganda that support for the rights of homosexuals is largely funded and instigated by gay and lesbian organizations in Western Europe and North America (Mutua, 2011; Tamale, 2007)

These issues provide important contextual insights for considering a martial arts program that seeks to address girls' understandings and experiences with sexual violence, and sexuality and health. Without question, then, across Uganda – but particularly, in impoverished, rural areas like Winita, girls are subjected to powerful and restraining sociocultural practices and beliefs that deeply weaken their autonomy and decision-making capabilities (Jones & Norton, 2007, p. 299). Jones and Norton (2007) highlight that sexual health literacy practices in Uganda have failed to result in actual *sexual health literacy*.[19] They submit that this is because:

> [Ugandan] girls cannot exercise agency in contexts that do not support their
>
> sexual health decisions and choices. In addition, or perhaps because of this,
>
> women learn at a young age that their bodies can be used as commodities. As
>
> there are few other options for young women to earn an income, sex in exchange
>
> for money and gifts is often the norm (Jones & Norton, 2007, p. 300).

Taken together, these arguments and observations suggest that Ugandan girls are an extremely disadvantaged group, and are particularly susceptible to multiple forms of exploitation and abuse. This is not to say that they lack agency, or are not overcoming the obstacles that continue to sustain the oppressive conditions that result in their marginalization. However, there is a clear need for change. NGOs and other civil society organizations have therefore created interventions and programs to not only increase the education and sexual health literacy of Ugandan girls, but that also focus on improving the economic, community, cultural and political conditions – both locally, and globally – that intersect to prevent girls from having ability to exercise agency and make safe decisions to improve their lives.

NGOs and other activist-oriented groups are not the only entities devising programs and strategies that target the wellbeing of Ugandan girls. For example, the Ugandan government

recently created the National Strategy for Girls' Education (NSGE), a policy meant to increase the number of girls enrolled in school, with the aim of eradicating the gender disparities in education (Jones, 2011). And yet, Jones (2011) contends that multiple barriers exist to realizing the NSGE, including: school location, menstruation, pedagogical practices and attitudes, sexual abuse and exploitation within the school environment, lack of income-earning possibilities, and domestic responsibilities. Indeed, these challenges are also ones that SNGO seeks to address through its program, as I describe in more detail below.

4.5 Background: SNGO

The vision of SNGO is to create an environment where Ugandan women and children are free from violence and oppression, and where everyone has the opportunity to realize their full potential. This vision is realized through SNGO's ambitious aims, which are as follows:

- To provide pre and primary quality education to rural children.

- To reduce household poverty through the provision of credit and savings facilities to women.

- To promote awareness of and support the rights and needs of women and children, particularly those affected by domestic violence and harmful cultural practices.

- To promote quality of service provision through capacity building both internally and for the partner organisations and improve the infrastructure of [SNGO].

- To support the reproductive and sexual health needs of people, particularly women and girls by setting up a modern clinic and maternity unit in [SNGO] and providing health services to those affected by HIV/AIDS.

- To secure funding to maintain existing and start new projects and maintain adequate staffing.

- To raise awareness of [SNGO's] work and development issues in Uganda, to the UK and the International community and the organizations in order to encourage participation, networking and build links.[20]

SNGO was born out of the efforts of a small village in the Winita District that coalesced around the building of a Primary School in the late 80s. Led by Katie (Co-Founder, SNGO), and her husband Doug (originally from the UK, Co-Founder SNGO), the Primary school was eventually registered as a charitable organization as SNGO's UK office in 1995, with SNGO's Uganda office in Junita founded in 1997. In the 90s, SNGO focused on domestic violence, with a "community advocacy against violence" approach being launched in early 2000. The project seeks to strengthen the capacity of women and children's organisations to deliver domestic violence services across five districts in Uganda.

Thereafter, three legal aid clinics were created within SNGO to provide legal services through lawyers, paralegals and women advocacy workers, supporting over 13,000 women and children through the creation of advice centres throughout the Winita District. This project also provides training to the police, judiciary and health professionals as well as lobbying for improved legislation for women and children including the Domestic Relations Bill (DRB). In fact, one of SNGO's key aims is to lobby for a national Domestic Violence Bill, an issue frequently cited throughout interviews with staff.

SNGO has multiple programming areas and departments, and employs approximately 100 staff members both directly and indirectly, with sixty of these staff members listed on SNGO's website. Staff positions range from "monitoring and evaluation officer," to "coordinator of health services," and "child rights officer." Not only does SNGO run its own primary school, and provide legal aid, but it also has a public relations department; a social enterprise venture

(focusing on fair trade, sustainable investing, and microfinance); and a health centre (that aims to provide health services to enhance the quality of life and protect the rights of vulnerable people). Some of SNGO's funders include: a major charity based in the UK, the Department for International Development (DFID, UK), DFID Uganda, and Big Lottery (UK). It has also currently negotiating a funding offer from a Ugandan bank. The SGD initiative is a new program that commenced in early 2009, and its funding is shared between INGO and an international aid agency.

The reasons behind the creation of SGD's martial arts program are many, and interviewees reported multiple stories as to how this intervention was originally conceived, as no background information is provided on SNGO's website. Based on interviews, the factors leading to the creation of the martial arts program include:

1. One young woman of Winita used karate she had learned from her siblings/ watching Jackie Chan movies to successfully fend off six attackers one day while running errands in Junita. When SNGO heard the details of her story, they decided to further investigate the use of martial arts to prevent gender-based violence and abuse, build confidence, self-esteem, conflict management, and leadership skills.

2. SNGO's co-founder, Katie, met employees from STNC and INGO at a conference in Northern Africa. There, she learned more about SGD, and the various programs available. She won a social entrepreneurship fellowship funded by STNC and INGO, and therefore was encouraged to pursue launching a SGD initiative with SNGO.

3. Interviewees from SNGO suggested that the popularity of Jackie Chan movies in Uganda meant that the girls were already requesting martial arts programming, so the SGD initiative was deemed a "natural fit."

The goal of the SGD program is to address the marginalization of adolescent girls (ages 10-18) in Uganda through karate and taekwondo to improve their status, increase their education, and augment gender relations in the communities in which they live. The project specifically focuses on using martial arts alongside "gender training" sessions, which aim to assist girls' skill development in the realms of conflict management, sexual relations and domestic violence. As of 2011, this initiative reached a total of 1920 girls who benefit directly through gender and sport in development training.[21] Of this population, the aim is to have 120 girls trained to become "gender and sport leaders in their respective communities" (Liz, Senior Manager, M&E, SNGO, email communication, February 14, 2011). It was these volunteer/ stipend-supported young female trained leaders who were interviewed for this research alongside full-time SNGO staff.

SNGO has a total budget of €33, 284 for the martial arts program. This funding goes towards education sessions for some of girls who are selected to be assistant trainers (i.e., the young martial arts trainers who were interviewed for this study). When I asked Trisha (senior martial arts program trainer, SNGO, November 25, 2009) why she selected certain girls to be leaders, she explained that, besides them normally being the eldest (16-18), she chose them based on her instinct, or "personal sense:"

> When you start them first, the first day you come, you know how good a girl is
> and how good she will be. So, the kicks and the punches and the way she
> conducts herself you can see that she's more flexible than the rest so she will
> catch up faster than the rest, that's how we choose them. And we have to choose
> them within the first week of their training. We have to choose them early
> enough so that they start while practising. And you put more interest in training

them than the rest so that she will put more interest in training also than her

friends.

The girls who are selected to partake in the trainings during a given year are fully covered by

SNGO including transport, meals and residence. As Liz (Senior Manager, M&E, SNGO, email

communication, February 14, 2011) attested, the training sessions are intended to give the girls a

decent per diem as part of the incentives, and "these trainings are meant to build their capacity in

becoming better assistant trainers and sharing lessons with other [schools/ sites] participating in

[the martial arts program]." Though the martial arts program is not formally part of the school

curriculum, it is run after school hours, sometimes on school grounds, from 3-5pm. As of

February, 2011, Liz stated that SNGO was "still exploring policy influence to get [martial arts

program] into the national curriculum" (February 13, 2011, email communication).

4.6 Background: INGO

INGO was founded in 2007 by a former women's rights lawyer from the Netherlands, and is

based out of Western Europe, with eleven staff members, an advisory council, and a large

regional board comprised of SGD/ gender/ women's rights/ development experts from around

the world. The organization works by building partnerships with sports initiatives, investors, and

institutions at global and local levels, and by striving to influence policy and practice in the field.

Their primary goal is to improve quality programming by developing key standards around

"good practices" for girls and women's sport programs, in particular, programs that focus on

using sport to address sexual and reproductive health concerns, gender-based violence, and

economic empowerment. INGO's model is built on the premise that girls and women have the

potential to be empowered by acquiring new and valued skills, having a range of social assets,

and being able to access resources and opportunities.

Thus far, INGO has supported over 26 program partners and fellows in 19 countries, and has established key strategic partnerships and alliances with corporations, sport and development organizations, and networks including. The program partners include mostly "Southern" NGOs working on SGD programs in countries as diverse as Egypt, Colombia, Zimbabwe, Fiji and Nepal (although they also fund several SGD NGOs working in Western Europe). INGO is also focused on research, and building monitoring and evaluation tools in SGD, having developed impact reports, and international guidelines for designing sport programs for girls. On its website, INGO notes that it has "positively impacted the lives of 9,300 girls and women with indirect positive impacts on more than 75,000 girls, their families and their friends." Besides STNC, INGO is also financially supported by six other world renowned companies, including an international consulting firm, global bank, international advertising agency and communications company, an Internet agency, and an international law firm. Most of these connections were facilitated through STNC's professional networks. According to their 2007 Annual Report, INGO received €73, 690 a total of in donations from corporate donors. In 2009, this amount increased to €897, 703, although in this report there is no breakdown according to donor "type" (i.e., corporate versus government).

4.7 Background: STNC

STNC is one of the top 50 brands in the world, selling products in more than 160 countries and employing over 800,000 workers worldwide in contracted factories. A history of anti-sweatshop activism has plagued the corporation. In particular, critics have maintained that, throughout its popular campaigns in the past advocating for sport as a tool to "empower women" through the use of female sports celebrities; STNC has ignored the degradation and human rights violations of women laborers in Two-Thirds World countries. While there is evidence that STNC has

drastically improved the working conditions in its factories, it still lacks credibility and as such there remains a gap between its socially responsible re-branding and the reality of its local labour practices. The combination of this history with STNC's presence in the UN Global Compact and its recent emergence into girl-focused development programming has placed the corporation under significant pressure to showcase its socially responsible practices on the global stage.

STNC has always been interested in penetrating untapped markets, particularly the women's sport market, where it has been argued by sport sociologists to be co-opting feminist rhetoric to sell products, while also using commercials that explicitly target young girls by positioning itself as the solution to their marginalization in sport. As an attempt to revamp their image as the solution to the oppression of girls in sport, and the marginalization of girls more generally, STNC launched a Foundation in 2005, which was inaugurated with a mandate centered on youth, gender and development issues. Currently, the Foundation invests explicitly in activities related to girls' empowerment and poverty elimination, principally in Two-Thirds World countries that already have strong STNC presence. STNC has funded INGO's activities since 2007, and two of INGO's senior staff originally hail from STNC. STNC has also connected INGO with the latter's other corporate partners, including a major international bank and advertising agency.

In the next section, I build on the organizational backgrounds provided above by describing the specific approaches used for data collection, including textual analysis, participant observation, and semi-structured interviews.

4.8 Semi-Structured Interviews, Participant Observation, Document Analysis
4.8.1 Semi-Structured, In-Depth Interviews: Informants and Recruitment Strategies

I chose to use semi-structured, in-depth interviews in order to examine the experiences of staff involved in funding, developing, implementing, and/or experiencing SGD programming, and to uncover the "themes of the lived everyday world from the subjects' own perceptions" (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009, p. 2). I therefore commenced this study by carrying out interviews and participant observation with STNC and INGO staff in Western Europe in order to obtain the attitudes and standpoints of actors involved in engaged in SGD programs, or those involved in the "process of moving funds from their initial institutional source to be spent on behalf of the targeted beneficiaries" (Wallace et al., 2006, p. 12). Due to logistical and ethical reasons, this was the most reasonable and appropriate starting point for pursuing this research.

I carried out a total of 35 semi-structured, in-depth interviews with 33 staff members from STNC (n=7), INGO (n=7), SNGO (n=19, two individuals were interviewed twice). The number of SNGO staff interviewed includes the young women who were martial arts trainers and participants in the SGD program (n=8). Table 4.1 (see p.106) provides further details on each research participant, including the date and location of the interview, the pseudonym name used, organizational position (if applicable), and gender identity. Of these interviews, six were conducted using Skype™, a software application that allows users to make voice calls over the Internet. Individuals who were interviewed using Skype™ comprised of international advisory/ regional board members of INGO, staff from STNC who were based in their Regional CSR offices, or former STNC employees who had relocated. Skype™ was an important tool in my study, as it enabled me to pursue multi-sited research by conducting interviews with STNC's Regional CSR representatives from Europe, Africa and the Middle East, Latin America, and North America without incurring expenses involved in travelling to these locations. I also emailed frequently with staff from each entity (two from STNC, four from INGO, and five from

SNGO) following interviews to clarify key points, or to ask them to elaborate on certain claims. In addition, I had two in-depth conversations with SNGO's co-founder, and driver/ logistics coordinator during extensive car rides while carrying out research in Uganda. Though these were not "formal" interviews (i.e., these individuals did not sign consent forms), I took extensive field notes following our conversations, and thus some of the data reported in Chapters Five and Six touches on these discussions.

4.8.2 Recruitment and Research Community Consultation

Though this study did not use participatory action research, there were several participatory elements used through the recruitment process, as further described in this section. This included consultations with the various communities studied to ensure the research questions were relevant to their work.[22] Initial contact took place, and consultation meetings were held, in order to discuss my proposed project with both INGO and SNGO (i.e., through email, and casual face-to-face conversations upon my arrival in Western Europe and Uganda). Though similar consultations and meetings were not held with STNC, I concur with Reid (2004) that it is difficult to make *all* stages of the research participatory and fully collaborate and consult with every stakeholder. As the priority of this study was to focus primarily on INGO and SNGO's understandings of aid relations and SGD programs and the ways that they impact beneficiaries, my aim was to ensure they were conferred with as much as possible throughout the research.

I used snowball sampling to recruit participants: an outreach strategy that starts with an individual, or a few individuals, as primary contacts, or "sources," The aim was to then use this contact's social and professional networks to recruit similar participants in a multistage process (Sadler et al., 2010). I was initially introduced to Rosie (Program Director, INGO) and Megan (Former Research Manager) by Dr. Knoppers via email, as Dr. Knoppers is an advisory board

Table 4.1: Information regarding interviews/ research participants				
Date of Interview	Location of Interview	Position (if applicable)	Pseudonym	Gender
Young Martial Arts Trainers				
November 2009	Training field	Young Martial Arts Trainer	Ariel	F
November 2009	Training field	Young Martial Arts Trainer	Jessica	F
November 2009	Training field	Young Martial Arts Trainer	Jennifer	F
November 2009	Training field	Young Martial Arts Trainer	Joanna	F
November 2009	Training field	Young Martial Arts Trainer	Ashley	F
November 2009	Training field	Young Martial Arts Trainer	Robin	F
November 2009	Training field	Young Martial Arts Trainer	Lexi	F
November 2009	Training field	Young Martial Arts Trainer	Vani	F
Southern NGO (SNGO)				
N/A	N/A	Co-Founder	Doug[23]	M
N/A	N/A	Driver/ Logistics Manager	James	M
N/A	N/A	Administrative Assistant & Office Manager	Danielle	F
November, 2009	SNGO Office	Accountant	Mark	M
November, 2009	SNGO Office/car	Senior martial arts trainer	Trisha	F
November, 2009	SNGO Office/car	Former senior martial arts trainer	Elisa	F
November, 2009	SNGO Office	Child Rights Officer	Ryan	M
November, 2009	SNGO Office	Senior Manager, M&E	Liz	F
November, 2009	SNGO Office	Director, M&E, Head of Office, UK	Brett	M
November, 2009	SNGO Office	Child Rights Officer	Cathy	F
November, 2009	SNGO Office	Domestic Violence Counsellor	Alex	F
November, 2009	SNGO Office	Director, IT & Enterprise Development	Matt	M
November, 2009	SNGO Office	Former M&E Officer, Present ICT Officer	Ellen	F
November, 2009	SNGO Office	PR Officer	Allie	F
International NGO (INGO)				
October, 2009	INGO Office	Founder & Executive Director	Julie	F
October, 2009	INGO Office	Program Director	Rosie	F
November, 2009	Skype™	Advisory board member	Jenna	F
October, 2009	Skype™	Former Advocacy Director	Ginny	F
October, 2009	Skype™	Advisory board member	Angela	F
October, 2009	INGO Office	Former Research Manager	Megan	F
October, 2009	Skype™	Executive board member	Lesley	F
Sport Transnational Corporation (STNC)				
October, 2009	Participant's home	Regional CSR Representative	Amy	F
October, 2009	Skype™	CSR Analyst	Louise	F
November, 2009	Coffee shop	CSR Specialist	Jodi	F
October, 2009	Skype™	Regional CSR Representative	Jean	F
October, 2009	Coffee shop	CSR Manager	Barbara	F
October, 2009	Skype™	Regional CSR Representative	Natalie	F
October, 2009	Participant's home	CSR Analyst	Charlotte	F

member of INGO. In May 2009, I had two preliminary phone calls with Rosie and Megan to

discuss logistics, some possible research questions and strategies that we all felt would be useful

and important to pursue in terms of studying SGD interventions. I also met with Megan while I was in Western Europe at a conference in July 2009 to further discuss these issues.

Following these conversations, on August 27, 2009, Rosie and Megan connected me with Liz (Senior Manager, Monitoring & Evaluation, SNGO), Brett (Director, Monitoring & Evaluation, Head of Office, UK) and Matt (Director, IT & Enterprise Development, SNGO) via email. I then submitted a condensed version of my research proposal for their consideration, which SNGO relayed to their internal committee, a group that approves all external research proposals in order to make sure that it is relevant to SNGO, and that it is not overlapping with other research projects (Brett, email communication, August 17, 2009). Official ethical approval for this research project was formally granted by the University of Toronto's Ethics Review Office on October 5, 2009 (see Appendix D). SNGO's internal research committee then approved my proposal on October 7, 2009. The following email from Brett (sent October 7, 2009) outlines SNGO reactions and concerns pertaining to the proposed research document that I submitted:

> Dear Lyndsay,
>
> It is felt that this will be an exciting piece of work and they [the internal research committee] have given their full support….It was felt that to achieve better impact, the work especially on M & E should focus on the gender and sports programme only, rather than across the whole organisation. This is because there are on-going M & E activities that are happening already and would be best served if we explore and develop them independently….The other issue is that your work proposes to undertake practical activities with different people within

the team, and this will involve costs that you may wish to consider such as travel, refreshments, stationery and supplies….Regards, [Brett].

I will further examine the wide range of research issues and ethical concerns (i.e., paying for transportation, supplies, etc.) posed by Brett in section 4.12 on ethical issues in conducting SGD research.

An initial meeting took place at INGO's office with Rosie and Megan (held September 26, 2009), in which I clarified how their research goals and organizational aims linked and/ or related to the aims of my dissertation research (i.e., that I was concerned with aid relations as well as the impact of SGD programming on adolescent girls). During this meeting, there was some hesitation on their part about my desire to study aid relations. More specifically, INGO staff were initially cautious about my concern with STNC's role in their work. I was asked to provide a short outline of my research proposal, with some potential/ possible outcomes that may arise from my study. After consulting their Executive Director (Julie), Megan and Rosie clarified that they approved of the proposed research aims of the project, and provided contact information (email addresses) of CSR staff from STNC and other employees and board members from INGO who they felt would be useful for me to interview.

Upon my arrival in Uganda, Liz put me in touch with Danielle (Administrative Coordinator & Office Manager, SNGO), who was an essential resource in terms of helping me to organize interviews with SNGO staff. On November 17, 2009, a meeting was set up with six SNGO staff involved in organizing, administering and developing the martial arts program (Trisha, Elisa, Ellen, Cathy, Liz, and Danielle). The goals of this meeting were to further discuss my proposed study, and any questions or issues they may have had. I also wanted to make sure that I had captured their key concerns with my proposed research questions, and wanted to listen

to their suggestions on culturally sensitive ways to study the martial arts program. Throughout this meeting, staff made it clear that they felt it was imperative for me to interview the young martial arts trainers, who were considered part of SNGO's staff (Field Notes, November 17, 2009). As explained in section 4.5, SNGO paid these girls small stipends to help disseminate the martial arts program among their peers and communities (in a peer-to-peer format). They had been former participants in the program who had excelled, and were selected to lead its diffusion and implementation due to their skills, confidence and leadership qualities. With the help of Elisa and Trisha (martial arts trainers, SNGO) I was able to interview eight of these young trainers, while also observing their participation in leading martial arts training sessions with their peers (I observed a total of six sessions, detailed further in section 4.9 on participant observation).

I was also able to informally "sit in" on many conversations the girls had with one another during these training sessions as part of my participant observation, although I always requested their permission to do so, and asked if I could take notes. Parental consent was not required for various reasons: first, these young women were considered SNGO staff members, and there was no age limit for interviewees from each organization as stipulated by my approved ethics application to the U of T Ethics Review Office (see Appendix D). Second, many of these young women no longer resided with their parents due to instances of abuse, domestic violence, or lack of financial support. In some cases, they cared for their younger siblings and ran their own households, sometimes with the assistance of a relative (Aunt or Uncle). These are just a few examples of the situations they discussed "off the record;" and, to be sure, each young trainer had a unique experiences and living situation which cannot be generalized here. The main point to reiterate is that, from their perspectives, and from the viewpoints of other SNGO staff, these young women were very much considered adults within the wider Winita District. In this

regard, other staff members from SNGO agreed that the participants' own informed consent was considered sufficient. Therefore the minimum age for their participation was 16 to ensure that maturity, literacy, and language skills were at a sufficient level to understand the study, make an informed decision to participate, and engage with the research.

Interviews with each group lasted approximately 35-120 minutes, and took place at locations that were selected by the interviewees, including coffee shops, restaurants, offices, and participants' homes. All research participants signed the consent form to participate in the project, and were able to refuse to respond to any given question. Interviews were digitally recorded and then transcribed verbatim into a MS Word document for coding and analysis using NVivo 8 (described further in section 4.11 on data analysis). Interviews with participants whose English was a second language were always transcribed word for word, and never altered or adjusted. This was because I wanted to be mindful of using postcolonial perspective and not altering the voices of subalterns or "correcting" their words into "more accurate" phrases, as I discuss below when reflecting on the politics of conducting cross-cultural research.

4.8.3 Interviews in Uganda: Translation and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Research

Cross-cultural research is inherently complex, messy, challenging and political (Hedge, 2009; Palmary, 2011). Specifically, the portion of the research conducted in Uganda was particularly intricate, mostly due to ethical issues and language barriers. Though most the full-time SNGO staff were fluent in English, four of the eight young martial arts trainers spoke mostly Swahili, Jopadhola or Luganda. The other four martial arts trainers were able to converse in English, but a translator was still present to assist with certain words and/ or phrases during the interviews with the young trainers if necessary. In the brief sections below, I grapple with these issues and

ponder the ethical quandaries pertaining to translation as a colonial and political act, and the challenges of conducting cross-cultural research, particularly with young people.

4.8.4 Translation in Cross-Cultural Research: Processes and Limitations

All knowledge is produced through a process of translation. For Hall (1997), language creates representation, resulting in meaning, and he argues that examining meaning in terms of processes of translation is useful in order to "facilitate cultural communication," while at the same time recognizing the interlocking systems of power and difference between "speakers" (Hall, 1997). And yet, in the context of cross-cultural communication, West (2005) suggests that notions of difference become "softened" through the political act of the translator, because local people's agency over their own dialect, priorities, knowledge and understanding is increasingly lost. Indeed, Palmary (2011, p. 102) warns of these assimilating tendencies in her caution that "translation is first and foremost a process of acculturation, which aims to make the speech familiar in the target language so that the listener may recognize her own culture in a cultural other." Of course, English is a technology of colonization, and I concur with Swadener and Kagendo (2008, p. 39), who warn that translating the experiences of all local interviewees into English works to re-affirm "lin-guicide" as a hegemonic vernacular in social sciences research:

> Lin-guicide has become a powerful force, with the hegemony of the English and other 'globalized' languages threatening indigenous languages and the language rights of those who speak such 'endangered' languages or feel pressures to write in English when many indigenous concepts do not accurately translate – if they translate at all – into English or other European languages.

These ethical concerns constantly surfaced as I conducted interviews with non-English speakers, and with participants for whom English was a second language (including some staff from STNC and INGO).

And yet, cross-cultural research in gender and development need not focus solely on the inevitabilities of barriers to communication and misinterpretation. Rather, I prefer MacLean's (2007, p. 789) understandings of translation as "an act of creation and a dynamic, ongoing process." MacLean (2007) and Palmary (2011) suggest that translation may provide an opportunity to promote and facilitate cross-cultural dialogue and understanding *with* research participants, but only if the translator's deliberations and decisions are made clear. Since four of the eight young martial arts trainers (Lexi, Ashley, Jennifer and Ariel) were non-English speakers, and the other four required the occasional assistance with word choice, Trisha (Trainer, martial arts program, SNGO) provided support with translation. That is, I would pose a question, Trisha would translate this into Swahili, the interviewee would respond in Swahili, and Trisha would then interpret her response using English. It is important to note that, at the beginning of each interview, Trisha would converse with the four girls who did not speak English fluently in order to translate any questions that they had, stress that they could refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from participating at any time, and confirm that I could record the interviews. For each interview, Trisha and I carefully reviewed the consent forms with the girls, and responded to any questions they had about their participation. SNGO staff suggested that this was the most culturally appropriate way to obtain their consent.

There were some potential ethical concerns about this situation. Trisha was the logical choice in terms of translating, particularly since I did not anticipate having to use a translator for interviews with SNGO, as I had been in communication with them before arriving in Uganda and

they had conveyed that all interviewees were fluent in English. And yet, the opportunity to interview the young trainers was an important chance to obtain the unique perspectives of individuals who were not only part of SNGO's staff, but also participants in the martial arts program. Trisha and Elisa had both built strong relationships with the girls by serving as trainers and mentors to them. These relationships were important for building rapport with the young trainers during interviews, but also presented some ethical challenges by using Trisha as a translator. First, I was concerned about romanticizing Trisha's interpretations of the young trainers' words, and taking her reading of their stories as ultimate forms of "truth." As an outsider, it was easy to make dangerous assumptions that Trisha was my link to the "inside" of the girls' social worlds. Therefore, at times, I was sure that she had the innate ability to project a more candid, authentic understanding of their experiences due to her insider status, access and clear trust she had built with the young trainers.

Secondly, I was aware from our initial meeting when I arrived in Junita that Trisha, and the other SNGO staff, had concerns and particular questions that they wanted to pose about the girls' experiences of the martial arts program. Though they may have already had such conversations casually on a regular basis (outside the research setting), this was still an opportunity for Trisha to discuss issues in-depth with each young martial arts trainer. The "participatory elements" of my study endorsed this approach, and I didn't want to posit unnatural questions that she may have thought to be inappropriate. At the same time, I had to keep reminding myself that Trisha, and the other staff at SNGO, had approved of my study, and as such, I ensured that we adhered to the semi-structured interview guide.

Thirdly, I struggled with the issue of compensation. Though Trisha was on site anyways to provide martial arts instruction for the young trainers, I was concerned about compensating

her for the time she took to translate. In the end, we agreed that this would be inappropriate given that she was also a participant in the study, and since she was already being paid to teach and mentor the girls anyways as part of her job at SNGO. Finally, her role as both a translator and an interviewee may have threatened "accuracy," and some suggest that it is important to have at least two "objective outsiders" conduct translation where necessary, and then compare the results to see differences and similarities (e.g., Behling & Law, 2000). However, Palmary (2011, p. 103) counters that this "search for truth" is problematic, and suggests an approach to research which "recognizes that all knowledge is co-constructed in the interview process and, instead of a pretence at authorial accuracy, tries to analyse the process and context of this knowledge production."

At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that Trisha's authoritative presence, combined with my position as an outsider, undoubtedly impacted the ways that the young women responded to my questions. Trisha was involved in training some of these young women, and it is possible that she may have significantly altered their responses to my questions. However, Trisha and I continually discussed the terminology used throughout the interviews, and every effort was made to simplify some of the questions posed during conversations with the young trainers. For example, the word "experience" did not translate well into Swahili, so instead of asking the girls about their "experiences" in the program, Trisha suggested I ask how the program "impacted the ways that they lived their lives" (this is how she translated the question back to me) (Field Notes, November 23, 2009). Trisha also recommended that we start out discussing the things that made the lives of these young trainers enjoyable, and then move on to a brief dialogue about the challenges of their lives. These small alterations did not stray too much from my original protocol, and I agreed that these minute changes were important for

building rapport and trust with the young trainers. I also discussed the interview protocol with Elisa (the other martial arts trainer), and with the other staff members who I initially met with upon arriving Winita to discuss my study (Liz, Cathy, Ellen, Danielle).

In summary, the interview protocol originally made for the other full-time SNGO staff was condensed for the young trainers, and mostly focused on their experiences in the program, and as SNGO staff members. I therefore did not have to create a new protocol, rather, I simply eliminated and/or rephrased some questions to better capture the voices of the young martial arts trainers (for example, none of the young martial arts trainers were able to respond to queries about aid relations).[24] This was the benefit of using a semi-structured interview protocol: its flexibility was crucial for conducting studies with very different groups of interviewees. Similarly, there were times when I would try to ask questions about either the martial arts program, or funding relations, but SNGO staff were unfamiliar with that particular topic. Specifically, four (out of eleven) senior SNGO staff were unable to respond to questions about donors/ funding relations (Allie, Ryan, Trisha and Elisa), and one was not able to respond to questions about the SGD program (Mark, Accountant, SNGO). I describe the interview protocol in more depth in the next section.

4.8.5 Interview Guides

The semi-structured design of the interview guides enabled me to probe interviewees, while also altering and tweaking questions when necessary (for example, with the young martial arts trainers, as cited in the section above). Probing contributed towards the emergence of a repetition of points and patterns. For each of the three interview guides (STNC, INGO, SNGO – see Appendices A, B and C) questions were divided into two sections: the first focused on staff understandings of SGD, and the second explored their perceptions of aid relations in SGD.

Though some interviewees were better equipped to respond to queries posed in only one of these areas, I found that this format was useful for covering the key research questions posed by this study. Moreover, within each organization, there seemed to be an equal number of staff members who were able to respond to questions from each section.

Most interviewees were interviewed once, with the exception of Cathy and Elisa, who I spoke with twice because our first interviews were quite long, and their original responses involved sensitive personal stories that provoked further questions I wanted to pursue. Throughout interviews, I was constantly aware of my social location, particularly as the SNGO interviewees shared their personal stories of sexual and gender-based violence, abuse and poverty (to name a few). I was conflicted about including some of these stories in my research, and often thought about Razack's (2007, p. 390) notion of "stealing the pain of the Other," in which she urges that we move beyond an individualist emotional response to a "collectivist account" of political relations that asks who benefits from the production of empathy. Similarly, bell hooks' well-known quote about the politics of representation and morality in sharing the stories of subalterns summarizes my concerns about recording, and then sharing, the stories of SNGO staff:

> No need to hear your voice when I can talk about you better than you can speak
> about yourself…only tell me about your pain. I want to hear your story. And then
> I will tell it back to you in a new way…I am still author, authority. I am still the
> colonizer (cited in Fine, 1994, p. 70).

My (perhaps) naïve assumption was that the interviewees were open with me because I had built rapport and trust with SNGO staff due to my daily presence in the office, and long drives with Trisha and Elisa to where the young trainers were practising karate and taekwondo. Still,

interviewees may have shared intimate stories with me simply because I was "available to listen" (see Swartz, 2011), or because they thought that I was a figure of authority and they had no choice – although at the beginning of every interview, I reminded them that they could refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from participating at any time, addressed any questions that they had, and confirmed whether I could record the interviews. I further reflect on these ethical dilemmas and issues in section 4.12.

4.9 Participant Observation

Participant observation of the actors operating in multiple spaces (offices, "in the field," at their homes, etc.) was used to contextualize data from interviews and document analysis to result in overlapping dialogue. Throughout participant observation, I tried to "talk with people" informally (e.g., during long car rides in Uganda in the case of SNGO, or lengthy office visits in Western Europe in the case of INGO) to find out more about their involvement in SGD interventions and to understand the institutional work processes involved – for example, what funding applications they were currently working on, who they were meeting, and why they were partaking in certain activities. My focus on these actions borrows from institutional ethnography, and for the purposes of a multi-sited project, this helps expose how "institutional processes are standardized *across local settings*, so any group of informants encounters those processes in some way" (DeVault & McCoy, 2006, p. 23, italics added for emphasis).

Whenever possible, I requested permission to attend and "research" meetings, events and martial arts training sessions, and other dialogue and decision-making spaces. In so doing, I hoped to better understand inter and intra-group relations around SGD, for empowering young women, and as a development funding priority for STNC and INGO. The appropriate sites for

participant observation were decided through interviews and initial meetings with staff from each entity.

While every effort was made to ensure I spent equal time observing staff from each entity, I was more immersed in SNGO's activities, a possible limitation of this study. This was mostly due to my living situation in Junita, as my residence there was a five minute walk from SNGO's office, which I visited daily, usually from 10am-4pm. I also went to three different school grounds located in three different villages within the Winita District to observe the young trainers teach karate and taekwondo sessions. In addition, I frequented the local markets and the community center in Junita, and had conversations with locals on a daily basis, with each conversation and observation contributing to my understanding of Ugandan culture. I also regularly traveled with SNGO staff to research sites in their vehicle, and attended several social gatherings (e.g., birthday parties, dinners and lunches) with staff. My observation of the young women's participation in the martial arts activities allowed me to question, explore, understand and confirm themes that emerged throughout interviews. I would also constantly discuss my questions and observations with SNGO staff, who then assisted in clarifying salient points and background information to help contextualize my concerns.

Contrastingly, while immersed in the portion of the study in Western Europe, I resided in a town that was 45 minute train and tram ride from INGO's office, and anywhere from 40-80 minutes from the homes of STNC staff who were interviewed. However, over the months of September and October, I spent time in INGO's office where I interacted with their staff and interns, attended staff lunches, and listened to key issues discussed during two impromptu meetings they held. However, I was not in their office on a daily basis, as I was simultaneously trying to coordinate interviews with STNC, while also participating in graduate research

activities at my host university. The time that I was able to spend immersed at INGO's office, though, was crucial for gaining key insights into their day-to-day interactions, and I felt that I was able to learn as much as I could about their work. They asked me opinions on research strategies, requested my assistance in launching a "best practices document," and in helping them to devise a survey using an online tool called "Survey Monkey" to see how the "partners" they funded in the South viewed their relationships. In the end, I did not assist with any of these documents or assist them with developing their survey, primarily due to any conflicts of interest.

I did not obtain access to STNC's office due to their concerns about anonymity. Moreover, at the time of research STNC's CSR office was in the process of a significant restructuring (downsizing) – to be relocated back to its North American headquarters. Two of the interviewees were about to leave their positions, and did not want to have interviews conducted at the office during this complicated time. Perhaps these issues also relate to Burawoy's (2009) observations about trying to conduct ethnographic work on "privileged elites." As he writes, "the rich and the powerful have more to hide and do not readily consent to our scrutiny" (Burawoy, 2009, p. 268). This is not to essentialize all STNC staff as "rich," but rather, to simply point out their positions of authority as employees of a powerful transnational corporation. I elaborate on issues of access further in section 4.12 on "Access and Ethics."

It was therefore extremely challenging to be "immersed" in STNC's corporate culture, although I did conduct lengthy interviews with a range of STNC's CSR experts using Skype™ while they were immersed in their offices or working "in the field" in various locations around the world (Europe, Africa, Latin America, and North America). Due to the global nature of their work, and the wide range of CSR workers, I propose that I was simply "following the flow of

things" and "unravelling a story" through the pursuit of interviews and linkages across national boundaries (see Burawoy, 2009).

Although my lack of participant observation with STNC may be perceived as a limitation, it did enable me to focus more on INGO and SNGO and their work as prominent actors in the SGD aid constellation. As Burawoy (2009, p. 94) explains, participant observation is limiting: "…as ethnographers, we enter only part of the world we study. That is, we face limitations on what we can examine through participant observation, which makes the distinction between internal and external inescapable." Through document analysis, however, I was able to glean other insights into STNC's work, as I explain in more detail below.

4.9.1 Field Notes

Field notes were also kept in a journal to document the research process as it unfolded, record various experiences and challenges in my role as the researcher, and to reflect on initial analyses. The participants also agreed to notes being taken in this journal during interviews. These notes were later entered into a MS Word file and were particularly useful for reviewing when following up on issues during my interviews (e.g. recounting the emotions of participants during interviews, highlighting similarities between the responses of staff members, reflecting on occurrences/ events that I was involved in during my research such as dinners and birthday parties with staff from SNGO). Writing in this journal gave me the opportunity to contemplate my personal understandings of SGD in relation to my social location. It also provided an essential outlet for contemplating the challenges and trials of doing cross-cultural research.

4.10 Qualitative Document Analysis

Key documents from each entity in the aid constellation were gathered to provide background and contextual information before interviews and participant observation, including mission

statements, policy documents, and press releases (please see list of documents analyzed in Table 4.2 below). It may be argued that this form of data collection is similar to what Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, p. 29) refer to as "casing the joint," in that it provides important information about the settings being studied, or about key figures and personnel. During my visits to each research site, staff provided me with annual reports, monitoring and evaluation studies, key SGD programming documents and workbooks, campaign materials, and project evaluation items. Websites for each entity were also closely analyzed and checked against participant observation field notes and transcribed interviews. Websites are increasingly being used to study social movements and NGO cultures, because they reveal information about, for example, organizational mandates, activities, partners, marketing strategies, and policies (Hine, 2005).

Each document was read several times to obtain a sense as a whole. No formal, rigid analysis was carried out using qualitative software (e.g., NVivo 8). Rather, I used coloured highlighters to conduct a systematic and analytic qualitative document analysis (QDA) (Altheide et al., 2008), with an eye to particular patterns and recurring themes that emerged. This involved loosely tracking discourses through the use of particular language, words and themes in each document (e.g., themes/ words such as "efficiency," "Girl Effect," "empowerment," etc.). Using

Table 4.2: List of Documents Analyzed	
Document title/ name	Author/ Type of Document
STNC Foundation website	Website
STNC social responsibility 2005-2006 report (most recent available, downloaded from website)	Website
STNC website	Website
SNGO website	Website
STNC/ INGO/ SENGO Women In Sport Competition (held in 2009 and 2010)	Website

INGO Annual Reports (2008-2009; 2009-2010, downloaded from website)	Website
Transcripts of interviews with martial arts girls (interviews conducted June 2009), provided by INGO	Transcripts
Background policy/ legal documents on bride price, domestic violence prevention, SNGO	Legal report
INGO Strategy (2010-2012)	Report
Impact Assessment/ Research Report on empowering girls and women through sport and physical activity, INGO	Report
Guidelines for Improving the Conduct of Physical Education and Sports in Educational Institutions (2008)	Ministry of Education and Sport, Uganda
Department of Physical Education – Profile (2008)	Ministry of Education and Sport, Uganda
SNGO reporting documents to donors	Report
SNGO Martial Arts Program/ Gender training manual	Manual

variously coloured highlighters, I colour categorized these words into these themes. As Altheide et al. (2008, p. 128) write, the element of continuous "discovery" and the flaccidity of this analysis is imperative in QDA:

> Categories and 'variables' initially guide the study, but others are allowed and expected to emerge throughout the study, including an orientation towards constant discovery and constant comparison of relevant situations, styles, images, meanings, and nuances.

Overall, these documents were used to historicize and contextualize the interview and observation data, and augmented my ability to explore the culturally specific understandings around SGD, and the broader discursive framings of certain topics such as the "Girl Effect," gender and development, and CSR as presented by each text.

4.11 Data Analysis

Coding data is essentially a form of analysis that gives meaning to the descriptive or inferential information complied during a study (Miles & Huberman, 2002). I used NVivo 8 to code and organize my interviews, a qualitative data analysis software program that allows the researcher to select and categorize blocks of text into themes that have emerged. Interview transcripts were transferred to the NVivo 8 software, and then coded using nodes. "Nodes" are ways of labelling text that is being analyzed, or a system used by researchers to place meaning on different parts of the text. As more nodes were created, they were then organized into four groups in order to distinguish the various sets of interviewees (STNC, INGO, SNGO, young trainers). I separated the young martial arts trainers from SNGO because I considered them both staff and participants, and thus did not want to "artificially" weld their perspectives with those of SNGO staff. All interviews were coded according to these four organizational identities (STNC, INGO, SNGO, young trainers – see Appendix F, codes).

I began the coding process with the young martial arts trainer's interviews, as I initially wanted to use their perspectives to inform the themes that emerged from the other research participants. I then moved to SNGO, then INGO, and finally, interviews from STNC. This was, in a way, my attempt to begin my analysis by focusing on the most marginalized voices in SGD, and then moving outward to obtain a sense of scale, "multi-level character," and global-local dynamics. This process was in line with other global ethnographers who conduct multi-sited research (e.g., Burawoy, 2009; Thayer, 2010).

I conducted a "constant comparison analysis" and "classical content analysis." Both of these types of analyses/ technique are helpful for researchers in understanding what concepts were predominantly discussed during interviews (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007; 2011). Using

these analysis strategies, codes may be identified either deductively or inductively (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2011). My coding was conducted both deductively and inductively: the former involves first selecting a theme, and then exploring the data with an eye to the predetermined theme, while the latter occurs when codes emerge from the data.

A constant comparison analysis that is deductive begins with the researcher comparing each new set of data with codes that were previously made, so similar chunks are labelled with the same code. After all the data have been coded, the codes are grouped by similarity, and a theme is identified and documented based on each grouping (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007; 2011). Most often a constant comparison analysis is carried out deductively, and is helpful to use when there are many codes (for example, from my analysis, 178 codes emerged). Contrastingly, inductive coding commences with examining the data, and then selecting the concepts that best explain what the data represents. For instance, my coding was deductive because I used my interview questions (e.g., "what are some of the challenges the girls and women in your program have experienced?") as a guide to develop certain themes (e.g., "challenges of martial arts"). These themes continued to emerge and develop through repeated readings of interview transcripts and documents. My coding was also inductive because some codes emerged from the data (e.g., GCSE tactics).

After all the data were coded, the codes were grouped by similarity, and a theme was identified and documented based on each grouping. For example, I made several "groupings" based on corporate interviews, including: understandings of SGD, relationships, global governance of SGD, GCSE tactics, and corporatizing girls. A constant comparison analysis may also help identify which codes are used most often, and which might be the most important concepts for the interviewee (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007). By using this strategy, a

comparison identifying the similarities and differences of each group (STNC, INGO, SNGO and young martial arts trainers) was better facilitated.

I also borrowed some techniques from the classical content analysis approach, which is very similar to a constant comparison analysis, except themes, codes, and the number of interviewees ("sources") who referred to these themes/ codes are counted and constantly compared (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007). After initial coding was completed using a classical content analysis, I inputted the codes into Microsoft Excel to try and obtain a sense of which codes were referred to most often, and by how many interviewees/ sources. This was also an opportunity to identify and clarify key themes that extended across all four levels (STNC, INGO, SNGO and martial arts). Using five different coloured highlighters, I manually colour-coded the categories that were evident and referred to most frequently across all four groups (see Appendix G). Perhaps unsurprisingly, the only category that consistently emerged across all four groups was "understandings of SGD" – and this included subcategories such as "perceived benefits of SGD/ martial arts, and perceived challenges of martial arts." Themes that were found across three of the groups (STNC, INGO and SNGO) included: "funding and donor relationships." Finally, "global governance of SGD" was found across two of the groups (STNC, INGO). Although by no means a "quantitative" analysis, organizing and further coding these themes enabled me to obtain a better sense of the interrelations amongst the various actors in the aid constellation. It also assisted in helping me to prioritize certain nodes and content categories over others, which resulted in the final section of themes. Overall, this multi-stage coding process shed light on the various links between thematic categories in conjunction with my theoretical standpoints in an attempt to build a more holistic research landscape.

Due to the nature of the questions asked of the interviewees, the amount of probing done, and the number of organizational members I was able to recruit to participate from each entity, I feel that the themes which emerged from data analysis accurately reflected the understandings and responses of the participants. I also decided to interview more than one person from each organization because I felt that each member would be able to provide a variety of standpoints on the key issues under exploration in this study. In sum, by conducting 35 interviews with 33 participants, I felt that I was able to obtain varying perspectives which confirmed certain themes and findings, and subsequently provided confidence to the analysis of my results. Overall, I believe that the voices of each organization were adequately captured through the number of interviews carried out, and, when combined with triangulation, adequately analyzed.

4.12 Access and Ethics

> *In the end, to whom are we accountable? We can easily lose our moral compass*
> *and, like the military anthropologist who helps stabilize foreign occupation,*
> *become a hired expert for dubious causes* (Burawoy, 2009, p. 268).

Throughout this chapter, I've noted various ethical issues that arose while carrying out this research. I have mainly focused on the challenges involved in conducting cross-cultural research, complexities in language translation, and the intricacies of power relations in research with marginalized youth in the Two-Thirds World. There were two other difficulties in terms of "access" and "ethics" involved in pursuing this study: first was trying to locate and access STNC staff for interviews. The second struggle involved obtaining ethical approval from the various governments involved in the portion of the research conducted abroad.

4.12.1 Accessing STNC Interviewees

Researching powerful TNCs is extremely difficult, and locating STNC personnel for the purpose of this study was similarly no easy feat, and involved numerous unanticipated challenges. Due to my initial contact and relationship with INGO, I was fortunately able to locate STNC employees, who were already inundated with multiple requests for interviews, funding appeals from NGOs, and so on. For these reasons, the email contact information for many of the CSR staff was thus not publicly available, and it was thus important that Megan (Former Research Manager, INGO) wrote an email to Charlotte (CSR Analyst, SNGO) introducing me. As Charolotte (CSR Analyst, SNGO, October 2009) remarked during our interview:

> It's really hard for them [NGOs] to navigate our bureaucracy and matrix and find the right hearing. And I think the receptivity to that message – unless it's kind of through a mutual contact – it – definitely a personal connection is what opens the ears. Especially when you have the volume of the requests that you have. I mean, I probably get requests for interviews and informational interviews, whatever – ten times a week. So, I think – I mean, it's gotten to the point that I don't respond which is terrible. So if [Megan – INGO staff member] hadn't for example said – "would you do this," I probably wouldn't have…

INGO did not want to strain their unique relationship with STNC, and I did not want to put INGO staff in a taxing position through this research. I therefore had to be as vigilant and sensitive as possible when contacting STNC staff for interviews so as to not implicate INGO in any way. Thankfully, I was also directly connected to Barbara (CSR Manager) through INGO staff (Megan, Former Research Manager, INGO; and Rosie, Program Director, INGO). The other interviewees from STNC were located through snowball sampling (see section 4.8.2). For

example, following interviews with Charlotte and Barbara, I would ask if they knew of any other interviewees from STNC's CSR department who would be appropriate for my study, and they would provide me with names and emails. There were three STNC CSR staff I contacted through email who did not want to participate due to their hectic schedules, or because (from my perception) they seemed skeptical of researchers in general. What was particularly challenging was trying to decide locations to meet to conduct interviews. As I mentioned, STNC staff seemed uncomfortable with me accessing their office. Train stations, coffee shops and their homes were thus the selected locales for our conversations.

4.12.2 Accessing Ethical Approval for Research in Uganda

After receiving ethical approval from the University of Toronto's Ethics Review Office on October 5, 2009, I was in the midst of reviewing the ethical protocol for conducting research in Uganda and in the Western European country (see Appendix G, Protocol Reference #24406). For the portion of the study in the Western European country, no ethical approval was required for qualitative, social science research. However, navigating ethical approval from the Ugandan National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) proved to be very challenging and resulted in a great deal of complications and moral dilemmas.

As I quickly discovered following several conversations and emails with SNGO staff, most of the researchers they had previously been involved with/ hosted did not apply for ethical approval from UNCST, mainly due to what they perceived as a great deal of corruption and redundant bureaucratic processes. SNGO staff suggested UNCST was mostly used for scientific research, and not social science / qualitative studies (Field Notes, November 19, 2009). The issue of corruption was also linked to other concerns pertaining to human rights violations. Specifically, in October 2009, the "Anti-Homosexuality Bill 2009" was tabled in Parliament of

Uganda, calling for harsher penalties for homosexuals, including the death penalty. Furthermore, the bill stipulates that "where the offender is a business or NGO, its certificate of registration will be cancelled and the director will be liable to seven years in prison" (Karugaba & Bekunda, 2009). Having arrived shortly after this Bill was tabled in November, there were whisperings of apprehension at SNGO. Mostly, these anxieties revolved around SNGO's (discreet) work on sexuality, and what they referred to as "gender training." For example, there were some interviewees who mentioned their concerns about the increase of young boys being raped by men in the community (see Chapter Five for further elaboration). Though there were SNGO staff who quietly discussed addressing these incidences through their work, and eventually through educational strategies in the martial arts curriculum (i.e., by eventually having a program for boys) – they were very apprehensive about the stipulations made in the Anti-Homosexuality Bill, which some staff considered to be a human rights violation (Field Notes, November 19, 2009). Though the Bill had not passed, there were NGO activists who were being persecuted, and their lives threatened – which was being discussed at SNGO's office, and had been discussed in the international media (Mutua, 2011; Field Notes, November 19, 2009).[25] Therefore, I did not want to further highlight/ put SNGO under scrutiny by the government during this sensitive time and jeopardize their work. After further consultation with NGO senior staff (Brett, Matt and Liz), it was decided that not applying to UNCST was the best approach to take.

Unsure of how to address these issues while ethically proceeding with my study, I consulted Article 1.14 of the Tri-Council Policy Statement (TCPS), which states the following:

> It is…necessary for researchers conducting studies in countries with ethics review
> procedures to submit to an REB-equivalent in that country. If research is to be
> conducted in a country without such resources, *or in regions where government*

project of the project would jeopardize the research and/ or where human rights

violations are commonplace, documentation from a non-governmental agency or

expert on the cultural appropriateness of the research is helpful, where available

(University of Toronto Research Oversight & Compliance Office, 2009, italics

added for emphasis).

I decided, then, along with SNGO staff, that a formal letter from them approving my research

would suffice, as Article 1.14 states above. Proceeding along these lines seemed to be the most

ethical, culturally sensitive and reasonable way to conduct the study without endangering

SNGO's work, and putting the whole organization at risk.

A separate ethical quandary regarding the portion of my study carried out in Uganda was

research costs. As Swartz (2011) contests, few if any speak of the financial cost of research, and

she asserts that it is necessary to reveal such expenses when carrying out studies in the Two-

Thirds World, particularly with young people "for the sake of ethical transparency for others

who might pursue research amongst vulnerable [populations] in the future, as well as to further

illustrate the intentional ethics of reciprocation" (Swartz, 2011, p. 58). Though I will not

formally outline my costs, the following is an example of items that were research expenses

while I was in Uganda:

- Fuel for SNGO's vehicle from Junita to the Entebbe airport

- Driver's 2 days allowance;

- Driver's night allowance;

- Airport fee;

- Fuel to attend martial arts training sessions;

- Wear and tear of SNGO's vehicle;

- Food and water for/ shared with SNGO staff while traveling in remote places.

I ended up obtaining transportation to and from the airport with SNGO because it was difficult to find reliable and safe public transportation from Entebbe to Junita. Second, SNGO senior staff (Brett and Matt) insisted that they were already picking up SNGO's co-founder, Doug, the same day that I arrived, so they would not be making the extra trip. Still, I thought it was important to pay for the exorbitant fuel costs involved, as well as vehicle maintenance fees, given the distance traveled (230 km one way from Entebbe to Junita, for a total round trip of 460km). This was the same case with trips to see Trisha, Elisa, and the young martial arts trainers practice karate and taekwondo. I felt it was necessary, and ethical, to pay for fuel and use of SNGO's vehicle, particularly when transportation was such a privilege for SNGO, and it was extremely difficult for them to obtain funding for transport purposes (Liz, Senior Manager, M&E, November 2009). During our travels to these remote areas, if we stopped to purchase food and water from one of the local markets, I would often buy enough for the SNGO staff I was with at that particular time so it could be shared. I contend that these modest research expenses support L.T. Smith's (1999) contentions that those conducting research cross-culturally should try to contribute skills and resources to the community in which one works, while also being generous where possible to address power imbalances – almost a weak attempt to at least try to facilitate reciprocity. Nonetheless, the concern lies in ways that spending money on research participants is different from paying people for their participation, which may be problematic (Archer, 2009; Swartz, 2011). Archer (2009) discusses "opportunities for reciprocity" and "reciprocal relationships," through which she maintains it is important for researchers to "truly level out the inherent power differential." She furthers that this:

….Include[s] the collaborative nature of the relationship, a base of empathy and

mutual respect, and the researcher's explicit acknowledgement that both people

have skills and knowledge to contribute, with the participants' knowledge of

research questions being greater (Archer, 2009, p. 157).

I shared stories, food, conversation and long car rides with staff from each entity. In particular,

during my stay in Uganda, I attended birthdays, breakfasts, lunches, dinners, and events in which

SNGO participated such as the "sixteen days of activism." Reciprocal gift giving also occurred

in one instance, as I brought a gift of Canadian maple syrup to Liz's birthday celebration, and

she cooked an entire meal from scratch that she gladly shared with me and the rest of her guests.

She also gave me a bottle of Coke, and some sweets as well following our meal. The day-long

celebration ended by sitting in a circle and sharing the things that we were most grateful for, and

why our friendship was Liz was important to each of us. I felt extremely honoured to have been

invited to this celebration, with only fifteen other close family members and friends in

attendance.

Nevertheless, following this event, I found myself questioning its meaning in terms of my

position as a researcher. Did this event "flatten out power relations"? Was my gift of maple

syrup influencing Liz's participation in the research? For ethical reasons, I was clear to Liz and

the others in attendance during this celebration that I was still wearing my "researcher's hat," but

I did not take any formal field notes. To be candid, I was not sure how to truly "remove" my

identity as a researcher from these occasions outside the research context. Nonetheless, I suggest

that there was a mutual respect, acceptance and understanding that emerged during these

moments, and from the fieldwork in Uganda on the whole. At the same time, I will undoubtedly

(continue to) benefit more from this research than SNGO, and even the others who participated in this study.

This was not the only significant ethical issue that I wrestled with throughout my study. In terms of my position as a researcher who seemed to be affiliated with INGO, there were times that I felt I experienced "institutional capture." That is, as McCoy (2006, p. 122) puts it, there were moments when I felt "unwittingly trapped in institutional language" (McCoy, 2006, p. 122). Hedge (2009, p. 279) puts this differently, as she writes: "when we construct the subaltern subject as an object of study, we draw her into the inherited vocabularies and structures of institutional language." Simply taking a "critical perspective" did not seem to be a preventative strategy from institutional capture, but as McCoy (2006) suggests, by becoming aware of institutional discourses, and by remaining reflexive, I was able to make institutional framings more apparent. Overall, I had to remain constantly reflexive and remind myself that the ways in which this research was conducted did not "take place in a vacuum," but was part of the wider geopolitical influences and institutions involved that influenced my findings, and narration (also see Kapoor, 2004 for discussion on "hyper self-reflexivity" in development research).

Simply put, researching NGOs is difficult, as often they are not transparent organizations. As Wallace et al. (2006, p. 9) observe, NGOs "almost always request that discussions on tensions and issues concerning their funding and relationships with donors, partners and states are held behind closed doors." Although INGO assisted me in obtaining access to SNGO, and there were times that I felt pressured to align myself with INGO, I maintained a critical eye and actively tried to distance myself from INGO's day-to-day interactions, discourses and goals (Wallace et al., 2006, p. 9).

Overall, due to my previous experience researching and working for NGOs, I felt that I was familiar and able to deal with the issues that surfaced pertaining to organizational anonymity, and the tensions and highly politicized power relations involved in the development landscape. To be sure, overcoming and addressing these issues was challenging and difficult, and the need to remain continually reflexive assisted in negotiating these experiences throughout data collection.

4.13 Reflexivity and Positionality

> *How do we connect inquiry with a commitment to feminist politics? How do we represent lives and sensibilities from a space of otherness and render them intimate and with the dignity they deserve* (Hedge, 2009, p. 279)?

Hedge's (2009) contentions illuminate the types of ethical struggles incurred when taking on a postcolonial feminist, multi-sited, global ethnography. In light of Hedge's questions, I maintain that accounting for the embodiment, positionality, social location and biography of the researcher – particularly in the context of multi-sited work – is of utmost importance. In postcolonial feminist research, Benson and Nagar (2006, p. 583) suggest that "positionality has become a critical concept and practice to address questions of voice and authority." It is imperative to question, for example, how it is possible to use a postcolonial feminist framework that acknowledges the voices of the subalterns and speaks against colonizing tendencies through research, when inevitably my voice has become "the authority" in this study, as I write on behalf of the "subaltern subject." That is, how is it possible to explore or explain the experience of others while respecting their full subjectivity?

Kapoor (2004) contends that Spivak's work has instigated a plethora of hyper-self-reflexive research on development in the Two-Thirds World, where researchers must now be

"unscrupulously vigilant…about our complicities" (Kapoor, 2004, p. 641). By being "hyper-self-reflexive," the hope is that those (i.e. presumably outsiders) conducting studies in the Two-Thirds World will be able to better "contextualize our claims, reduce[e] the risk of personal arrogance or geoinstitutional imperialism, and mov[e] one toward a non-hierarchical encounter with the Third World/subaltern," (Kapoor, 2004, p. 641). And yet, the micro-local elements of hyper-reflexivity sometimes fail to engage with the realities of carrying out institutional, macro-global research, particularly the type of project outlined in this dissertation. For example, when attempting to "jump" from one NGO/entity to the next – organizations that are cumulatively immersed in more than twenty countries (to various degrees) – how is it possible to ensure a compassionate, ethical, respectful face-to-face encounter with subalterns that is attentive to their local contexts? As Kapoor (2004, p. 643) enquires, "is an intimate relationship with the subaltern even compatible with institutional processes, let alone on a large scale?" On this point, I concur with Rankin's (2010) submission that the difficulty for those conducting development research is to foster a reflexive praxis that nurtures – in accountable, historical, contextual, ethical and respectful ways – issues of difference; and local, micro-level relations with subalterns.

Though striving for mutual respect and hyper-self-reflexivity is crucial, I'm not convinced that simply rehearsing power differences and recognizing my social location as a white, middle-class female residing in the One-Third World is enough to disentangle the colonial residue and the complexity of methodological trappings that arise through carrying out qualitative research in development. Bhavnani (2007, p. 642), for example, is critical of researchers who simply note their racial/ethnic identity, sex/gender, age, class and ability and then proceed to discuss their research "as if objectivity is possible as a transcendent vision." Even so, a postcolonial feminist perspective necessitates that I critically engage with the

destabilized diffidence of my interpretations. Therefore, while remaining reflexive is pertinent, I suggest that it is crucial to go beyond reflexivity to ensure that the research outlined in this dissertation disseminates a multiplicity of truths, particularly those truths which hold meaning for those individuals, communities and institutions under examination (Benson & Nagar, 2006; Kirkham & Anderson, 2002; Racine, 2003). In the previous sections, I have tried to reflect on my social location and position as an outsider, and I have contemplated the moral dilemmas involved in SGD research. In Chapter Seven, I further discuss issues of self-reflexivity, and also outline the methodological limitations of this project.

CHAPTER FIVE

It's Up to the Girls: Sport, Gender and Girl Power! in Eastern Uganda

5.1 Introduction

This chapter mostly draws on the stories of the young martial arts trainers by outlining their experiences in the martial arts program, and the perspectives of SNGO staff members as they consider the challenges and benefits of administering this SGD intervention. Through these narratives, I hope to convey the courage, resistance, strength and contradictions experienced by these young martial arts trainers in the face of violence, unequal power relations, discrimination, and structural inequalities. Despite such challenges, the young women of Winita demonstrate how martial arts may provide some optimism, reasons for hope, change and self-determination from the constraints of 'being a girl.' At the same time, their participation in the martial arts program is embedded in assumptions that these young women will be resilient enough to withstand the callous insults, and sexual, physical, emotional and verbal abuse that encumbers their lives. The myths circulated by community and family members concerning the implications of the young women's participation in martial arts (and, in sport more broadly) dissuaded some, and at times, made them question their own participation.

I begin this chapter at one particular point in the constellation of SGD participants and stakeholders by considering and analyzing gender relations at the micro-level, or, following Markula and Pringle (2006, p. 37), I undertake "an ascending analysis of power" to understand how gender relations from the perspectives of the girls articulate and overlap with sexist, racist, and heteronormative hierarchies related to the Girl Effect movement and discourse, as a global development project buttressed by the private authority of STNC, SNGO, INGO and various other stakeholders. Accordingly, the focus of this chapter is to carefully describe and theorize the

subject positions of the girls and SNGO actors "on the ground" deploying and participating in the martial arts program, and to tease apart more nuanced understandings of the ebbs and flows of power. Thus, I mostly use data from interviews and participant observation of SNGO staff members, as well as the young women who work with SNGO to deliver the martial arts program while also participating in its activities. I also draw on the analysis of SGD and Girl Effect policy texts, and some organizational documents. In some sections, I consider how SNGO staff members in the Two-Third World mediate global SGD knowledge and institutional pressure from donors and international NGOs in the One-Thirds World within the Eastern Ugandan context. Through these examples, I submit that SGD programs ignore important ways of understanding the fluidity of gender. Specifically, this chapter will focus on the ways that the martial arts program ignores gender as a constrained choice, while also failing to acknowledge institutionalized forms of gender and gender relations. These findings will be situated within overlapping discursive frameworks of gender and development, sport, and the Girl Effect.

An important caveat here is that while some data from interviews and observations of staff members from STNC and INGO inform these discussions, the focus on the Two-Thirds World presents a concerted attempt to contextualize and examine Ugandan perspectives on SGD. What issues are of critical importance to them, and how are these issues linked to their everyday experiences? How are constructions of gender, race, class, poverty, nation, cultural difference and sexuality shaped through the martial arts program, and by the girls participating? Ultimately, the expectation is that this chapter might illuminate how governmental interventions shape individual lives, and to explore "what happens when those interventions become entangled with the processes they would regulate and improve" (Li, 2007, p. 27). Taken a step further, it is then crucial to understand power as fluid, relational and embedded in struggles over meanings

and discourses articulated through SGD, the 'Girl Effect' and North/ South relations. In this sense, oppression and resistance via SGD interventions do not work in a simplistic binary mode, but rather through various modes of power – structural, interpersonal, disciplinary and hegemonic (Collins, 2009). Each of these areas will be explored in the pages that follow – not as silos, but as interlocking sites of power. Overall, my aim is to follow the girls' perspectives as they travel and circulate through various documents and debates, while simultaneously organizing their activism and that of others, and at the same time, mediates their lives in various ways.

5.2 "This taekwondo has taught you something!" The Benefits of Martial Arts[26]

In this section, I consider the promise and beneficial experiences attained through SGD programming as discussed through interviews and participant observation of the martial arts program. The young martial arts trainers contended that karate and taekwondo improved their confidence, physical fitness, skill development, leadership capabilities, social networks, and education levels (for example, by learning new words in Japanese to accompany their training). At the same time, it is important to briefly refer to a few of the notable limitations of current SGD interventions, some of which are discussed in the existing literature (particularly by Saavedra, 2005; 2009). For the most part, scholars such as Saavedra (2009) suggest that SGD programs may be advantageous for young women in the Two-Thirds World – but only if sport is practiced in safe spaces, with reliable and affordable transportation, inexpensive hygienic sanitary protection, and with a clear understanding of local relations and gendered dynamics. Throughout this chapter, I will consider these cautions and challenges through current debates and discussions pertaining to agency, resistance and empowerment as presented in the gender and development literature (see Kabeer, 2010; Parpart, 2010). In the next section, I explore the

beneficial experiences, perceptions and encounters that the young martial arts trainers gained

from the program. These positive experiences are imperative for understanding the multiple and

overlapping discourses of SGD that frame sport's apparent efficacy for achieving girls and

women's empowerment.

When asked about the benefits of the martial arts program, the girls presented a variety of

responses. First, all eight interviewees explained that the program increased their confidence so

that they were able to "fight off" offenders. To this end, Jessica (young martial arts trainer,

SNGO, November 2009) elucidated that learning martial arts was critical: "taekwondo helps me

to protect myself in quiet places. For example, when you're moving and someone comes to

attack you. You can be able to fight him." Similarly, Jennifer (young martial arts trainer, SNGO,

November 2009) offered that she was now confident enough to speak out and look at her attacker

"in the eye" since partaking in the program.

> Jennifer: I'm now confident to speak to someone face-to-face, without fear.
>
> LH: Why is that important?
>
> Jennifer: Because when I meet a man or a boy who wants to befriend me to
>
> become my girlfriend, I can confidently tell him no.

Ariel (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) further suggested that the confidence

she gained from martial arts wasn't necessarily just about defending herself against attackers, but

was also correlated with respect from others:

> Ariel: If you're confident in yourself, if you talk in a group of very many people,
>
> they give you respect like a big person. When you're shy and you're talking to
>
> very many people – people will say "ah, this one – you're just taking our time!
>
> Just go away!"

In fact, Lexi (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) maintained that the increased confidence of the girls resulted in the community negatively reacting to the martial arts program:

> Lexi: In our community, in my community, some people dislike karate because girls learn self-confidence, and then there are some men who would like to disturb girls, but now some girls learn karate skills, they defend themselves, and that's why they don't like karate.
>
> LH: Because you're defending yourself?
>
> Lexi: Yes.

These findings connect to other studies on girlhoods, sexuality and health by Ugandan scholars who argue that girls are constantly "target[s] of sexual harassment" (Muhanguzi, 2011, p. 721). And yet, once girls fight or reject those men and boys who "disturb" them, this may simply result in further abuse. As Muhanguzi (2011, p. 721) contends, "[girls in Uganda] reported verbal abuse and threats of physical violence including beating and rape, in response to girls' rejection of sexual advances from boys/men in their communities." Similarly, the young martial arts trainers described instances of abuse once they denied the advances from men and boys, but this did not seem to stop the young women from being assertive.

Lexi further explained how, before her karate training, she was shy and "didn't know how to talk to people," but after being in the program and training other girls, she now felt confident and assertive. This related to another perceived benefit of the program, which involved travelling to other communities across the Winita District to train other girls. As Ariel (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) explained:

> It [karate] has made me now feel strong and confident. I have now travelled to many places, like Junita and [other town]. I have seen the codes of dressing –

other people in Junita and [other town]. So, it has really changed me. It makes me

confident that I may also become one of those ones. A leader.

Not only was Ariel able to increase her confidence and physical strength, but she also

encountered other girls and women who challenged the traditional ways of dressing. This was

important for supporting the idea that it was acceptable for the martial arts girls to wear

"trousers" as part of their karate and taekwondo uniforms. In this light, Trisha (senior martial arts

trainer, SNGO, November 2009) described the reaction of the girls when she first arrived in her

karate uniform:

…the very first time when we started training this group. You know, we train in

trousers and shorts. So, whenever they asked for a short call outside, they ask me

like, "Can I please go out!" And I say, "yeah," you find that they run and they put

on their uniforms. They didn't want to go out in their shorts. But now, they go out

in their trousers, the shorts – they really believe it that we are training now. And

they're not scared anymore, you know? More especially, the very first time they

put on trousers, they looked over at me and they were like "wow!" So now we are

really into it, and they're free, they're very much free.

 Thus, the uniforms appeared to be, to an extent, a mechanism for improving the confidence of

the girls. And yet, as I discuss in the sections that follow, in some cases the martial arts girls

encountered further verbal (and in some cases, physical) abuse from community and family

members when wearing trousers. However, Jennifer (young martial arts trainer, SNGO,

November 2009) described that meeting other girls from different communities who also wore

trousers made her feel more confident about dressing in these items for training. She also

explained that she was exposed to new and interesting people through her travels, which helped

her battle social isolation, as it was extremely rare for her to travel outside of her village. In particular, Jennifer enjoyed participating in "martial arts" demonstrations which were often used as an attempt to educate communities about the positive experiences and outcomes of the program:

> We travel to places we don't know, like [village], and Junita….I'm also smart because of meeting the different people….Sometimes I ask my friends if they know about [other town] or Junita – and sometimes I tell them that when I train, I am asked to do demonstrations and other things. It's fun! (Jennifer, young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009).

For others, martial arts training resulted in more respect and discipline. This, Jessica (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) argued, was imperative, as she suggested that some of the girls had to "change their behaviours." Ashley (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) argued that increased respect was important because it often meant that "people like you:"

> It [respect] makes people get used to you, because of the respect – people like you. The village – the community will like you because of respect. That, if you're out there in the community, they take you as a responsible person, and someone who understands.

Increased respect and discipline also meant that the girls were able to better respond to requests from family or community members to perform tasks and carry out chores. For example, Robin claimed she was able to perform duties more efficiently after taking part in the martial arts program:

> They say taekwondo has taught you respect, discipline. You know those days –
> even running, just one lap. Even my parents they tell me…they send me to go
> over somewhere far. If I go, I can't run. But these days, when I go – when my
> parents send me, I'll be back, in three or four times, I am back. Now-a-days, they
> say – "this taekwondo has taught you something"!

Another notable finding that highlights the positive experiences of the girls was their suggestion that they felt "physically fit" and "strong" after partaking in the martial arts program. Most of the time, interviewees referred to this as being crucial for self-defence. For example, Robin (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) noted:

> I tell them [her friends] – this taekwondo will help you in the future, and it will
> also make your bones to be strong. Anything which will be attacking you, you
> also manage to attack it, yeah! Now they [her friends] are also doing, they also
> say, okay – let us also join!

Robin offered that being physically fit through taekwondo was helpful for gaining the skills to participate in other sports. As she remarked, "if you are physically fit, you managed to do some things like sports and games – playing football, netball, running, athletics."

Cathy (Child Rights Officer, SNGO, November 2009) noted that the program not only improved the girls' chances to participate in sport, but also provided an important opportunity for SNGO to act "as the girls' parents" and present basic needs such as water and sanitary pads:

> But just apart from training them you also have to be a parent to these children.
> You should be able to attend to them every time they have a problem and they
> need help. You should be like their second family. Someone they can always go
> to when they're having problems. Then you have to also, if it is girls, you have

know that they may be experiencing their menstruation cycles and some of them

from rural areas cannot afford their sanitary towels so you will sometimes have to

come in. Those who explain to you their problems you have to help them every

now and then.

Elisa (former senior martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) explained how SNGO

was able to provide the girls with water while training, which she felt was imperative

given the challenging fitness regimes they were experiencing while practising karate and

taekwondo:

I am very proud of the [martial arts project], because the organization has really

helped. Because when we're going to the fields, we can provide them [the girls]

with water. At least with the girls, there are not too many of them, but at least

[SNGO] has helped and tried – yeah, so they can get that energy to fight or to do

their training. Because we can't just look at them like that. Especially the girls in

the [rural] villages.

Certainly, the senior trainers (Trisha and Elisa) argued that they acted as role models for the

younger martial arts trainers (Jessica, Jennifer, Ariel, Ashley, Robin, Vani, Joanna and Lexi).

This was imperative for inspiring leadership, and (as discussed earlier) providing a "parenting

role" for those girls who needed support outside of their homes. As Matt (Director, IT &

Enterprise Development, SNGO, November 2009) suggested:

[When] I'm telling [the girls] that, "well, what do you want to be"? You'll find

their aspirations are very, very low. Very low. And you have to tell them, "look,

you can be anything! Anything you want to be you can be that!" So that whole

transformation, and that's why I thought that this network must grow. Because if

we get them exchanging ideas, talking to each other, and then we get role models

involved, and then maybe coordinated through this office. There are many of our

staff here who have done outstanding things. Yeah.

Overall, it was clear that the girls felt martial arts improved their education, confidence, fitness

levels, leadership skills, and social networks. In particular, the martial arts program seemed to

hold the potential to prevent gender-based violence, promote and build the girls' self-esteem and

confidence so that they were able to exert more control over their own bodies, challenge abusers

and resist sexual exploitation. As Muhanguzi (2011) suggests, the bolstering of Ugandan girls'

self-confidence has also been linked to their abilities to insist on safer sex practices. And, as I

explain in more depth below, the young martial arts trainers also felt that this initiative was

particularly promising for advancing their economic status. At the same time, these benefits were

often mediated by constraining and challenging structural influences such as poverty, and lack of

support from boys, men, family and community members. In other words, there is much more to

developing girls and improving their lives than providing strategies for self-defence and

individual avoidance.

5.3 Shifting Gender Relations, or Changing Girls' Behaviours?

Although there were numerous advantages to participating in the martial arts program, there

were many challenges and contradictions that complicated the girls' experiences. First, the

program seemed to frame the girls as having gendered identities that needed to be re-framed,

augmented or changed. Thus, the onus seemed to be on these young women to change *their*

behaviours, actions and attitudes in order to achieve gender equality, while ignoring the need to

enlist men and boys in accomplishing this same feat. It seemed that there was minimal attention,

for instance, paid to the ways that shifting gendered dynamics and gendered expectations were

limiting and expanding opportunities for the girls due to their participation in the program. At the time of research, the exclusion of the boys from the martial arts programming enforced what is the main tendency in North American children's sports: sex segregation, which, as Messner (2002, p. 143) argues, "delivers a powerful message that boys and girls are as naturally and categorically different as Barbie Girls are from Sea Monsters." And yet, part of the reason SNGO selected martial arts programming was because they felt it was an inherently masculine sport, as Liz (Senior Manager, Monitoring and Evaluation, SNGO, November 2009) described:

> We thought having girls do a male dominated game which was significantly unique would help them, because here there is so much male dominance. And that's what we are trying to address. Many girls, many times feel like "oh, this is only men. This is men's work. This is men's subjects." So, if they can do something that is looked a bit totally male then, why not? Then maybe even in class, they can say maybe "this mathematics is not for boys only. Why can't I also try it out?" If it comes to other games, maybe even football [soccer]. They could say, "why don't I try it?" So, we thought that it [martial arts] was a good game to try out.

Trisha (senior martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) felt that the martial arts program challenged the ways the girls reacted to the boys' perceptions of their involvement in sport:

> I think they've overcome the challenges of boys saying that whenever they kick a ball a rat will eat it – that's what they used to say. The boys. The boys would never share. You know, if a girl kicks a ball, the ball would just get "rotten." But these days, they've overcome the challenges. It was like, "let the boys talk, but for

us, we have to train." So they've overcome that challenge of shaming them and abusing them down here.

Trisha's remarks seem to suggest that what has changed is not the boys' "shaming and abusing," but rather, the girls' ability to withstand and resist such reactions. That is, though the abusive comments and actions against the girls persisted, this did not stop the boys from taking interest in wanting to participate and learn martial arts for themselves, even if it meant being taught by girls.

For example, as Elisa (former senior martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) explained, the boys constantly requested training sessions with her and continued to watch the training sessions from the sidelines. Eventually, Elisa described how the younger trainers were confident enough to demonstrate their karate kicks and punches in front of the boys, to the point where the girls felt secure in training the boys themselves:

I have this one girl now who is a recruit. I move with her - she can even now train – she's just a good girl. And even she can- she's not scared of boys. Because one day some boys came to me from the village and said "Madam, we want you to train us" and then she came in and said "look at me, I can train"! That's what she was saying – "look at me now… I train with you guys [the boys] so I can!" But then she said, "I can!" Then she tried some kicks with them [the boys] at that moment.

The quotes above from Liz, Trisha and Elisa build on Mary-Jo Kane's (1995) arguments pertaining to viewing sport along a "continuum of difference" that challenges dominant views of binary gender logic by suggesting women and girls – in comparison to men and boys – are not categorically different (and thus perceived as unequal). Kane (1995, p. 214) argues that this

continuum has the potential to "resist and transform the notion that females who are (or want to be) strong and powerful really want to be (or are men)." At the same time, by suggesting that girls possess the agency to overcome structural barriers to their empowerment, the martial arts program fails to recognize gender as a constrained choice through ignoring wider structural barriers to girls' development. While girls' awareness may be heightened in terms of their capacity to challenge gender norms and improve their own health and well-being by partaking in the martial arts program, structural barriers such as time, financial constraints, and power relations may impede such benefits from occurring. Moreover, the social norms that dictate and structure the lives of the Winita girls means that wearing trousers, and teaching boys how to do a karate kick, ultimately challenges the static and situated gender roles of what it means to be a girl in Uganda. As I aim to show throughout this chapter, SNGO's focus on pushing these girls to confront and disrupt local gender dynamics and roles in the Winita District holds important cultural implications.

5.4 The Gendered Politics of Sport and Empowerment: "Rescuing Girls" is "Smart Economics"

In addition to highlighting issues around gender relations and the martial arts program, interviews involved nuanced discussions around the meaning of empowerment in different contexts, particularly as it related to economic forms of empowerment. Also of particular interest were the multiple ways that empowerment was viewed from actors "on the ground" versus interviewees from STNC and INGO. This is not to suggest there were homogeneous perspectives on empowerment that pitted the "Two-Thirds World" against the "One-Third World." In fact, Liz (Senior Manager, Monitoring and Evaluation, SNGO, November 2009) noted that empowerment did not translate into Jopadhola, although she discussed that she had learned the concept from working in development and had created her own definition. She noted that the

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mission of SNGO was "to protect women and children from domestic violence," but argued that "really, we're empowering women and children in every aspect." Liz also suggested that empowerment meant "helping" the girls:

> We're empowering girls, even if we don't say it in Jop [Jopadhola], but maybe we could say that we're helping the girls to realize their full potential. We're helping them to remain in school, we're helping them to avoid risky behaviour through the gender training that we're doing…. So empowering them, is just the same as helping them.

Julie's interpretations of empowerment (below), though similar in some respects, seem to speak more to the ways that girls needed to be catalysts for social change (in keeping with the Girl Effect discourse). In many respects, this differs from Liz's emphasis (above) on ensuring that the girls "realize their full potential."

> They [girls in the Two-Thirds World] need to be the agents of change basically, and if you don't empower them, they will never go to a shelter. If they don't feel strong enough and confident enough they will not leave their husbands (Julie, Founder and Executive Director, INGO, October, 2009).

While Julie's quote above might be interpreted as one of hope and possibility, it is also plainly embedded in an inherent assumption that girls are presumed to be marginalized until they are "empowered by" others. It frames girls as being passive subjects who will not "help themselves" without others, and as submissive targets of development ready to absorb messages of empowerment from others. At the same time, Julie's understanding of empowerment also suggests that girls must take on the responsibility of social change for themselves by being "active" agents. From this perspective, gender is not viewed as a constrained choice that may

involve, for example, examining the various social and structural determinants that may occur at multiple levels (micro, meso and macro) to prevent girls from making an active "choice" to be empowered agents of change in their communities. Finally, Julie's quote also shows that, for those 'implementing' SGD programs such as the one explored in this study, "empowerment" is often interchangeable with confidence, will(power), assertiveness, strength and high self-esteem.

For other interviewees from INGO and STNC, empowerment was something to be "bestowed" on to others, to be given to a girl who is marginalized and in need of improvement, in this case (as explained in the quote above), by Westerners. For example, Charlotte (CSR Analyst, STNC, October 2009) suggested that one of the roles of STNC, as a brand, was to be an "enabler" of empowerment that ensured that women and girls would have opportunities to participate in sport:

I think how empowerment happens is varied but I think we're more thinking about what our role is in that. And our role is either inspiring, innovating, enabling or caring. And it's always about in service of the athlete. And so – what are we doing to innovate around product, or whatever, so that we're serving the athlete. What are we doing to inspire connection, or inspire the athlete to do more. What are we doing to enable them?

When asked what empowerment meant in the context of SGD, most interviewees from the implementing organizations in the Two-Thirds World (SNGO) correlated it with the increased ability to make decisions affecting one's own life, to improve one's ability to locate employment opportunities, "stay out of trouble" and be self-responsible – all by partaking in sport. For Matt (Director, IT & Enterprise Development, SNGO, November, 2009) knowing one's rights, working in collaboration with others, and realizing one's full potential and capabilities were all indications of being empowered through martial arts training:

You see, sports is a very interesting thing. Usually, when you are isolated, like –

they say "united we stand, divided we fall." So, this spirit of togetherness, first of

all, is an empowerment in itself. But also, what comes along with it, like for

example… we kind of educate these girls a lot on their rights. And, beyond that,

on options available to them, to access justice. And for us, that's a form of

empowerment. Because, like, they say "knowledge is power." If you don't have it

you're doomed. So, if you know your rights, and you know options that are

available to you, then, it's much easier to explore them. And then secondly,

through the sports, as it builds you and you notice you are actually capable of

doing much, much more than you thought you could do, then it prepares you to

work towards achieving higher goals, you know? That's really how we look at

empowerment in this context.

 However, the majority of respondents from SNGO (eight out of eleven) suggested that being

"economically empowered" was an essential component of being empowered "in general." For

example, Cathy noted that:

In our context here [in Uganda] most people – when you talk of empowerment –

they always understand it better in the economic situation. So if we talk at our

level as [martial arts program] we are empowering the girls with the life skills.

That is making them confident, making them evolve their leadership skills…Build

their confidence to fight those unwanted pressures and [being] able to stay in

school. So that's the kind of empowerment that [martial arts program] is doing.

But when we go to the community, we have come to find the first thing on

people's mind is, "this person is talking about bettering my economic situation"…

(Cathy, November, 2009, Child Rights Officer, SNGO).

The focus on economic empowerment was also clearly instrumentalized by the girls of Winita. Six out of the eight girls interviewed discussed their goal of being hired on as martial arts trainers in the future either to gain an income, or possibly through the support of a corporation via a "sport sponsorship" (Robin, young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009). Joanna (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) discussed how being involved in any sport – not just martial arts – meant that one may have an opportunity to be sponsored, as she explained, "if you be in netball, people can sponsor you – they can give you sponsorship." Robin also spoke of the possibility that, should she be hired as a taekwondo trainer, she would be able to "buy chickens" and other basic needs in order to survive. Taking part in martial arts programs, then, was not just about self-defence, confidence and building leadership skills; it was also about building an economically vigorous body that was employable and/or fundable.

For Jennifer (November 2009), training taekwondo provided economic benefits because it made her "physically fit" and "strong," which subsequently increased her reputation throughout her community as a strong "digger."[27] Through digging, she explained, she was able to obtain money in order to purchase sanitary napkins, subsequently enabling her to participate in the martial arts program without fear of menstruating while "kicking high." This ferocious cycle [practice martial arts → become stronger → dig faster and better → generate income → purchase sanitary pads → (feel comfortable enough to) practice martial arts programming] made Jennifer's involvement in the program intelligible, even logical, for her survival and involvement in sport, and in life.[28]

Staff from SNGO noted how partaking in martial arts programming would give the girls an opportunity to increase their agency and power over (economic) decisions that affected their lives as well as their families. For instance, Jessica described telling her friends to join up for karate because in the future:

They [her friends] can become a trainer, and training karate is very expensive…If they want them to train, they [SNGO] give them a lot of money and I tell them if they train and become trainers, in future they will get money to solve their own problems and needs for their family.

The girls recognized that obtaining an education, in conjunction with practising martial arts, made them different from other girls in their communities. For example, Ashley (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) suggested that she felt capable of changing her home and village by pursuing an education, and then obtaining a better job. She also observed she would earn more "respect," and boys and men would "fear" her:

That is you are an educated woman, boys will fear you – men will fear you. If you're an educated girl, the way they marry the uneducated girls is different, because the uneducated girls don't give a lot. With an educated girl, it's very much respected. You can even develop your village, your home, if you're an educated girl.

The link between education and economic prosperity was also visibly displayed on several of the school buildings near the sites where the girls practised (for example, see Figure 5.1 below). Here, students were routinely reminded that obtaining an education was crucial to gaining future employment. Besides education, knowing a sport was perceived as an added skill set that would potentially lead to financial security. These findings correspond with MacDonnell's (2010) and

Friesen's (2010) recent research on SGD programs in Tanzania and Namibia, where the importance of locating economic opportunities via sport participation was paramount. For instance, in the case of Namibian girls, sport was viewed as a "resource and a tool in their economic futures, educational success, and personal development and thus as a potential tool for the achievement of empowerment" (Friesen, 2010, p. 106). Other gender and development scholars affirm that empowerment is increasingly being framed in neo-liberal terms as "smart economics," as something to contribute to economic growth, quantified and expert-defined, where responsibility is placed on the individual to locate the "power within" through which

Figure 5.1: "Education For Prosperity"
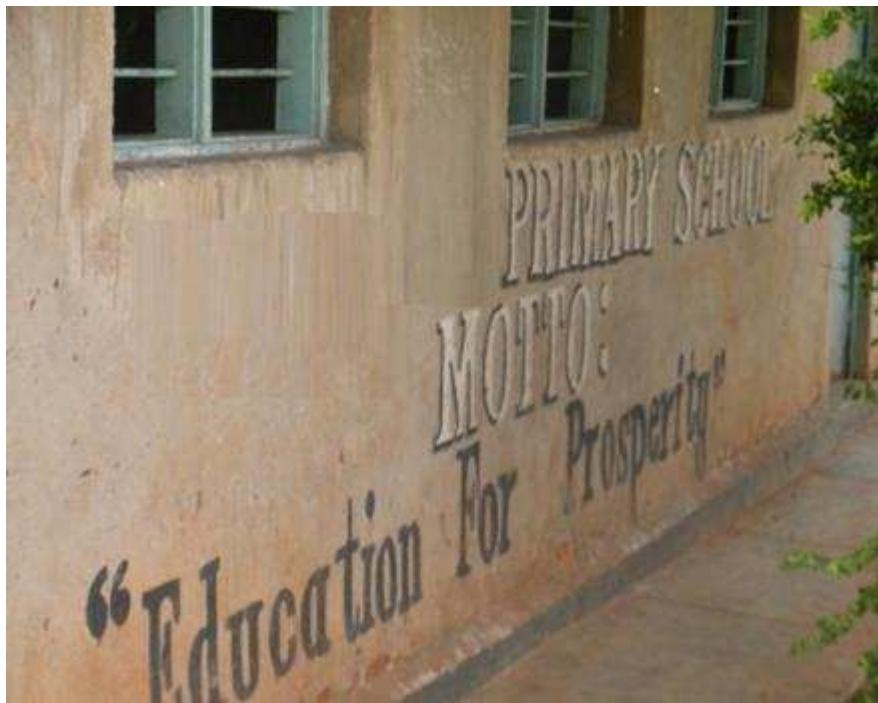
 women are made to be "more effective wealth producers" (Eyben & Napier-Moore, 2009; Klenk, 2004; McRobbie, 2009; Sharma, 2008). Certainly, the Nike Foundation and Girl Effect websites use statistics and expert authority to strengthen neo-liberal arguments pertaining to investing in girls:

Evidence shows that bolstering girls' health, education and prosperity will build

prospects for her family and her country's economic prosperity…Ensure she has

seven more years of education and she will marry four years later and have 2.2

fewer children. When 10 percent of girls go to secondary school, the country's

economy grows by 3 percent (Nike Foundation, 2011).

Without question, STNC, INGO and SNGO all focused their broader development programming

on economic empowerment through sport. As INGO's Impact Report (2009, p. 11) describes:

[SNGO] believes that sport and physical activity can be a part of an

empowerment strategy and an economic force. Our vision is to build and support

a sustainable movement with strong leaders and women-led sustainable social

enterprises.

INGO also supported a NGO in Kenya that had recently partnered with a technology company to

help design, produce and distribute sanitary pads. The goal was to set up a social enterprise with

the potential to increase the income of young women and girls (as rural salespeople) and allow

girls to "menstruate with a little more dignity than they currently do" (Angela, advisory council

member, INGO, October, 2009). The idea of employing the girls as sanitary napkin salespeople,

combined with the possibility of creating a social enterprise, was attractive to INGO staff, as

well as STNC, which had previously created its own sanitary napkin factory in a neighbouring

refugee camp (for more on STNC's role in creating this factory, see Chapter Six).

While the issue of menstruation will be discussed in forthcoming sections, the key issue

here is the link between sport, employability and economic development, which was frequently

discussed throughout interviews with each organization throughout the aid constellation, as well

as the young martial arts trainers. All seven INGO staff and board members interviewed

discussed the idea that SGD programs needed to be framed in terms of economic development. In fact, women's economic empowerment was one of the three components of their "strategic triangle," with "high quality sports programs" and using a "women's rights based approach" as the two other organizational pillars. Lesley, an INGO board member, suggested that INGO was funding programs in the Two-Thirds World that would fundamentally discipline the girls to be high-quality, reliable and dutiful employees. As she remarked,

> When you train a person to be disciplined in sports, and to fill their own power and to bring up the discipline to train and compete…that also helps training to be a good employee. And, that – what we forget in Western countries is that unless they've [people] been exposed to the discipline of work, they don't know what that is. And, you know – when they [Westerners] think that people are lazy and unreliable, but you have to learn skills about being reliable or skills about being disciplined and working. And I think the sports programs we're doing can create those skills... Which means… we could be making connections with potential employers in the areas where we have programs. And basically selling the fact that we have people who would make good employees (Lesley, Board Member, INGO, November, 2009).

Lesley's comments clearly emphasize colonialist, Eurocentric discourses and power relations that reinforce racist and imperialist conceptions of development. This is accomplished, as McEwan (2009, p. 111) submits, by "eras[ing] complexity in search for technical solutions." Here, the "technical solutions" are impelled by sport's utility in building a very particular kind of employable, economically-driven citizen. Lesley portrays those in the Two-Thirds World as "lazy," and "unreliable," subsequently eschewing culturally specific ways of understanding a

very Western-based notion of "work," particularly as Lesley maintains that "they" (people in the Two-Thirds World) "don't know what that [work] is." SGD is also framed here in purely economic terms, where it is a valuable neo-liberal strategy used to discipline and transform these young women into global girl citizens; "good employees," responsible, reliable and industrious – skills emphasized through the martial arts program.

Certainly, the idea of creating "good employees" was not necessarily lost on the SNGO staff; rather, it was framed in culturally specific ways in terms of what was most meaningful and relevant to them – preventing domestic violence by alleviating poverty, promoting women's and girls' rights, and supporting programs that tackled empowerment and healthy living. These mandates helped steer each of their programs. Through their legal work, health centre, school and enterprises, they aimed to address the widespread domestic violence throughout the community. Thus, for SNGO, helping girls "earn a living" through sport was the most logical step in order to "break the cycle of domestic violence" that plagued women and girls in Uganda for so long (see Chapter Four for more background on domestic violence in Uganda). Though discipline was discussed frequently throughout interviews with SNGO staff and the girls, Matt (Matt, Director, IT & Enterprise Development, SNGO, November, 2009) suggested that economic empowerment through sport was paramount because "domestic violence causes poverty, and poverty causes domestic violence." SNGO wanted to intervene in this vicious cycle by providing girls and women with economic opportunities. Matt clarified, however, that obtaining a job was not to take priority over attending school and pursuing an education. Rather, his hope was to provide more economic opportunities for mothers and other "women in the village" who in turn, he contended, would support their daughters and other girls to "stay in school:"

A very big component that we would like to develop is a strong network of care-givers. Parents, women in the village, independent advisors who can just assure that we find a way to make sure there's enough income for the girl to stay in school. Whether this means, if the immediate family can't provide the care, then we search and link them to the relatives who can do the work.

The burden, then, is placed on "caregivers" who more often than not, tend to be mothers, aunts, grandmothers, and other women throughout the community who (as Matt suggests) must work together to ensure that girls are not forced to seek income through activities such as digging in order to participate in martial arts. And yet, this community safety net was not tangible enough to prevent girls such as Jennifer from taking responsibility for her own poverty and well-being by seeking financial compensation through opportunities to dig. Other girls (e.g., Ariel, Jessica, Robin, and Ashley) recounted that they performed extra domestic work, sold items in the market, and/or engaged in prostitution in order to pay for sanitary pads, which not only helped in terms of providing opportunities to participate in martial arts, but was also imperative for attending school, "feeling confident" and being able to partake in activities with friends and family.

At the same time, while suggesting that the community should join forces to help girls "stay in school," Matt (along with four other interviewees from SNGO) stressed that by having their own income, the girls could escape the dangers of abuse – and, eventually – find their own land, grow their own food, and thus be economically empowered. In somewhat similar terms, staff from INGO and STNC continually referred to their interest in advocating for a "sports economy model," whereby they would fund NGOs engaging in work that involved social entrepreneurship or economic empowerment through sport. As Louise (CSR Analyst, STNC, November, 2009) confirmed:

You hear stories of women who would not have had these opportunities for

employment had they not had access to sport. But then we're also looking at ways

that the women involved in the provinces [in Eastern African country] can – so

how that NGO can teach the girls income generation activities and entrepreneurial

activities.

At the same time, other interviewees added that it would not be enough for these girls to "simply

play sport" without access to economic opportunities as platforms for empowerment. As Lesley

(Board Member, INGO, October 2009) lamented:

…In talking to the girls in [SGD] programs, I came back with a message to

[INGO] that it's not enough to get these women playing sport. We have to also be

focusing on economic empowerment, because that's what they were telling me.

They were saying we need to be able to have work, we need to be able to earn

money, to do that. And, I don't think [INGO] yet is at all effective in that area….I

think that empowering women through sports is a step, is a very important step.

And, it makes them want more, and that's good. And you don't really create – you

don't really empower them until you also economically empower them. As long

as these women are economically dependent on either their families or marriages,

then they're not going to truly step into their power.

These quotes underline the importance of economic empowerment as highlighted by

interviewees, which I argue baldy enmeshes with the key tenets and mission of the Girl Effect.

That is, as Louise and Lesley put forth, girls in the Two-Thirds World, under the guise of SGD

(via the Girl Effect discourse as advocated by STNC and INGO), have been enrolled in a "post-

feminist" turn that embraces neo-liberal capitalism, which works to produce a new "sexual

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contract" (McRobbie, 2009).[29] This new sexual contract means that girls are no longer subjected to the constraints of patriarchal power, and they are expected to use their "new" contract to seek economic opportunities while still maintaining their femininity. And yet, fear of sexual violence suggests that they are still subjects of oppression.

This is not to say that the martial arts girls are passively receiving and taking up these discourses: rather, they interpreted messages of individualism, self-responsibility, and economic empowerment in nuanced and complex ways. Perhaps more importantly, these messages may be welcomed in a region such as Winita, where the glaring lack of economic opportunities for girls, and gendered poverty throughout Uganda more broadly is impossible to ignore. As Saavedra (2009, p. 141) remarks when speaking about the lack of cash income options for women and girls in Kenya:

> In the current conditions of poverty, there is increased stress on families. They
> can become dislocated, disintegrated, and dysfunctional. There is a pervasive
> sense of precariousness of survival. This stress may account for the reported
> extensive domestic and sexual violence, as well as for alcohol related abuse.

Of course, the social position of the girls in Kenya, and those residing in the Winita District, relates to broader structural global socio-economic inequalities. This is why, as Rankin (2010) suggests, we must heed the politico-economic processes that underlie center-periphery relations within the existing conditions of neo-liberal globalization. In doing so, it becomes possible to untangle the dynamics of power in specific localities, and the "inequalities and injustices that arise when capitalist markets articulate local and social histories" (Rankin, 2010, p. 186). It is important, then, to consider how structures of imperialism, agency and resistance among SGD's

'beneficiaries' (i.e., the girls), interact with the subjectivities of SGD programmers (SNGO, INGO and STNC) and the "conditions of collective action" (Rankin, 2010, p. 183).[30]

Throughout interviews, all INGO staff members constantly discussed their concerted interest in supporting SGD initiatives that focused on women and girls' economic empowerment. Their focus on SNGO's programming was partially due to their interest in its social enterprise activities, whereby girls and women are paid to work in SNGO's small nut butter factory. The factory produces a unique nut butter blend created through mixing various organic local nuts and seeds such as sesames, almonds and peanuts. Workers then sell this nut butter, with all of the proceeds going back into the SNGO for their gender-based programming needs. Women are also paid to grow the nuts in plots of land owned by the NGO, and to sell the product. Not only does the factory, and the labour involved in running it, produce economic opportunities for the girls, but it provides a possibility for the NGO to eventually become self-sustainable and "no longer rely on donors" (Brett, Director Monitoring and Evaluation, SNGO, November 2009). The notion of girls as "entrepreneurs of themselves" (Hart, 2004), and SNGO as a social enterprise, are further discussed in Chapter Six. For now, I turn to the ways that the martial arts program promoted a culture of self-responsibility among the girls by encouraging them to regulate and govern their own sexual health, and that of their friends.

5.5 "Moving at Night is Risky" and Lexi's Legend: Empowering Girls through Self-defence and Governing Sexuality and Health through Sport

The three preceding sections underlined the perceived beneficial experiences and understandings of the martial arts program, while also highlighting its inherent challenges by emphasizing its lack of attention to gender relations and its focus on promoting empowerment through sport vis-à-vis a post-feminist, neo-liberal development approach that frames empowering girls as an economically efficient and productive activity. Building on these issues, this section explores

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how the martial arts girls were, in many ways, somewhat limited by the program's emphasis on promoting their agency and self-surveillance without redressing the broader systemic issues of violence, inequality and poverty that marked local gender dynamics in the Winita District. Although the program used self-defence training as a mechanism to prevent gender-based violence, it was also clear that the girls' health and sexuality were being governed in complex and self-regulating ways. In order to contextualize these issues, I begin with a story recounted by Ariel where she explained her encounter with an attacker one evening:

> Ariel: One time I was sent to buy cooking oil at night, so one of the boys called
>
> me over. And they said, "[Ariel], come! Stop! I want to talk to you!" And I
>
> refused and said no. And when I refused, the boy said – "you are the people they
>
> trained. Even if they trained you, I'm coming for you!" So I said, "If you want,
>
> you come!" So we had to fight.
>
> LH: So you fought him?
>
> Ariel: Yeah.
>
> LH: And what happened?
>
> Ariel: After fighting, people came and people started accusing him, and he had to run off.

Ariel was not the first of the girls to speak of fighting off the boys' (and men's) unwanted sexual advances using her taekwondo skills. The most famous (and idealized) story was the legend of "Lexi," the legend from which Matt claimed the original idea for the martial arts program had derived.[31] When asked how the martial arts program began, Matt proudly described Lexi's story (a tale which the trainers and girls also constantly referred to throughout interviews).

> [The martial arts program] started when a girl [Lexi] was attacked by some boys
>
> deep in the village, the village across from [ours]…A girl [Lexi] was attacked by

boys, about six boys that wanted to rape her, but she fought her way through it.

And they held her and kicked her and all that, but they didn't manage to rape her.

She got injuries and bruises, but they didn't manage to rape her. And so that's

when we thought – well, if she could fight to stand up without any skills, why

don't we build the skills of these girls to also be able to cope in such situations. Of

course, in the course of training, [we don't say] "now because you can do martial

arts you can walk out of home at 10pm." No! We kind of say it has to be

preventative, you have to really avoid trouble as much as you can, but be really

capable of handling trouble when it comes and you can't avoid it.

Lexi (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) spoke of her "self-defence" experience

in a similar way to Ariel. She discussed how the boys were "jealous" of her confidence and skill

at karate. Just as Ariel spoke with pride when explaining how she was known amongst the boys

as one of "the people they [SNGO] trained," Lexi asserted her belief that since she had

successfully "defeated" multiple attackers once, she felt confident that she could do it again, and

she actively taught other girls (and even some boys) throughout the community to do the same.

In fact, all of the girls interviewed were teaching martial arts techniques to their sisters, friends –

and, in many cases – brothers and other boys throughout the community. After all, the girls had

Lexi's "legend" to live up to.[32] Across the Winita District, these girls would be modernized,

confident, resilient, respected and trained through the martial arts program; prepared to "say no"

and "fight back," if necessary. Such practices speak to contemporary productions of "global

girlhood," where there is now an unfailing flow of "incitements and enticements" that propel

girls into specific practices that are progressive, yet somehow remain feminine (McRobbie,

2009). Though the SNGO partially selected martial arts because of its "masculine features"

(Trisha, senior martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009), the program remained feminine in the sense that it involved girls defending and nurturing their virginity, sexuality, and taking care of their own health. Moreover, the girls were disciplined to restrain their sexual activity, but this was framed vis-à-vis a sense of empowerment in that they now possessed the physical power to support their efforts, and to fight back. Thus, the martial arts program aimed to be transformative, converting "at-risk" girls into what Anita Harris calls "can-do" girls (Harris, 2004). As Liz (Senior Manager, Monitoring and Evaluation, SNGO, November 2009) confirmed:

> The girls, being trained in martial arts…they are getting self defence skills, so they don't need to fear… to fear violence because they can defend themselves, not that they are going to become violent. Because the skill itself teaches them to be self-disciplined, and not to be violent.

Vani (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) noted that she was actively trying to encourage others to enrol in the martial arts program so that they too could obtain jobs as trainers, learn self-defence skills, stay in school, and wait to be married:

> Sometimes I tell them [other girls] that they should not get married, there's a club [martial arts program] which helps girls train, and stay long in school. So I always advise them and encourage them to always come and join the sport and stay in school, and always tell their parents that they are too young for marriage.

Though Liz's and Vani's quotes demonstrate the successes and positive outcomes of the martial arts initiative, particularly in the ways that the young trainers worked to dissuade other girls from making "poor choices" and achieve better lives, there are still many complex dynamics and power relations that require further critical examination.

To further analyze this, I return to the work of Anita Harris (2004, p. 25), who concedes that young women at risk are "those who are seen to be rendered vulnerable by their circumstances," but suggests that "unlike the can-do girls, who know how to successfully engage in the market, these other young women [at-risk girls] make poor consumption choices and enact the gains of feminism in problematic ways" (p. 29). Angela McRobbie (2009) provides more specific details pertaining to the qualities that tend to pressure the "can do" girl into being "a success," suggesting that neo-liberalism pushes "successful girls" towards capacity, attainment, social mobility and active participation. These characteristics link to what has rapidly become the 'girling' of development (Murphy, 2011); and the drive to be responsible for one's own sexuality, educational opportunities and economic future are all neatly packaged through this new form of (postcolonial) girlhood feminism.

Six of the eight girls interviewed exemplified this "can do model," particularly in their efforts to successfully defend themselves against sexual predators. The girls also frequently discussed how martial arts taught them to respect their bodies (Jessica, Robin, Jennifer, Ariel, Ashley). For them, martial arts provided confidence to refuse sexual relations, and to voice their opinions on important decisions that would impact their lives, such as when to get married, as reflected in Jennifer's (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) contentions:

It [martial arts] has changed my life. I can now make my own decisions. Like, when they want to force me to go and get married, I can say no.

LH: Why do you think you can say "no"?

Jennifer: Because I'm still young.

Jessica described how she often told her friends how taekwondo taught her to "respect [her body] in quiet [unsafe] places." Matt suggested that partaking in martial arts programs was only meant

to be "preventative," and therefore was not meant to encourage the girls to think they were "invincible." However, the interviews with the girls revealed that they had no misgivings about venturing out at night, secure that their self-defence skills would offer a shield of protection. All of the girls noticed their increased physical fitness since practising martial arts, and relayed how pleased they were to be stronger than the boys, to the point that it made the boys "jealous" (Lexi, young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009). When I probed Lexi further as to why she thought the boys were jealous, she offered, "because they think we can train and we get confidence. When they try to fight us we now defend ourselves…Before I feared. But now, I have trained, they can't tell me anything." Indeed, strength and feelings of being indomitable were always equated with fending off abusers, rapists, and even future husbands. As Jessica suggested, "I like to have a strong body, it's because when I marry in future, when my husband also tries to beat me. I may also have to know the way [how to fight back]. Or I run just away!"

I maintain, though, that the martial arts program was not simply about promoting confidence, leadership, respect and protecting the girls from sexual predators. Using a biopedagogy framework, the girls' participation in the program might also be interpreted as a clear economic imperative, a way to alter the girls of Winita to become successful, global girl citizens capable of "working on themselves in the name of their own life…or indeed in the name of the life and health of the population" (Rabinow & Rose, 2006, p. 197). Of course, though the martial arts program was intended to instil the girls with the confidence to "say no" and self-defence skills to protect themselves from potential abusers, it was also undoubtedly used as a mechanism to prevent girls from engaging in sexual relations, and as such, might also be considered a technology of the self, and an example of disciplinary modes and regularizing techniques of biopedagogies (Harwood, 2009). For example, one of the martial arts trainers

relayed a story that a teacher conveyed to her about the reputation of the martial arts girls at school. According to the teacher, the taekwondo girls did not need to subject themselves to financial compensation via prostitution, since they were disciplined and valued education that would eventually lead to economic prosperity:

> At a school where we are training, unfortunately there are some six girls who are HIV positive and they pregnant at the same time – their classes are P5 and P6. But I asked the head teacher whether my girls [the martial arts girls] are among them and she said "no, those girls would never!" Because there are some guys who come in from Kenya who are playing around with them – but the girls [martial arts girls] stand firm, with their two legs and talking out to them. They don't need their money. They [the martial arts girls] are after an education which is very good. And that is taekwondo which is helping them to be like that (Elisa, former senior martial arts trainer, November 2009).

This particular school was exceptionally close to the Kenyan border, where truck drivers often rested for the night en route to delivering cargo in Uganda. These men often stopped at hotels or homes close to the border, where the girls were warned not to go out at night for fear of being attacked, beaten and raped. Upon entering the school, I noticed a sign turned on its side on the floor of the main entrance that read "Moving at Night is Risky," perhaps at one time a prominent reminder alerting the girls to the potential dangers that lurked at night (see Figure 5.2). Juxtaposed above this fallen sign, a large poster for the martial arts program was (perhaps strategically) positioned or even possibly replaced the spot where the sign had once hung. The poster featured a photograph of two Ugandan girls dressed in immaculately white karate

uniforms striking a karate pose, with the words "it's all about confidence, self-motivation and

determination" typed above their heads in matching bright white letters (see Figure 5.3). Below

Figure 5.2: "Moving at Night is Risky"

Figure 5.3: Martial Arts Program Poster
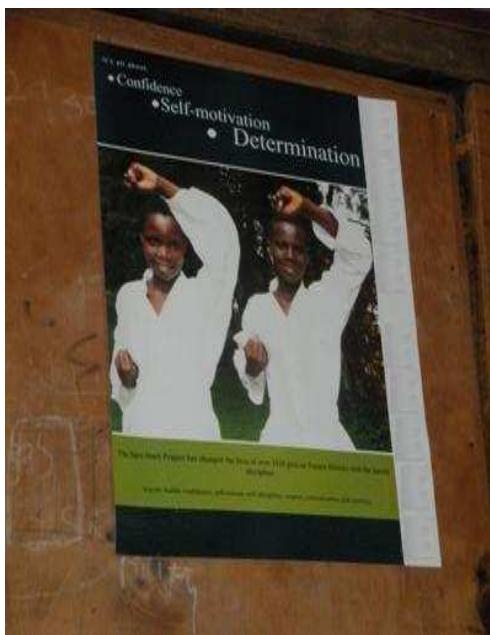
the photo of the girls, compelling statements were used to convey the program's success: "the [martial arts program'] has changed the lives of over 1920 girls in [Winita] District with the karate discipline. Karate builds confidence, self-esteem, self-discipline, respect, concentration and courtesy." The enlarged logos of INGO and SNGO were featured on the bottom of the poster in vivid colours. When I asked the school principal about the significance of the poster, he smiled proudly while detailing the girls' fondness of the inspiring photo and captivating motto ("it's all about confidence, self-motivation and determination"). Along with a fellow teacher, he emphasized the benefits of discipline imbued through the martial arts program, noting the stark difference in behaviour and attitude between the "karate girls" and non-participants (Field Notes, November 25, 2009). Thus, the martial arts program uses "gender training" education as a complex cultural practice that constructs certain types of knowledge intelligible, and where very particular understandings of health, well-being and bodies are prioritized through the program's biopedagogical strategies (Harwood, 2009).

Some of the young martial arts trainers (Ariel, Ashley, Vani, Joanna, Robin) were so confident about their self-defence skills that the threat of dangers lurking in the shadows did not seem to prevent them venturing out at night, particularly as they were in school during the day, and had to tend to their families when they arrived home (sometimes in their roles as "parents" to their siblings, or children of their own). Domestic duties and chores were to be done, and often involved multiple trips to fetch cooking oil, water, go to town to find food or possibly even moving in between houses to tend to family members or friends who were ill or required assistance. Perhaps unsurprisingly, these kinds of duties and tasks fell upon the shoulders of girls, as opposed to their brothers, fathers or uncles. Thus, they had little choice but to "move at night," even if they were aware of the possible risks involved. As the quote above reiterates,

many of the truck drivers were HIV positive, and (according to interviewees) were either unaware of their condition, or neglected to inform the girls. However, the martial arts trainers (Trisha and Elisa) suggested that it was rare if the girls consented to such activities, and if they did, it was mostly for money. Such relations are indicative of the wider socio-economic conditions of Uganda discussed in Chapter Four, and show how poverty and gender inequalities intersect, resulting in the girls being left with few alternatives but to pursue their domestic duties at night, or obtain income through sex work.

The martial arts program was not only used as a mechanism for girls to protect them from abusers *outside the home,* but also from abusive parents and relatives *inside the home*. As Ryan (Child Rights and PR Officer, SNGO, November 2009) lamented:

> In the community we have very violent fathers or mothers. Where when a child
> cannot get to escaping, they will sometimes torture a child to death! You see? So
> these skills [martial arts] are really building these girls so much. Stronger every
> day!

Ryan's assertions were supported by other SNGO staff, such as, Ellen (ICT Officer, SNGO, November 2009) who noted how learning martial arts was "good for them [the girls]," despite the fact that it was from a "foreign culture." For her, it seemed that having the girls learn a "foreign" sport outweighed the real danger that "drunkards" and other relatives posed who frequented the girls' homes, as they "would often just rape the girls." In other words, learning martial arts – despite its "foreign" status – was certainly better than the alternative of being raped.

As discussed in Chapter Two, various literature on gender-based and sexual violence claims that self-defence training can actively shift gender stereotypes, such that women are

perceived by men (and other women) as independent, strong, and capable (Brecklin, 2008; Ceremele, 2010; Di Zio, 2009; Hollander, 2004, 2009). More specifically, Ceremele (2010) emphasizes the importance of ensuring that scripts of successful agency and resistance through self-defence training (i.e., Lexi's iconic story) are readily available, arguing that the narratives of such accounts are valuable for the storytellers and audiences alike. The girls of Winita actively consumed Lexi's legend, as her story was well-documented, circulated and keenly disseminated by SNGO staff and the girls. In fact, SNGO's public relations department ensured that the story was featured prominently on their website, and relayed to several news agencies and radio stations throughout Uganda, and to international media as well (particularly media in their donor's countries such as the Netherlands, Denmark and the UK). As Allie (Public Relations Officer, SNGO, November 2009) observed, "we stopped looking at stories in such a way so that you're always portraying the bad things around." Instead, the goal was to deliver stories of the martial arts girls' resistance, success and achievement to the media, and via their website. This strategy links well with Ceremele's (2010, p. 1170, italics in original) argument that, "if rape becomes a non-event, *it is because women resist*. Telling resistance stories makes women's resistance visible."

And yet, Sarah Forde, founder of the SGD NGO *Moving the Goalposts*, stresses the importance of troubling the assumption that "girls have to learn to protect themselves from boys, to say no" (Forde, 2008, p. 119). Drawing on her in-depth ethnography of nine teenage girls' sexuality in her football (soccer) for gender and development program in Kifili, Kenya, over a two-year period, she notices that there is an inherent assumption in her community that "it is the girls' responsibility to make sure they don't get involved with the boys, that they ward off the sexual advances coming from men and boys" (Forde, 2008, p. 119). I argue that a similar

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rationale imbues the martial arts program, in that there seems to be an innate assumption that the girls are liable for provoking or enticing the boys to pursue sexual activities, and that individual aversion is the best strategy to prevent unwanted sexual advances. Muhanguzi's (2011) research on gender and sexual health in Uganda puts forth that girls' are forced to take on self-responsibility and individual avoidance of sexual and gender-based violence because if they are to report such abuses to parents, teachers or other authorities, no staid or practical interventions will be taken, and the girl will subsequently risk being victimized. As Muhanguzi's (2011, p. 721) findings demonstrate:

> The failure of schools to address boys' and teachers' harassment often led to girls' silence about such experiences as they found it a waste of time reporting cases of abuse. Sexual harassment coupled with an unsupportive atmosphere does not only strain girls' participation in school but also may lead to truancy and lack of confidence and self-esteem…such harassment is used not only to denigrate female bodies, but also to intimate girls and ensure their subordination.

When I asked the young martial arts trainers about the challenges they experienced through their participation in the program, they often cited experiences with increased sexual violence and abuse resulting from rejecting boys and men's sexual advances through their self-defence skills. Although some of the girls reported these instances of violence to an authority, it seemed as though there were few repercussions for the offenders. The following interview excerpt with Joanna (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) illustrates this point:

> Joanna: Those at home abuse me. I stay with my stepmother and my father…they give me so much work.

> LH: Work at home? What kind of work do they give you?

Joanna: Like fetch water, I just go down there to fetch water.

LH: What else?

Joanna: Fetch water, wash clothes. And sometimes to sell customers there in the hotel.

LH: What do you do to deal with those problems?

Joanna: There's nothing.

LH: Do you get help from people? Does someone help you deal with these problems?

Joanna: No.

During these daunting instances, SNGO staff were often available to assist the girls when reporting such abuses to local authorities, but such actions, as Muhanguzi's (2011) research similarly shows, seemed inconsequential and did not always result in justice being served.

From these perspectives, it is useful to situate and contemplate the martial arts project as a biopedigogical imperative, a mode of subjectification whereby the girls are strongly urged to control and self-regulate their bodies based on gendered constructions and stereotypes that constitute girls as being "ethical" and "inherently good." Gendered stereotypes are thus reinforced through the martial arts program, not only because the program enrols only girls, but because it teaches them that to be a girl in Uganda is to be a constant target of sexual and gender-based violence and harassment. And yet, the girls must negotiate such messages alongside contradicting campaigns that push them to be successful, developed, educated young women who – if only they pursue an education, fend off sexual abusers, make the right choices, and take more responsibility for the development of their communities – might be able to contribute to the development of their countries. In the words of Ashley (young martial arts trainer, SNGO,

November 2009), "*you* can even develop your village, your home, if you're an educated girl….For *me* to develop my village – that, if there's no water, *I* can come and build up the well or tap."

I do not wish to deny the inherent value of instilling the girls of Winita with important aspirations for providing community service and basic needs for their villages, nor is my aim to refute the benefits of promoting confidence, self-esteem and self-respect through the martial arts program. Rather, my aim is to shift our attention to the potential perils of emphasizing self-responsibility, individual avoidance and/or self-defence training as viable ways to empower girls. I return to Matt's (Director, IT & Enterprise Development, SNGO, November 2009) suggestion highlighted earlier, where he clarified that the program wasn't meant to encourage the girls to seek out violence, or promote confrontational behaviour. In fact, Matt described that the program was more focused on upholding a *culture of avoidance*: "you [the girls] have to really *avoid trouble* as much as you can, but be really capable of handling trouble when it comes and *you can't avoid it*." To this, Matt added:

> Don't start a fight, don't move to risky places, don't be out of home late in the
>
> night, develop the energy in you. Let it grow, and from it, draw the necessary
>
> confidence to say, "yeah, I am actually much, much more capable than I thought!"

I submit that, though promoting and developing a capabilities approach is certainly beneficial, the problem with such techniques (e.g., individual avoidance) is that they may actually invariably contribute to undermining the girls' confidence, perceived "worth" and self-esteem *by reinforcing their positions as victims* in Ugandan society. Through these strategies, the martial arts program seemed to (perhaps unsurprisingly) frame empowerment within the neo-liberal development order, where the ability to take charge of one's own well-being (healthism), and the

responsibility of the girls to take on the welfare of their families and communities, was considered fundamental.

For Trisha (senior martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009), the fact that the martial arts girls did not get "sick all the time" seemed to indicate that they took better care of their own bodies and well-being in comparison to their counterparts who did not participate in the program. As Trisha noted, "karate helps them with the health, because they don't really get sick all the time. It helps, when you're exercising your body all the time, it gets more fit and fit and it's not – you cannot contract diseases easily." She cited the story of the girls who were successfully able to fend off the HIV positive truck drivers as an example of their "ability to not contract diseases." The cruel irony of Trisha's supposition that practising karate automatically made you "immune" to diseases was evident upon my return to Canada from Uganda in January, when I received an extremely unsettling email from Matt.

> Dear Lyndsay, Happy new year! It is good to know you enjoyed and benefited
>
> from your stay with [SNGO]. We look forward to more opportunities for
>
> collaboration and sharing of knowledge, ideas and way forward with [the martial
>
> arts program] […] Unfortunately we lost one of the core trainers, i.e. [Elisa] who
>
> was training Taekwondo. She passed away early this year [2010] with TB and
>
> Pneumonia. RIP. Otherwise, all the best for now and thanks for coming round and
>
> keeping in touch. With kind regards, [Matt].

My field notes (November 25, 2009) describe multiple conversations Elisa and I had in SNGO's truck on our way to visit the schools throughout the Winita District where the martial arts programs were held. Many of our discussions centred on her experiences in her devotion to learning taekwondo from her brothers in Gulu (Northern Uganda), in preserving her fitness and

health through "roadwalks" (jogging throughout the main roads of Winita) and frequent visits to

the community gym where she would train in the early morning before work at SNGO. She

described how she felt that the Winita girls "admired her," particularly because she was

"physically fit" and felt that she acted as a role model, someone who taught the girls how to care

for and respect their own bodies:

> [The girls] admire me when I was doing my training and they wished they could
>
> be like me…I'm just generally sports lady! I play football, I'm good in netball,
>
> I'm good in running, athletics, 100 meters, 200 meters, in jumping. I'm a very
>
> good jumper! Triple jump, long jump and high jump (Elisa, senior martial arts
>
> trainer, SNGO, November 2009).

It was a distressing reality and a cruel irony that Elisa – who spoke to me often of her healthy

body – had passed away from TB only a month after our interview. Though TB is a preventable

disease and virtually non-existent in the One-Third World, it is notable that in Uganda, race,

gender and poverty intersect to create environments that trigger its growth (Gandy & Zumla,

2002). As of 2008, Uganda ranked 15th on the World Health Organization's (WHO's) list of the

twenty-two countries with the highest TB burden (WHO, 2009).

As part of the program, the girls participated in "gender training" once a week in

addition to training taekwondo and/or karate.[33] The curriculum in the gender training

program provides the girls with various situations, statements and questions about healthy

living, bride price, marriage, domestic violence, HIV/ AIDS, violence and abuse. For

example, the girls are read statements such as "when a couple are married, a man should

be able to have sex when he wants" (SNGO, gender training kit, n.d.), and "women who

get hit must do something to deserve it," and then asked to decide whether the statement

is true or false. Alongside this, the girls are told to repeat certain phrases or sayings before or after martial arts practice. For example, on the SNGO's website, there is a story featured about a young woman from Winita who was attacked by an abuser. She is interviewed by an SNGO staff member who asks what transpired during this attack, and she credits the gender training she was exposed to through her instructor as what saved her life:

> "Don't be in such a rush. Sex is not for entertainment. It should be a commitment. Be smart and save yourself for marriage." Our gender trainer had made us recite these same lines aloud each day after the training. They were imprinted in my brain like some rhyme. Little did I know some day they would scare off a young man wanted to force me into a sexual relationship.

SNGO provides a "gender training" aspect of the martial arts program, which promotes and encourages the girls to absorb and take up key (heteronormative) gender and health messages, which I suggest represent essential elements of its biopedagogical imperative. Through her work on biopedagogies in school-based health education, Leahy (2009, p. 178) shows how pedagogies are clearly designed to pervade and "creep into students' ways of thinking and being," and where "bodily responses" are clearly linked to a given program's governmental rationale. Here, I contend that the "bodily response" described by the young woman in the quote above was to fight off the boy who was attempting to rape her. She accomplished this by using the techniques and mantras that her trainer made her continually rehearse. The girl goes on to describe her approach to dealing with her attacker:

> On the particular night after night prep as my friend and I walked back to the dormitory, a boy approached me from the back and reached for my breasts saying

he loved me. My trainer's voice spoke these words through my lips as my self defence skills took control of my limbs. DON'T –BE—IN-- SUCH-- A RUSH. SEX--- IS ---NOT ---FOR--- ENTERTAINMENT. IT ---SHOULD ---BE ---A COMMITMENT. BE--- SMART ---AND--- SAVE ---YOURSELF ---FOR --- MARRIAGE! I had him pinned to the ground in under a minute.

It is imperative to understand and question the consequences of this girl's actions; actions which – though extremely valuable by preventing her from being sexually assaulted – still mobilize specific understandings of sexuality, discipline and certain governmental technologies and biopedagogical assemblages. In the quote above, the girl describes how her trainer's voice is ingrained inside her thoughts, where she absorbs very particular messages about sexual health that seem to govern her behaviour. She also embodies these self-defence mantras by using her body to "pin the boy down." Thus, "deviant behaviour," where girls might freely experiment with their sexuality, is not permitted, though in the context of gender-based violence of Uganda (Jones & Norton, 2007; Muhanguzi, 2011; Ochieng, 2003), perhaps the governing of their sexuality is palpable, and necessary. In addition, the gender-sensitive education promoted by SNGO was a salient strategy for tackling the various factors that shape a sexual landscape which promotes gender inequalities and inequities for girls in Winita. Regardless, it is clear that, through the gender training, non-normative arrangements of sexuality are not even considered, and virginity is sacredly promoted. Thus, we return to Forde's (2008, p. 132) key question about why SGD programs tend to focus on girls to take more responsibility for their actions, including "suppressing any sexual feelings, thoughts or desires [they] might have."

Unquestionably, the goal of the martial arts program was to intentionally tackle, challenge and shift the traditional gender roles that tend to characterize girls in Uganda, as Allie (Public Relations Officer, SNGO, November 2009) contended:

> Every girl, in Africa, probably, let me just say Uganda, is grown to be a modest woman. You're supposed to be your mother. What your mother is, is what you're supposed to become in future. She's supposed to be very modest. When you meet a man, you look down. You're not supposed to ride bicycles, you're not supposed to climb trees, you're not supposed to play the boys sports and games. You're younger brother is more superior than you. And when they [the girls] leave their homes and go to schools, they still behave that way. The boy is more superior than you. When you're talking to your elders you look down to the ground, you don't look them in the eyes […] But when [the martial arts program] started, me, what I really wanted [the program] to put forward as PR [public relations], is a girl can be anything. A girl can be equal to the boy. A girl can be equal to anyone. A woman is human too. And they can do anything that the men do.

Eight other interviewees from SNGO (Trisha, Elisa, Ryan, Liz, Brett, Alex, Matt, and Ellen) made similar references to the typical "shyness" of Ugandan girls, and how martial arts unleashed their aggression, confidence and ability to articulate their opinions while also being respectful, regimented and efficient. Girls' ability to look grown-ups in the eye after partaking in martial arts was constantly referred to as a sign of progress and change by both SNGO staff and the girls themselves. The importance of discipline, however, was perhaps the most imperative benefit of the martial arts program discussed by the girls, and interviewees from SNGO. In other words, discipline was viewed as one of the most vital "benefits" of the martial arts programming,

in that it taught the girls to obey their parents, respect their teachers, attend school, and refuse

sexual relations with boys. I explore these issues further in the next section.

5.6 Disciplining and Militarizing Virtuous Bodies through Martial Arts

The governance of the girls' sexuality and health as noted in the previous section was palpably

linked to the militarizing and disciplining philosophies of martial arts, which Matt (Director, IT

& Enterprise Development, SNGO, November 2009) strongly adhered to:

> The more you advance in this martial arts belt, the more disciplined you actually
>
> get. I usually tell people that…if you meet soldiers – they're actually, you kind of
>
> feel when you're interacting with them that they're very, very disciplined people.
>
> They're much, much more disciplined maybe than us. I've read some books
>
> where – authors have actually recommended like…if you feel you can't – if it's
>
> difficult for you to lead a disciplined life, then maybe consider joining the army
>
> so that you can come out on track and then you come out. That's the way we look
>
> at this sport [martial arts].

In this quote, Matt strongly adheres to the traditional eastern teaching principles of martial arts,

combined with militarization, competition and obedience as key tactics that were implicitly

woven into the karate and taekwondo sessions, and keenly taken up by SNGO staff and the girls

through the program. In fact, many of the girls were told by members of the community that –

through their participation in the martial arts program – they were being groomed to go to war,

would lose their virginity, and would no longer be able to give birth. Ariel (young martial arts

trainer, SNGO, November 2009) highlights these issues:

> The community always tells us that they are training us to become fighters […]
>
> That we will lose our virginity. That the trainers are training us so that one day we

will remove something from our bodies that will make us stop giving birth, and

we will take them somewhere to fight, and most of [us] will come back dead.

Girls are not allowed – maybe corrupt us, cut off our legs! And they think the

taekwondo trainers are training us that someday, one day we shall take us out

there to fight. The President will say: bring all those people! And all the girls will

be gone to war.

The fear tactics and community resistance used to prevent the girls from participating in martial

arts will be explored in more depth in the next section. Here, I focus on the idea that the girls

were informed by family members, friends and the community at large that their femininity was

being expunged through their training and preparation to "fight," and to "go to war." The fact

that girls might participate in, and be proficient at, a sport that reflects, amplifies and reasserts

hegemonic masculinity (as discussed in section 5.3) was viewed by some community and family

members as threatening and culturally inappropriate. Many of the girls explained how their

parents and boys throughout the Winita District strongly opposed the girls' participation due to

the program's direct attempt to alter the traditional gender order by turning the girls into

"soldiers." As Ashley explained:

My parents say that they [the martial arts trainers] are training us bad manners to

go and fight men out there. And some of the parents are saying that they're

training [us] to become soldiers. Fighting. Sometimes when we are training, the

boys come around and start abusing us with words.

The girls were fundamentally challenging gender roles in such explicit ways (e.g., by wearing

trousers, fighting boys using kicks and punches, and so on) that rumours and verbal abuse from

community and family members was persistent, and assumptions that the trainers were preparing

the girls for war and removing their reproductive organs confirmed the idea that martial arts was exacerbating patriarchal attitudes throughout Winita. In fact, the martial arts sessions were constantly under surveillance by the boys, who would observe the young girls through windows, or on the field nearby:

> One of the challenges is the boys….There is no place – in our taekwondo class, they are lacking a gym. So, these boys, I train them [the girls] from outside, when I'm training, the girls had fear. Yeah, they had fear about raising their legs and they fear when boys come in and when they don't want boys to see them (Elisa, former senior martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009).

Despite these challenges, Elisa suggested that girls still benefited from their practice and eventually "ignored the boys" and their disparaging comments. Matt (Director IT & Enterprise, SNGO, November 2009) argued that, by fostering a culture of competition that would facilitate a more aggressive martial arts practice, the girls would increasingly change their mentalities by focusing more on their skills, and no longer concern themselves with the opinions of boys and men. He would accomplish this by enforcing a grading system:

> It's actually the kind of mentality we are trying to change among the girls. Because, at the beginning they still thought it was just a demonstration. But now, what we are trying to say, is to say, "listen, we are going to begin grading you people." In other words, you are going to spar, and no one wants to have a white belt forever. At some stage, you move on to Primary 1 and Primary 2 and you get to University. So, that is kind of like firing them up. And they are noticing that – "hey – this thing is not just a demonstration, there's a graduation process!" (Matt, Director IT & Enterprise, SNGO, November 2009)

Infusing a competitive side to the program was also an important means through which to entice the girls to continue their participation, improve their skills, and create a more regimented and regulated training schedule (Brett, Director Monitoring and Evaluation, SNGO, November 2009). At the same time, and as the discussion below with Vani (martial arts participant and leader, November 2009) suggests, the martial arts program also created a culture of discipline and regulation, acting as a both technology of subjectivity that aimed to solve poverty by producing girls who would possess employable skills such as obedience, respect and efficiency.

> Vani: My family thinks that karate should continue because it gives us self-
> discipline and makes us confident and we gain some courage to focus a person on
> an enemy who attacks us at night.
>
> LH: Why is self-discipline important?
>
> Vani: Self-discipline is important because when you have self-discipline you can
> get work in the village or in the town or in an office. When you have discipline
> everyone wants you to work in his or her office. But if you don't have the
> discipline you will not be educated, no one will want you in his or her office.

Many of the other girls concurred with Vani's observations that being disciplined was associated with popularity, praise from teachers, and affection from parents, siblings, and community members. Robin (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) described how her parents were pleased with her taekwondo practice because it made her fit, and better able to run more errands for her family, which she no longer hesitated to do because she was disciplined enough to realize the importance of "obedience." For Ashley (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009), martial arts taught her "not to disobey teachers." However, she noted that her family was concerned about her being turned into a "soldier" for fear that she would use her

skills to "beat my Dad because I'm supporting my Mom" when her parents were fighting. Jennifer (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) shared that she was pleased with her increased ability to perform tasks effectively:

> I do my work with energy and very fast. That's why I'm used to my mother and father. With also my teachers, I find that I can obey the teachers, when they tell me to sweep I can sweep. Before, I didn't do this because I was disobedient.

The girls were not just disciplined by their parents, but also by each other. After I had observed several sessions of the girls' taekwondo practice, it was clear that Ashley – who Elisa referred to as a "sportslady who has always been a sports girl and she knows what she does, including the exercises she gives" – scolded the other girls who were not following her technique properly. For example, Elisa (former senior martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) asked Ashley to lead one of the training sessions I observed. In this particular sequence, Elisa was keeping a close eye on her disciple's control over the (approximately) twenty girls who mimicked Ashley's every move. I noticed that, even though Elisa was no longer surveying the session, Ashley went over to several girls and corrected their head positions, kicks and punches (Field Notes, November 18, 2009). Without question, the monitoring, evaluating and training that girls' conducted over their peers, friends (and sometimes even family members), was cited as a common benefit to partaking in, and advancing, the martial arts program and its broader mandate. Jessica (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) told me that she liked karate because she was able to "train others to change their behaviours," while Robin (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) suggested that she wanted to train others so that "they [the other girls] may also become the way I am." Some of the girls even trained their brothers:

What we have come to understand from the girls is when they go home, they also teach

their brothers at home – they manage to teach at home what they have learned and

somehow the project has managed to impact the families through the girls. That's the

way we have managed to get into the families. They go teach them what they have

learned and they have interest so you might find a girl tell you I trained my brother, my

brother is also able to do it (Cathy, Child Rights Officer, SNGO, November 2009).

Thus, through their efforts to teach other girls, and even (in some cases) boys, the martial arts

girls certainly benefited by building leadership skills, gaining confidence and building strong

social networks. From another perspective, however, the martial arts program invoked a web of

discipline that was disseminated across the Winita District as the girls trained one another.

SNGO staff viewed this network of training, combined with public "sparring matches" – as

beneficial in terms of spreading its key values and self-defence skills in such a way that it was

not only about self-defence, but about winning competitions, being evaluated on their abilities,

and enhancing the girls' education. As Brett explicated:

What we would like is – we want these girls to be visible, really visible….And we

lack trainers, we just have the two…. And so, if we can get some of these girls

who are very interesting – train them as they proceed with their education. That

would be wonderful. And then get them into the competitions, and then see if we

can get these clubs accredited. And then, they could set up a network and start

running events and giving awards.

Here, Foucault's techniques of the self are useful for understanding the ways that the martial arts

program aimed to encourage the girls to become more virtuous kinds of subjects, through the

application of techniques for improvement and modernization (cf. Foucault, 1988). For instance,

Elisa (former senior martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) argued that the martial arts program was about modernizing girls to be confident enough to "look you in the eye" and know "the right way." Ashley (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November, 2009) used similar narrative to convey her martial arts experience:

> Before we join taekwondo, a boy could come and ask you to become his friend, and you would just give in, just become the friend because you could not stop it. But now I can stop it and tell him the *right way* (November, 2009, italics added for emphasis).

At the same time, it was clear that the "right way" was characterized by modernist tones, where the girls were meant to change their cultural attitudes and the ways that had previously denoted them as "shy" and "traditional." For example, Elisa (former martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) noted how, after participating in martial arts, girls who once "kneeled down and did those traditional things" now "looked at her in the eyes and smiled" as they practiced their kicks. The practices of self-discipline and modernization encouraged via martial arts programming hook into neo-liberal rationalities to produce what Rose (1996, p. 158) refers to as the neo-liberal subject, where power is not only imposed from the outside, but is exercised by the girls on themselves. In this way, Foucault helps us recognize how "individuals have folded the outside forces to launch a process of subjectification" (Markula, 2003, p. 98). It is imperative, however, to keep the cultural context in view, as Markula (2003) cautions, it is "important not to preassign any practice as 'liberating' or 'oppressive' without careful consideration of the cultural context where an individual woman's identity is formed" (p. 104). In other words, a more nuanced reading of power is pertinent, where power and resistance are not necessarily paired in opposition, but entangle in a more complex interaction.

Through biopedagogies, these arguments may be advanced by understanding power as mutually disciplinary and regularizing, where "the influence of biopedagogies is both individualizing and massifying" (Harwood, 2009, p. 23). For example, in a disciplinary mode, a biopedagogical perspective helps us to reveal how girls in the martial arts program are placed under surveillance, while the program's regularizing techniques attempt to educate the girls, their families and communities on both the risks and the untapped potential they pose for their villages, for Uganda, and even Africa. For instance, Ryan (Child Rights and PR Officer, SNGO, November, 2009) advocated that improving the confidence of the martial arts girls was imperative for building a violent free Uganda by producing stronger mothers for the future:

> What we are really looking at so much is her confidence. And we are looking at after the skills, what comes next for a free violence world? Which starts with the girl child who is a mother for the nation tomorrow. So we really have a feeling that if these girls are going to train more, we are going to get a number of people…like a movement.

At the same time, the girls received conflicting messages about motherhood, sexuality, violence and the consequences of being too confident, such that the regularizing techniques were not taken up in monolithic and (perhaps) predictable ways. Instead, and as the next section explains, the girls, their families and community members did not react to and use the martial arts program in the ways that SNGO, INGO and STNC necessarily intended. Within the boundaries of the program, the girls were being transformed through kicks, punches and gender training curriculum. Outside the program, however, the girls were subjected to resistance and questioning from community and family members. Therefore, the earlier claims made by interviewees from each entity (and by the girls themselves) pertaining to their empowerment through participating

in the SGD program (section 5.2) should, then, be contextualized against the backdrop of disciplinary power relations (cf. Triantrafillou & Nielsen, 2001). In other words, it is important to interrogate how the lessons learned within the confined spaces of the martial arts program translated into the daily lives of the Winita girls. Section 5.7 considers these issues in more depth. Taken together, then, a biopedagogical perspective, coupled with technologies of the self, help to expose how disciplinary and regularizing techniques work through the martial arts program as effective strategies to ensure that "living beings can indeed become objects to be worked on, to be pedagogized" (Harwood, 2009, p. 24). This relates to the opening quote of this section, where Matt (Director, IT & Enterprise Development, SNGO, November 2009) refers to "joining the army" as a viable way for people to be, in effect, pedagogized so that they can lead a "disciplined life."

For staff from SNGO, INGO and STNC, karate and taekwondo were certainly effective tools used to instruct, develop and enhance the lives of girls, though they did not commend the program for its disciplinary tenets. Specifically, the use of sport as a pedagogical site for educating girls to be global neo-liberal citizens was also driven and acknowledged by STNC staff. For instance, Barbara (Former CSR Manager, STNC, October, 2009) referred to a study TNC did with a think tank on the impact sport has on the lives of girls:

> They [the study] found out statistically that if girls participate in sports, they're less likely to be beaten, they're more likely to stay in school, they're less likely to get pregnant before they want to be pregnant. They're more likely to finish their education, um…So, the statistics were already there. We know girls who participate in sports are much more likely to be successful in life. Not just in the levels of CEOs, but on a daily basis. So, we knew that was true, and I believe that

that's also true if you can get girls to play on the playing field of sport, they're

more likely to understand their rights, and follow up on their rights.

The statistical evidence that the girls' lives were being improved through sport was often well

cited by staff members from each entity (SNGO, INGO, and STNC). The same strategies were

used in terms of suggesting that investing in girls would solve development problems. For

example, Amy (Regional Head of Marketing, STNC, October, 2009) explained that she knew

girls should be the focus of development interventions because:

I read the book of the guy that started the Grameen Bank. And he totally backs it

up with numbers that women are more reliable then men, and that they are the

ones that actually generate wealth for their families and for their communities.

[…] And he's one of the big supporters of the Girl Effect, because he knows it's

true. And when you look at the context of poor countries, it's most often the

woman who is in charge of keeping the family together. So, there is some truth on

that […] I believe in the Girl Effect.

The notion of "expert authority" and the use of statistics to make certain claims about health,

development and gender equality are further discussed in Chapter Six. Interestingly, it seemed

that most staff members from STNC and INGO framed what the girls and SNGO staff referred to

as "discipline" as self-respect, being "empowered," and ultimately, "having agency." SGD

biopedagogies influenced the various modes of subjectification by advocating that the girls stay

confident, fit, instruct other youth in the community on martial arts techniques and practices, and

monitor the progress of other girls in the program.

STNC staff (e.g., Amy in the quote above) continued to frame the girls' empowerment

and development not as something that arrived through discipline, but as part of the broader Girl

Effect movement where girls were being targeted by and benefiting from development interventions. In fact, discipline was rarely mentioned by interviewees from the West as one of the benefits to the girls' participation in martial arts. That is, though the girls and SNGO staff framed discipline as one of the most important 'benefits' of the girls' participation in the martial arts programming, corporate and INGO staff viewed the same phenomenon from a different perspective. For the latter, discipline was conflated with girls being more "reliable" than boys, with higher self-esteem, the ability to respect one's body, increased confidence and the will to empower *oneself* without support or assistance. This ethic of "self-care" and "self-empowerment" was put forth by interviewees such as Ginny (Former Advocacy Director, INGO, October, 2009), who suggested that participating in SGD interventions was beneficial since:

> A lot of these sports programs, you know girls come there and they even stop washing themselves or washing their clothes. They smell, it's terrible! And then they're told take care of your body, your body is worth taking care of, just wash yourself everyday, wash your clothes. We don't mind if there's a hole in it or if your clothes are not, you know…clean. It should be clean but it's okay if there's a hole in it or something else is wrong with it. And their self-esteem is…like that. You know, oh dear! Someone cares…If you don't care about your body then why should someone else?

Ginny's concern that the girls learn basic sanitation, and how to care for and respect their "own bodies," though not directly framed as discipline, certainly demonstrated the promotion of self-surveillance, self-management and regulation of uncivilized behaviour that lays claim to the kind of subjectivity that those who are "developed" should have. Amy's patronizing suggestion, however, that SGD programs help promote the idea that it is the responsibility of the girls to

respect their own bodies by "staying clean," promotes colonialist thinking, and does little to address the global neo-liberal order which contributes to their social and economic conditions in the first place. That is to say the girls' hygiene is presented as barbaric and backwards, and is not understood within their broader socio-economic cultural context. Furthermore, the idea that the girls should want to care for, and clean their own bodies because of the solicitude of Westerners, promotes and reinscribes a neo-colonial logic that upholds Westerners as intelligible when it comes to sanitation, civility and self-respect.[34]

The girls commented that basic sanitation, food and water were serious concerns that prevented them from participating in martial arts. Ashley, Jennifer, Ariel and Jessica all spoke of the hardships involved in trying to find clean water, food, and money to buy sanitary napkins. As Ashley suggested, "when I'm training, I cannot do this without food. Hunger. I would love it if we could have a well for drinking water." Many of the girls (Jennifer, Jessica, Robin, Ashley) described the fear and humiliation they endured when they were unable to purchase sanitary pads during their periods, which often prevented them from participating in the program. Others experienced intense cramps and physical ailments from their menses that were too painful to endure during training. While Jennifer would dig in order to obtain money for pads, others would ask teachers, parents or other relatives for money. However, there was often not enough money to spare. The girls also noted they found it difficult to predict their periods, which often meant they were unprepared for blood stains on their karate uniforms or trousers. Due to such incidents, they would endure ridicule and taunting from the boys (Field Notes, November 19, 2009).

In the next section, I consider these issues alongside Walkerdine's (2009) arguments by acknowledging that the performance of subjectivity cannot be disconnected form its social location, and by suggesting that we need to think through why some subjectivities on the SGD

landscape are prioritized over others. That is, it is imperative to understand some of the culturally specific ways in which girls construct SGD discourses in the Ugandan (Winita) context, and in so doing, generate new (and varying) subjectivities. It is imperative to emphasize *varying*, and note the diversity of subjectivities being created through martial arts programming. This point speaks to Fabrizio-Pelak's (2005) observations of South African women footballers, who, she notes, are not simply a 'homogeneous unified group'; instead, they assume gender inequalities in intricate and multiple ways, as "local contexts and histories create different geospatial configurations in the sport [football]" (p. 67). Hence, we return to the importance of carefully tracking, across numerous terrains, how girl-focused development practices and knowledge "organize social and political fields, producing organizations, projects, and forms of governing as much as being produced by them" (Abu-Lughod, 2010, p. 33). Along these lines, it is imperative to think about the nuanced and varying types of empowerment revealed as the martial arts girls resisted disciplinary power relations. The importance of trying not to romanticize resistance (Abu-Lughod, 1990) is equally as important, for, as Parpart, Rai and Staudt (2002, p. 6) suggest, "people are empowered and changed through resisting disciplinary power relations, but this very action/agency may also strengthen their incorporation into the status quo." The next section explores the idea of resistance, power relations and agency in more depth.

5.7 (Subversive) Agency and 'Romanticizing Resistance:' Shifting and Altering Gender(ed) Relations

Upon first arriving in Winita, I had many discussions with SNGO staff, particularly the taekwondo and karate trainers, Elisa and Trisha, about the creation of the martial arts program, and the benefits accrued by the girls via their participation. Before my arrival in Uganda, interviews and informal conversations with INGO and STNC staff in the One-Third World led me to believe that the martial arts program was mostly successful and ultimately "developing"

the girls of Winita. The following comment from Barbara (Former CSR Manager, STNC, October 2009) demonstrated her belief that the SNGO's martial arts program was ultimately benefiting the girls.

When you go to [SNGO], look how healthy those girls are! […] So with sport, it's very hard to say – but if you go to [SNGO], you will just look at the girls who are participating and look at the girls who are not. You will visibly see. It would be great to get someone in to weigh them and do muscle mass studies – of course. But just look at those girls who are doing self defense – they're tough!

Ginny (Former Advocacy Director, INGO, October, 2009) echoed such sentiments:

These girls [in the Two-Thirds World] are not in touch anymore with their bodies. They are so – so stressed or so abused. And sports releases, frees your body again – you get in touch with your body again. And that releases also, makes you so – so that your body [is] flowing again, gives you new energy and your mind and your body get in touch with each other which makes you stronger mentally as well. And, so what happens next is that if you play sports, you discover that you can actually do that really well, or better than you thought.

Though not all interviewees from INGO and STNC necessarily shared Ginny's specific views on the ways the girls took up SGD initiatives, her comments, taken together with Barbara's, reflect the general continuation of colonial mindsets in this type of programming, where gender is ahistorical and universalized through a Eurocentric lens that stigmatizes cultural 'backwardness.' Such perceptions of how SGD "worked" and was perceived by interviewees from the One-Third World tended to contrast with some of the tangible challenges and tribulations involved 'on the ground.' As Standing (2007) remarks, "there is a policing and even shaming of less powerful

groups whose discourses do not fit the gender and development hegemony that the dominant voices represent" (p. 103). Certainly, the hegemonic understandings that the martial arts program was "successful" were apparent – especially in the upper management levels of SNGO (particularly according to Matt and Brett, Directors), as staff there seemed hesitant to portray the program as anything but promising. This could have ultimately related to my position as a white, middle-class, Canadian woman who they may have (at times) considered a potential "evaluator" of the program.[35] In addition, staff may well have also had genuine concerns about the future funding of this program, as several interviewees (Brett, Matt, Ryan) told me how thankful they were that INGO, and indirectly, STNC, decided to fund their program. Understandably, many SNGO respondents conveyed their optimism that the funding contract with INGO would be renewed for the next fiscal year.

When I asked Matt (Director, IT & Enterprise Development, SNGO, November 2009) about the challenges involved in launching and implementing the martial arts program, he hesitated before replying.

> Um, well there was a little misunderstanding when we just begun this whole
> [martial arts program] thing. Actually, for people like me who supported the
> processing of the mission to begin the sport in schools – taekwondo and karate
> and all that. We were met with quite a bit of resistance […]The District Education
> Officer made the remark that, "oh, you want to turn girls into fighters," and "the
> Ministry of Education cannot approve this kind of thing."

Throughout my discussions with SNGO staff and the girls, it was clear that there were deep misconceptions by staff (including the young martial arts trainers), regarding the mandate of the program, and its ultimate purpose. Furthermore, according to SNGO staff, "turning the girls into

fighters" was one of the more "positive" perceptions held by politicians community and family members when it came to the intentions and repercussions of the martial arts program. The quote above shows that Matt's ultimate focus was to infiltrate the bureaucratic regulations that governed the program by eventually persuading the Ministry of Education that the martial arts program was of crucial importance for empowering girls.

However, it's not enough to simply expect girls to self-motivate/ challenge these systems and structures of inequality on their own without external support mechanisms in place, or without altering sexist and racist ideologies that serve to legitimate institutional discrimination (Cooky, 2009, 2011). Thus, exploring moments of resistance is fruitful for understanding the key tenets of empowerment. Further, as Lairap-Fonderson (2002, p. 189) argues, "resistance is an essential part of the process through which oppression is transformed…We need to analyse how various strategies of resistance employed by women under certain conditions lead to different types of empowerment." And yet, at the same time, Abu-Lughod (1990, p. 42) cautions that it is important for researchers not to romanticize resistance. This may occur if one constantly interprets resistance as "signs of the ineffectiveness of systems of power and of the resilience and creativity of the human spirit in its refusal to be dominated." The concern, then, is that all forms of resistance have the potential to be essentialized, where more subtle forms, nuances and questions about the "workings of power" may be excluded (Abu-Lughod, 1990, p. 42; Rankin & Shakya, 2008).

Despite the lack of support from social institutions, and from their families and communities, the martial arts girls were able to resist and confront the hegemonic views that constantly questioned the implications of their participation in the program. In the sections that follow, I examine some of the main "myths" that circulated throughout Winita pertaining to the

girls' participation (as discussed by the girls and SNGO staff members), and focus on the ways the girls actively and decisively negotiated the material and discursive terrain of SGD. In other words, by using Foucauldian notions of productive dimensions of power (where power is not perceived as simply *repressive*), I hope to show how subtle practices of resistance have a great deal to disclose about the dynamics of patriarchy, such as how power works through restrictions on the girls' martial arts practices, or systems of sexual morality, or creeds of sexual difference (cf., Shakya & Rankin, 2008, p. 1215). At the same time, Tania Li (2007, p. 25) has shown that Gramscian notions of human agency complement Foucault's understandings of productive power by enabling us to identify "how and why particular, situated subjects mobilize to contest their oppression." In particular, following Andrews and Loy (1993, p. 267-268), I hope to demonstrate that the human agent is not "structurally positioned within an ideological field; rather the agent actively produces meanings of social experience from which the agent is able to explore, reproduce, contest, and hence create, the world in which he or she lives."

5.7.1 "I Try to Change their Minds…I Say that Wearing Trousers doesn't mean you can be a prostitute:" The Role(s) of Resistance

Fifteen interviewees (all eight girls, and seven of the eleven SNGO staff members) cited community resistance as an extremely taxing aspect of implementing/ being involved in the martial arts program. As Matt (Director, IT & Enterprise Development, SNGO, November 2009) conceded, the "misunderstandings" between SNGO and the girls' families and wider community resulted in the girls' initial subjection to verbal abuse, taunting and ridicule – especially from men and boys. The local Winita District authorities who presided over education also felt that the martial arts program would be an extra burden on the girls' timetables, as Ryan (Child Rights Officer, SNGO, November 2009) discerned:

When we're just starting this project, one very very serious opposers around.

Where one, the district did not want this sport to be run because this was not in

their timetable of the schools. So we were entering and really interrupting their

programs….We're looking at the community around – they have not understood

us very well. They think we are training girls to destroy the community, which is

not true. So, we really have the feeling that we need to also, as time comes, to

have the community understand us also.

It seemed that one of the main stimulant for the derisions related to the martial arts uniforms and

trousers worn by the girls. One of the most pressing concerns for the SNGO staff discussed when

I arrived in Winita related to ways the uniforms impacted the girls' martial arts experiences.

SNGO's solicitude related to its provision of shorts, track suit trousers and t-shirts for the girls to

ensure their comfortable participation in martial arts. Karate and taekwondo movements involve

high kicks, punches and jumping (among other actions) and as such it was almost impossible and

very discomfiting for the girls to take part in such activities wearing skirts and traditional garb

that was culturally appropriate. However, as Jessica (young martial arts trainer, SNGO,

November 2009) noted, SNGO did not have enough tracksuits (i.e., shorts and t-shirts) for all the

girls, and those without trousers felt that they were unable to participate. During public festivals,

the girls would perform their martial arts techniques in authentic crisp white karate uniforms

purchased by SNGO. According to Matt, this made them look professional, cohesive, and the

girls (Ariel, Jessica) claimed that they looked forward to performing in this unique attire.

Other girls noticed how wearing trousers, in particular, palpably challenged gendered

norms and hierarchies. For example, Ariel (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009)

described how "people out there" told her that "we cannot put on the trouser and at the same time

your Dad is also putting on the trouser." The negative connotations associated with "dressing like one's father" were clearly inscribed in the girls' daily lives, and sheds light on the ways that "cultural practices are inscribed onto women's [and girls'] bodies, and their consciousness is molded by patriarchal culture" (Azzarito, 2010, p. 264). SNGO staff and the teachers recognized the sexual meanings and cultural improprieties associated with the girls wearing tracksuits. As one teacher suggested:[36]

> We have a culture around the community, the culture that believes that the female
>
> is not supposed to wear trousers. But you always encourage them [the girls] and
>
> tell them that it doesn't matter, wearing the trouser doesn't mean that you're
>
> indiscreet.

However, not everyone was as supportive, and the girls were all too well aware of the derogatory opinions and perspectives, particularly regarding their uniforms. As Vani (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) aptly put it, "in my community why they hate karate is because girls wear trousers and they believe that all those girls who wear trousers are prostitutes." Joanna (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) described how the members of her community thought she was training to be a "thief:"

> Joanna: Some neighbours say that you are going to be a thief when you are doing
>
> taekwondo.
>
> LH: Why do they say that?
>
> Joanna: That you are practising to be a thief by fighting. That taekwondo is
>
> teaching you how to destroy some people's things.

During my first day in Winita, a meeting was held with six SNGO staff (Trisha, Elisa, Ellen, Cathy, Liz, and Danielle) to ensure that the suggested research questions and interview protocol

captured their most pressing concerns. Immediately, the staff asked that the issue of uniforms be discussed with the girls during interviews. Specifically, they wanted to know how the uniforms impacted the girls' experiences in the program. The following day, I interviewed Elisa and Trisha (senior martial arts trainers, SNGO), who both suggested that the girls had "overcome their fears" and were no longer concerned with the implications involved once they put their uniforms on. Elisa, for example, claimed that, "at least now, after one month, the girls became confident. Where they don't fear anyone. And they were putting their shirts on openly, training, lifting their legs up, with no fear." And yet, the girls did suggest that they remained very concerned and somewhat fearful, though they continued to resist and challenge the myths from community members pertaining to their involvement in the program, and their involvement in other sports. The following two interview excerpts show how the girls actively disputed the patriarchal claims made by boys, community and family members.

> Ariel: The boys say that if the girls play the football [soccer], the rats will eat the ball.
>
> LH: The rats will eat the ball?
>
> Ariel: Yeah.
>
> LH: What do you say to that? How do you deal with this?
>
> Ariel: I always tell them that that's the old age belief, and that this is a new generation, so that no longer applies.

Similarly, the second example shows how Ashley confronted community members.

> Ashley: The community out there tells us that, if we train taekwondo in future, we won't be able to give birth. They say if you train taekwondo, we lose our virginity.

LH: And how do you respond to that?

Ashley: I tell them an example of my [taekwondo trainer], [Elisa]. That she's still

training, and she has two kids.

Hollander (2009, p. 589) notes that self-defence training in the North American context is often resisted for three main misconceptions: first, due to the widespread belief that women's resistance is not a viable option; second, that it is too "dangerous" for women to fight back; and finally, that self-defence risks promoting "blaming the victim." She further argues that the public will often dismiss women's self-defence training because they fail to recognize that women may be able to actually successfully protect themselves against perpetrators. Thus, as Hollander (2009, p. 585) further argues, "without a schema for women's successful resistance, the very idea of self-defence seems nonsensical."

The martial arts girls were constantly delving into success stories where they defended themselves against an impressive array of attackers: boys, sexual predators, uncles and truck drivers, with some girls describing unthinkable fighting strategies (e.g., fending off six attackers at once). Of course, it is possible that the girls were influenced by the presence of the trainers and teachers at the time of the interviews, which forced them to portray only the achievements of the program.[37] However, the girls did not hesitate to reveal and describe the challenges involved in their participation: the anger, hesitation and fear from the community and families who tried to prevent them from becoming involved. For example, Vani's (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) stepmother (who was her primary caregiver, as her father was a "drunkard" and did not play an active role in her life) often made her do most of the domestic work, and gave her little food to eat. These actions prevented Vani from partaking in the program, and she felt that her stepmother increased her household duties and provided no food in order to thwart her

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involvement in karate. In spite of such barriers, Vani still attended the program, for example, by practising while hungry, knowing that she would be punished by her stepmother when she returned home for not having completed her chores. Interestingly, this example actually counters the girls' earlier claims to learning and practising obedience through martial arts.

In many ways, then, girls demonstrated multiple forms of subversive agency and resistance through their participation in the martial arts program. Subversion denotes more ambiguous forms of political agency that may be "unintentional, just the outcome of people just trying to get by in the face of multiple pressing constraints" (Shakya & Rankin, 2008, p. 1230). Subversive agency "lies in the ways in which people put dominant cultural productions into their own moral and social frame of reference and, in so doing, change their meaning" (Shakya & Rankin, 2008, p. 1230-1231). For example, the young women continued to wear their uniforms in spite of the fact that doing so provoked verbal (and sometimes physical) abuse from community and family members. The young women also actively took part in public demonstrations to showcase their martial arts skills, and they taught other girls (and secretly boys) various martial arts techniques that were disseminated throughout their communities. Here, I argue that such forms of resistance disclose important and intricate questions about political agency (cf, Kabeer, 2010; Parpart, 2010; Rankin, 2010).

Parpart (2010) suggests that we need not focus on the "end products" of agency (such as empowerment, enlightenment, or, in this case, increased cases of girls using self-defence skills and successfully warding off perpetrators). Rather, for her, the key is to focus on the "often hesitant, fitful and unpredictable possibilities for growth in consciousness and actions" (Parpart, 2010, p. 22). She uses the example of the Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET), and their ability to mobilize thousands of women to protest the Liberian civil war through "silent

protest, symbolic dress as well as media campaigns" (Parpart, 2010, p. 7). Forms of dress, then, may immediately symbolize cohesiveness, solidarity, and identification with particular values. Rankin (2010, p. 189) further clarifies that subversion is unplanned, and involves a more ambiguous political agency that incorporates "individual, covert instances of nonconformity that engage tactics to get as much as possible out of a constraining situation." Based on the observations I have described thus far about the girls' resistance and agency demonstrated through the martial arts program, I concur with Parpart and Rankin's assertions that silence and subversive forms of agency are imperative to consider in terms of being powerful vehicles for social change.

By wearing the martial arts uniforms, and the trousers in particular, the young women remind us that voice is not the only form of agency, and that silence offers an important intervention for thinking about the possibility of more distinct practices of empowerment. A clarifying point is Parpart's reference to Ortner's (2001) "agency of intention," which

> …grows out of the daily experiences of inequality and injustices but requires
>
> neither full consciousness nor explicit actions. It often takes place in secret, or in
>
> silent reflections, sometimes shared, sometimes not, in some cases gradually
>
> leading to new thoughts and possible actions, even if often initially hesitant and
>
> poorly formed (p. 22).

The girls not only continued to wear their trousers and teach others their martial arts skills, but were also slowly building networks of resistance by travelling to other communities throughout Eastern Uganda for demonstrations and showing girls in other villages that challenging gender norms was acceptable, supported by SNGO, and even encouraged. For example, Ariel described how being exposed to "other codes of dressing" through martial arts had "really changed her."

She now felt confident about her trousers and decided that it was appropriate to wear them to other villages that were more traditional to persuade other girls to do the same. Jennifer claimed that she enjoyed meeting new friends in the other towns when they would go and do public demonstrations. She brightly told these new friends that, "if the training of taekwondo continues, women will not get the same problems they used to get."

The public demonstrations played an important role in building the girls' agency by not only educating the community about the promise and benefits of martial arts, and by demonstrating "how much more disciplined the girls are compared to those who are not in the [martial arts] program" (Matt, Director, IT & Enterprise Development, SNGO); but also by deliberately and intentionally opposing traditional gender roles and norms. For these reasons, SNGO continued to seek out and leverage community-based public events that would provide useful instances for the girls to perform martial arts. As Jennifer (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) exclaimed, "I am asked to do demonstrations and other things. It's fun. Those big days like Women's Day, and African Child Day, I always tell my friends!" Importantly, this quote not only shows the importance of public demonstrations, but also highlights the intersections between gender and nation – and the global/ local dynamics of sport, gender and development – where global celebrations of "girlhood" reach the local spaces of Winita.[38]

Matt and Brett (Directors, SNGO) used shock tactics to facilitate and build community understandings around martial arts programming for girls' development. The goal was for opponents of the program to see its magnitude and inherent value in terms of defending girls against the rampant sexual and gender-based violence in Winita. Matt (Director, IT & Enterprise Development, SNGO, November 2009) proudly explained one of SNGO's most eminent PR

strategies, which involved six muscular *borda borda* (male bicycle taxi drivers) attacking the martial arts girls as they left their primary school one day.

> We waited when schoolgirls were coming out of this school here […]We got some *borda borda* – bicycle – you know there's some bicycle people around town who transport people for money. These are usually, you know, relatively built guys, cause the bicycles are really big and they've got enough gears. So, you'd better be strong if you're riding it while carrying someone. So, we got some of these bicycle riders, the men, there were about six. And we told them to try and attack, you know, these girls. Of course it was all organized and we said "yeah, the girls will be expecting you to attack them" and they will have to defend themselves, they will not hurt you, you know? And somehow we will reach a compromise. But you could see these girls in action and it was amazing. They really flexed up those guys. And the girls who were walking home from school were so happy. So, the very, very young ones also started practising martial arts and all that. In other words, you can very, very easily come across such a situation in real life. And then you have to unleash your skills in order to get out of such a situation, you know?

As Parpart (2010, p. 22) claims, "silent performances seem to have a particular impact and power. They shame their critics. The symbols and performances are not distracted by words, intensifying their impact." The act of these young girls defending themselves against the *borda borda* men presents a crucial display of resistance to patriarchal values. At the same time, the persistent and bold challenge posed by such transgressive public actions may only have further enraged those individuals who remained unconvinced and troubled by the inappropriateness of

the girls' actions in this particular cultural context. Shakya and Rankin (2008, p. 1231, italics added for emphasis) summarize subversions in the following way:

> Subversions have no necessary capacity to challenge the foundation of dominant ideologies; they may even end up reproducing it. Nor are they inherently progressive; *they may exacerbate existing social hierarchies* or operate in a top-down manner, with dominant orders subverting the cultural frameworks of dispossessed groups.

The performances, trousers and network of girls involved in the martial arts program was undoubtedly altering the ways that girls were perceived and viewed by others across the Winita District. Whether their martial arts practices and public demonstrations were challenging dominant ideologies about their roles as young women in Winita, or merely reproducing them, is hard to identify without interviewing community and family members (a notable challenge of this study). As Ellen (ICT Officer, SNGO, November 2009) remarked:

> The [martial arts team], the girls, were presenting at the stadium. And so, after that, I happened to run into a group of guys, and they were like, "wow, [SNGO], wow! Those girls, aye!" They were amazed. They were like, "my God, those girls, how they throw their legs in the air! Wow!" They were like, "my God, we fear those girls"!

At every school where I observed the girls practising, there was always a group of boys sitting on the grass watching their every move, or peering through the windows of the school house with wide eyes as the girls did their high kicks. While I was present, the boys did not interfere, nor they did not openly refute these practices; indeed, their silent observation may be interpreted as

approval,[1] though – as mentioned previously – the young women made references to the fact that they were constantly harassed and "disturbed" by the boys (Robin, Joanna, Jessica). Lexi (young martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) felt that her martial arts training encouraged the boys to attack her more often than they would have otherwise. Vani, Lexi and Robin suggested that the boys were jealous of their skills. As Vani claimed,

> The boys are jealous because they don't know how to train, and they say when girls continue training we will begin beating them all the time if they try to attack us. That's why I guess. That we shall beat them up! That we shall beat our husbands!

Some staff from SNGO were concerned about the boys' resistance to the girl-focused program, and felt that they should be included. For example, as Ellen (ICT Officer, SNGO, November, 2009) suggested, "it's not only the girl child that is endangered, but also the boys. I mean, they can be fought out there by their fellow men… The boys also should learn, let me say." Ryan (Child Rights and PR Officer, SNGO, November 2009) took Ellen's suggestion further by suggesting that the boys were also targets of sexual violence, and child sacrifice, and deserved to be trained for these reasons: "Rape is not – like you are very much aware – that rape is not only about the girls nowadays. I think boys need to also be trained [in martial arts], not fall prey to some of these circumstances." Ryan's comment was notable and courageous, particularly considering the vocal homophobic public in Uganda (Tamale, 2007), the current legislations before Ugandan Parliament to execute homosexuals, and recent murder of Ugandan gay activist David Kato in January (Gettleman, 2011). As Tamale (2007, p. 19) puts forth:

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[1] Again, it is hard to know how my presence impacted the interactions between the girls and the boys. The boys could have been 'behaving' since I was a foreigner, or because their teachers told them not to interfere while I was present.

Homosexuality threatens to undermine male power bases in the Ugandan 'private'
sphere (at the level of personal relationships and conventional definitions of the
'family') as well as in public discourses (where myths abound about what it
means to be a man or a woman). Homosexuality presents a challenge to the deep-
seated masculine power within African sexual relations and disrupts the core of
the heterosexist social order.

Despite these limitations, the girls reported that the benefits of the program (see section 5.2)
trickled into their daily lives, and, in some ways, profoundly altered relations with their families
and communities in positive ways. A key example of this is provided by Allie (PR Officer,
SNGO), when she described how one girl she knew started to ride a bicycle because of her
participation in the program.

One particular girl I know started to do the shopping, on her father's bicycle. And
it's wrong for the girls to ride their bicycles. But I think even their cousin told the
girl how to ride their bicycles and her father stops and so she helps around with
the family, to do the father's errands and those kind of things.

LH: So she rides her father's bicycle now? After being in the program?

Allie: Yes she does.

Allie's comments support a broader finding pertaining to the relations between the martial arts
girls and their families: those girls who suggested that their parents encouraged their
participation in martial arts framed this support in terms of discipline, respect and cooperation.
These observations also highlight the biopedagogical elements of the martial arts program, where
the girls embody martial arts practices in the process of governing themselves within broader
family relations. The father-daughter relationship described by Allie may be viewed in multiple

ways. Though the girl in her story is now able to ride a bicycle in public, and resist dominant

gender norms, we still have to frame this incident within broader biopedagogical relations that

govern and regulate her experiences. In other words, though running errands for family

members, being disciplined and obedient may be culturally valuable in the context of Winita,

such ideals also permeate into how the wider discourses of gender and development affect and

shape the ways that the girls conduct and construct themselves as active, responsible healthy

subjects. It is imperative, then, as Parpart (2010, p. 23) attests, that safe spaces are created for

fostering dialogue that discuss the limitations of transformation, and for developing options that

rework rather than demolish cultural contexts, while also offering identity and belonging.

5.8 Chapter Summary and Implications

This chapter considered the subject positions of the young women partaking in the martial arts

program, and SNGO actors "on the ground" deploying this intervention. By mostly focusing on

the perspective of SGD actors in the Two-Thirds World, I began this chapter by illuminating the

positive and beneficial experiences conveyed by the young women through their participation in

karate and taekwondo, such as their improved confidence, physical fitness, skill development,

leadership capabilities, social networks, and education levels. These positive perspectives

support functionalist arguments of SDP more broadly, which highlight sport's utility as a tool for

enhancing gender equality and women and girls' "development," particularly in the Two-Thirds

World. In some cases, the young women wore trousers, defied traditional gender roles, and

taught boys how to do a karate kick, thereby copiously challenging the static and situated

feminities that tend to define what it means to be "a girl" in Uganda.[39]

At the same time, I suggested that the martial arts program ignored gender as a

constrained choice, while also failing to acknowledge gender relations and institutionalized

forms of gender. That is, socio-structural limitations were not recognized as mediating the ways that the girls "took up" and interacted with this program. Though beneficial for improving girls' life experiences in a myriad of ways – the program still operated within a context of multiple and intersecting structural and gender-specific constraints (poverty, time, power inequities, and so on) that prevented the girls' from fully realizing their potential as the "new agents of development" (vis-à-vis the Girl Effect). Put differently, and when considered within overlapping discursive frameworks of gender and development, sport, and the Girl Effect, these gender constraints resulted in contradictory messages that urged the young women to disrupt local gender dynamics and roles in the Winita District, while simultaneously playing into their status as "victims" by encouraging them to avoid risky behaviour and sexual encounters. As Andersson, Cockcroft and Shea (2008) demonstrate, those targeted by sexual violence may be armed with countless defence strategies, or may be inundated with information on condom use and the benefits of abstinence. And yet, in the face of gender-based and sexual violence, these strategies obfuscate the contextual dynamics such as poverty and gender relations that tend to perpetuate such violence in the first place.

The chapter then turned to discuss how the young martial arts trainers used the agency gained through the SGD program in very specific ways, and through the limits of particular social norms and gendered rules guided by culturally specific gender roles and relations. I argued that the martial arts initiative tended to frame girls as having gendered identities that need to be re-framed, augmented or changed, therefore placing the burden on these young women to change *their* behaviours, actions and attitudes in order to achieve gender equality, while ignoring the need to enrol men and boys to realize this same feat. In many ways, this finding supports the Girl Effect's mandate, and impels the idea that girls must adjust to their structural subordination

instead of actually transforming and challenging the systems that continue to reinforce their

marginalization. I contend, then, that the Girl Effect, and SGD programs that append to its

mission, tend to narrowly define what type of girl should be empowered/ saved: she is

heterosexual, poor, and without agency. She is, as Angela McRobbie (2009, p. 72) contends, an

ideal "subject of capacity." It seems, then, that until girls participate in programs funded/

provided for under the auspices of the Girl Effect – through which they are educated to take

responsibility for their own bodies, wait to engage in sexual relations, and look after their

families, communities and nations – they will not be "transformed."

In the latter sections of this chapter, I demonstrated that gender, sexuality and health were

clearly tied to a wider neo-liberal disciplinary regime imposed through the program where the

girls were encouraged to discipline, monitor and govern themselves into being healthy, active,

"global" girl citizens contributing to the Ugandan economy. I also argued that the martial arts

program was used as a mechanism to prevent girls from engaging in sexual relations, and as

such, may be conceptualized using Foucault's technologies of the self, and as an example of

disciplinary modes and regularizing techniques of biopedagogies.

In the final section, I examined the strategies used by the young women and SNGO staff

members to dispel and resist some of the main "myths" that circulated throughout Winita

pertaining to the girls' participation in the martial arts program. Building on concepts such as

subversive agency, choice and voice, I focused on the ways the girls actively and decisively

negotiated the material and discursive terrain of SGD through public martial arts "sparring"

demonstrations, challenging gender norms, and working together across the Winita District to

build resistance in subtle yet significant ways through the growing network of young martial arts

trainers. In these ways, the goal of this final section was to demonstrate how practices of

resistance disclose salient messages and meanings about the dynamics of patriarchy in Winita.

Overall, my key argument in this section was that subversive forms of agency are imperative

vehicles to consider for transforming gender relations in the context of SGD interventions,

though, as I further discuss in Chapter Six, they aren't necessarily *enough.*

CHAPTER SIX

Governing Girls through Constellations of Aid?

6.1 Introduction

"Governmental interventions configure ways of thinking and acting not by operating alone, but by working as part of a constellation" (Li, 2007, p. 28).

The broad goal of this chapter is to examine how the Sport Transnational Corporation (STNC),

International NGO (INGO) and Southern NGO (SNGO) position themselves vis-à-vis sport,

gender and development (SGD) interventions, and the experiences of the girls as described in

Chapter Five. Thus, this chapter responds to initial questions that aimed to explore the nature of

the relationships among the entities involved in delivering, promoting and implementing SGD

interventions. I am especially concerned, here, with the intricate dynamics of power behind

donors and recipients, with an eye to issues of cultural difference and gender. This chapter also

aims to examine how contemporary constructions of gender, "race,"[40] class, nation and culture

are shaped through the various individuals and institutions within the SGD aid regime.

In order to consider the ways that girls experience and take up SGD interventions, I

submit that it is imperative to explore the relations of benevolence and governance that enmesh

to produce gendered aid in the development context. That is, there are crucial links that must be

considered between micro and macro governance projects. These connections may be tactically

explored by considering how macro structures (economic, political, social, and cultural) link to

the institutions that govern SGD, while also recognizing the multiple and overlapping

subjectivities interwoven through the fabric of aid relations. This perspective neatly aligns with

social constructivist IR approaches that treat organizations as "social facts" in order to attend to

"intersubjective frames of meaning, and the negotiation and malleability of identities and interests" interwoven in organizational relations (Keck & Sikkink, 1998, p. 4-5).

Similarly, Dorothy Smith (2005) draws attention to how social relations are embedded and embodied in women's (and girls') everyday activities. Making these relations visible is a useful starting point for critically considering political agency, and helps us to further explore how global processes of 'aid' are entangled in the experiences of staff from STNC, INGO, SNGO and the martial arts program participants themselves. Postcolonial IR feminist standpoints also build on Smith's social constructivism by starting with the premise that we "intersubjectively create our worlds" (Agathangelou & Ling, 2004, p. 518), and by questioning how, race, class, gender and culture are historically situated by Western colonialism and imperialism.

In development work, these subjectivities, actors and relations work as part of a broader "constellation" (Li, 2007, drawing on Massey, 1993). Building on Massey's original notion of the constellation (further contextualized in Chapter One, also see Figure 6.1 below), I submit that

Figure 6.1: The SGD Aid Constellation
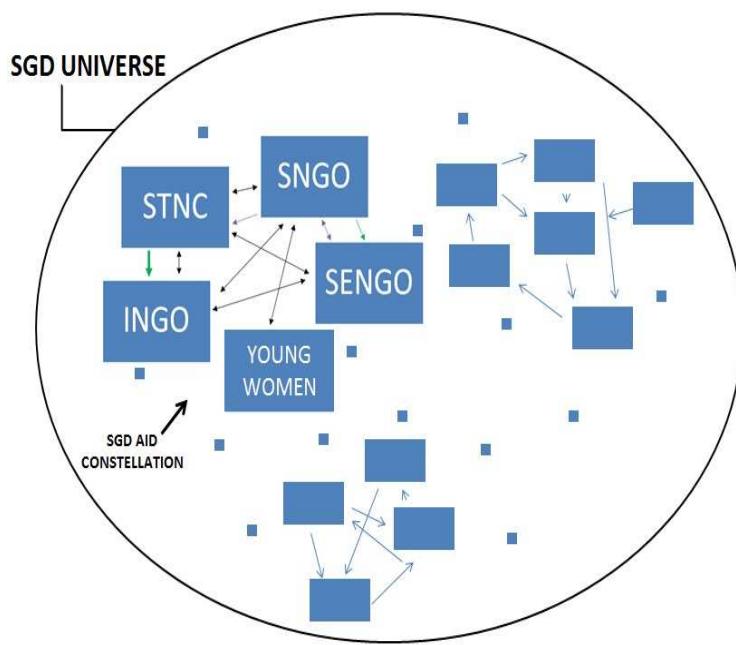
"constellations of aid" are well-suited to studying the social connections embedded in SGD work. In this sense, aid is not fixed in its meaning, and thus does not always necessarily suggest a one-way relationship of power (e.g., North to South). Rather, I use aid to suggest varying relations of benevolence and assistance, including the support SNGO provided to INGO, and that which the girls provided for themselves and each other in the face of poverty, marginalization, and domestic, sexual and gender-based violence. Throughout this chapter, I use the constellation approach for studying SGD interventions as discussed in Chapter One.

Postcolonial feminisms, guided by social constructivist perspectives that emphasize intersubjectivity and relational materialisms, will also be used to critically examine relations among 'donors' and 'recipients' in SGD, and to consider the ideologies behind 'gendering' CSR in international development. Specifically, this chapter will build on Chapter Five by using literature on global governance, aid relations and partnerships in development to examine the extent to which SGD is an ideal development strategy to be corporatized, useful for fusing the "needs" of girls at the "bottom of the pyramid" with the private sectors' search for new "untapped" markets. I argue that GCSE strategies are used as technologies of transnational (private) governmentality and biopower by STNC and INGO through their recent development interventions targeted at girls in the Two-Thirds World. This is not to say, however, that SNGO and the martial arts girls are unable to resist and challenge such workings of productive power. Instead, I suggest that their agency and empowerment are often reframed by governing actors (STNC, INGO and SNGO) in ways that tend to reinforce patriarchal ideologies, oppressive social structures and institutions, rather than as a struggle for transformative social justice. That is, SGD programs administered through a constellation of private and morally authoritative actors working in the current neo-liberal development era end up shifting the responsibility for

social welfare onto SNGO, and the girls in the martial arts program, as potential entrepreneurial subjects who need to be taught self-reliance strategies in order to be disciplined by, and survive, the effects of global capitalism.

6.2 Inputs and Outputs: Race, Gender, Class, Neo-liberalism and Donor/ NGO Relations

In this section, I explore the increasing "business-like" character of SGD work through the lenses of NGOization and development hegemony, with an eye to intersecting relations of class, nation, gender and race. By considering these issues, my goal is to show how each entity in the constellation of SGD aid experiences, and plays a part in global neo-liberal relations of power in unintended, multifaceted and complex ways. I then examine the ways that transnational expert authority, corporate knowledge, and neo-liberal governmentality contribute to the professionalization of SGD NGO programming. A brief interlude is then taken, where I briefly explore SNGO staff's reactions of resistance to corporate involvement in SGD work. Hereafter, I move to discuss technologies of aid evaluation in SGD by drawing on staff interviews and monitoring and evaluation documents developed by INGO and STNC. My findings indicate that INGO and STNC promote a strong culture of surveillance that disciplined, leveraged and (re)positioned the success stories of the martial arts program in particular ways to align with a SGD culture characterized by effectiveness and efficiency.

I then turn to discuss the challenges and dangers related to "representing success" in the SGD sector through images, photos and videos – tools used by all entities in the aid constellation (SNGO, INGO and STNC) to establish "aid effectiveness," and the ultimate achievements of SGD interventions like the martial arts program. I argue that it is important to recognize the precarious ways that these representations play into the racialized relations of aid.

6.2.1 Is Sport, Gender and Development a "Business?" NGOization and Hierarchies of Class

Most interviewees (besides the young women and some of the SNGO staff, who were not directly involved in discussions of aid effectiveness or donor relations, though they were certainly influenced by it) referred to the increasing professionalization, privatization and 'business like' conduct of NGOs working in development, and more specifically in SGD. There were those who supported this vision for the SGD industry, particularly interviewees from INGO and STNC. As Barbara (CSR Manager, STNC, October 2009) put it,

> …you know, to be fair – development is a business. There's inputs and outputs. And in the end, you know, we talk about this a lot with [INGO]. You've gotta raise money, and we've gotta spend money. The equation fundamentally is the same as a private sector company. Now, the goals may be different, but you can't spend money you don't raise – whether you're selling something, or getting funding, or a combination.

Barbara further argued that many NGOs working in sport for development mistakenly "viewed the private sector only as a piggy bank," and suggested that NGOs needed to better link their requests for funding to the core capabilities and values of TNCs in order to successfully compete in the development industry. She cited Right To Play as one NGO that had effectively accomplished this feat. Lesley (Board Member, INGO, October 2009) argued that INGO successfully partnered with STNC in a way that truly harnessed that latter's core capabilities:

> So, my impression is that [STNC] has a very great influence on [INGO], and that actually probably [INGO] wouldn't exist without [STNC]….I don't have a problem with that, I think that – of course – that [STNC] will push the sports economy solution to economic empowerment. Which I don't agree with, but

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that's ok. But, they, they have a network that is very valuable to [INGO], they

have a – the people from [SNTC] that I've met working with [INGO] are first

class strategists and they bring a level of sophistication to [INGO] that otherwise

wouldn't be there. So, you know – it, it – I wouldn't have problems working with

other sports companies. I think that it's a way of helping those companies do good

in the world. So, yes. That's how I feel about it…. I mean, this idea that

corporations have to make business plans and do research before they take action,

and know what they're doing – but non-profits don't? It's just wrong! I mean,

non-profits are taking peoples money and they need to be effective with that

money.

Lesley's contradictory words are notable: because INGO partnered/was funded by STNC, and

because both organizations focused on sport, they had to impel a sport-based economic

development model, when Lesley would have preferred simply promoting economic

development (and not necessarily using sport).

Charlotte (CSR Analyst, STNC, October 2009) maintained that the most sophisticated

SGD NGOs were those that were able to "successfully hire people that came from the private

sector that know marketing, and they can do 'that pitch'… and they've got enough staff to

operate at the sales level." Natalie, a Regional CSR STNC employee who worked in its African

headquarters, explained how NGOs in Africa were not very refined or "developed" and as such

required STNC's assistance to acquire this specialized business expertise:

 I think there's a lot of support you have to give to the NGO, also mainly in

[Southern African country], NGOs are not that highly developed. You have to

help them from running their finances, and we have to help them from putting

together the curriculum that they're going to use – for a sport NGO. You have to

help them! You know, to build their website. In [Southern African country] still

there's a lot of development of capacitating needs that they require to be fully

fledged NGOs. There's a lot of support that you need to provide the NGO with

along with way.

For Charlotte, "capacitating needs" meant that NGOs should "have the capacity to deliver." As

she explained further, this quality was critical for attracting corporate partners: "so, right now a

lot of the partners that we work with who are entrepreneurial need a lot of capacity building so

that they can even figure out how to make the right pitch to the right business!" At the same

time, Louise (CSR Analyst, STNC, October 2009) stressed that NGOs in the Two-Thirds World

should not rely too heavily on corporations and corporate brands for financial support, and to

enhance their capacity-building strategies.

You know, it's very easy for an NGO to really heavily lean on a brand. And

things change very quickly with this restructuring and reorganization and people

change. And those personal relationships change. And how, you can make it more

of a long term sustainable program rather than, you know – so having a good exit

strategy and making it clear from the start – oh, this is what we're going to fund,

this much for this long, and this support. But then, you need to be self-sustaining

and have a diverse portfolio of donors. So that you're not relying on one donor. I

think that's the challenge, because the minute a brand comes in, but we've got the

support of, say [STNC]. But then, they need to really go after those other donors.

And from a wide range of areas where its local businesses in somewhere like

[East African Country], and then bigger NGOs and then brands, and having this

portfolio of donors, so if one goes, it's not the end of the program. And I think

that, for me is the most difficult part, is getting that across, and making that work,

and making them sustainable.

In stark contrast to Louise's contentions above, and Natalie's former description of the NGOs she worked with in Southern Africa, SNGO neatly fit into the model of a refined development entity. Not only did SNGO run its own health care centre, primary school and social enterprise, but it was also strategically organized with multiple departments including finance, public relations, human resources, monitoring and evaluation, and IT. SNGO was certainly viewed as a growing, and lucrative, "business" in Uganda. According to George (Co-Founder, SNGO, Field Notes, November 16, 2009), SNGO expanded from three staff members to approximately one hundred in ten years (this number was confirmed later during interviews with Matt and Brett, the Directors of SNGO). This number did not include the young women volunteering their time as martial arts trainers (although a few of them were paid stipends).

Immediately upon arriving in Entebbe, James, one of SNGO's drivers / transportation coordinators, commented that "everyone who works for non-profits in Uganda are seen as people who make lots of money" (Field Notes, November 16, 2009). The relatively privileged lives of SNGO staff, in comparison to the people they served, was also briefly acknowledged by Alex and Ellen (SNGO staff members), but was otherwise rarely mentioned during interviews, though class was often inferred. For example, Matt and Brett (Directors of SNGO, both born and raised in the Winita District) spoke of their university educations in Western Europe, where they received business training from prominent schools. Most of SNGO's senior management frequently traveled back and forth to the UK for conferences, meetings, and to attend to matters at SNGO's UK office. Some (e.g., George, Katie, Matt, Brett, and Liz) had even lived in the UK

and Europe for long periods of time (e.g., Brett had only moved back to Winita three months before I had arrived. Before that, he had been living with his family in the UK for eight years). Brett, Matt, Katie and Liz were all Ugandan citizens, but pursued multiple degrees in the UK (some graduate degrees), and George was a British citizen who met Katie while teaching at a private school in Kenya.

Issues of class and citizenship are extremely relevant in the context of neo-liberal NGO-led empowerment. Differences in education, upbringing, perspective and social location link closely to the inherent struggles, ironies and contradictions of feminist NGO workers experiences, lifestyles and appearances in relation to the marginalized lives of those who are targeted by the activist-centered work they conduct (see Sangtin Writers & Nagar, 2006). In many ways, the sophistication of SNGO staff (in terms of business attire, the locations of their homes in Winita, their access to education) speak to issues of NGOization (further explained in Chapter Two), which is imperative for contextualizing the power struggles SNGO negotiated on a daily basis as they fought for women and girls' rights while trying to survive and thrive in a competitive neo-liberal economic climate. Brett (Director Monitoring and Evaluation, SNGO, November 2009) highlighted these issues by noting that the need to operate "as a business" was crucial for SNGO's survival:

> I think [NGOs] need to run like a business, in the sense that they must add value….The whole concept of NGO must have come from the North. There were programs happening here [in Uganda], but they were not that formal, they were taking a totally different form. But what we have today, many of them seem to have taken the shape of the Northern NGOs. And many of those are charities. And what I see here is more than charities. The NGOs that are here need to really

develop a certain political involvement, they must change people's perceptions,

they must change people's aspirations, and they must almost be political. And to

that extent, they must show how they're adding that value. So, in business it may

be profit, and then you're choosing your different areas that you're focusing on. I

think NGOs must do that […] It would be good to demonstrate that they're

making a difference.

Brett's comments speak to broader debates about funding and donor relations in the development

literature. Even more interesting is his observation that hegemonic development ideals are

emerging in Uganda vis-à-vis notions of "charity" instilled by NGOs in the One-Third World.

According to him, the formalized organizational structures that largely characterize SNGO's

work did not necessarily exist in Uganda's third sector prior to the emergence of Northern

NGOs.[41] Certainly, Brett's concerns link to the wider depoliticization of development work in

Uganda, and the ways that it has potentially become formalized, technical, and structured by

development hegemony. Brett also pinpoints key tensions between political aspirations to

facilitate social change, and turning a profit while managing an NGO like a formalized business.

Such tensions ultimately involve reconciling and negotiating the uncomfortable terrain of

what it means to "fund social change," and how NGOs in the Two-Thirds World should merge

grassroots interests and challenges with the reality of fragile economies, and the demands and

agendas of development organizations from the One-Third World (Pearce, 2010).[42] These

observations center on current debates pertaining to the ways NGOs must negotiate and position

themselves as political actors on a very complex terrain of funding mechanisms, social change,

and power relationships. Almost all INGO and STNC interviewees described how funding social

change would ultimately involve effective aid, technical solutions, and the uptake of their SGD

knowledge by the NGOs they supported; where an injection of money, strategic insights and professionalization would result in particular outcomes.

For example, INGO's mission was to create a sophisticated baseline evaluation strategy to quantify the successes and "impacts" of the NGOs they funded (Rosie, Program Director, INGO, October 2009). INGO's 2010-2012 Strategic Plan describes how INGO measured the accomplishments and progress of the NGOs it supported (mostly in the Two-Thirds World) by dividing them into two separate categories. First, "flagships" were identified as NGOs that "score high" on four key criteria: "innovation in model or activities, impact and social change on women's rights position on the individual and community level, potential for sustainability and scale-up, and finally, influencer criteria" (INGO Strategic Plan, 2010-2012). Second, "incubators" [were] organizations that score high on innovation and impact but they are generally delivering at a small scale (e.g., 100-300 girls) and their organizational capacity and influencing abilities [were] still quite young in their development" (INGO Strategic Plan, 2010-2012). SNGO was highly regarded by INGO as one of their most innovative, large scale and successful "flagship" entities.

According to their Strategic Plan, INGO planned to "carefully monitor and evaluate both flagship and incubators to verify progress, and essentially, ensure the programs they fund prove to be worthwhile investments" – in other words, flourishing SGD programs. INGO staff frequently mentioned the development of a baseline report, an idea Megan (Former Research Manager, INGO) said they emulated from STNC. In fact, a chain of accountability was insisted upon: STNC ensured that INGO was using its (STNC's) monitoring and evaluation framework, and INGO subsequently decided to utilize the same evaluative structure with the NGOs it funded in the Two-Thirds World. Thus, on the surface, all monitoring and evaluation systems seemed to

be stemming from STNC's guidelines. For Rosie (Program Director, INGO, October 2009), the aim of these practices was to facilitate NGOs in the Two-Thirds World to build their own internal governance structures.

> Once they're [NGOs in the Two-Thirds World] a partner, the reality is then we start to kind of influence. Like, we want you to try these questions basically, we want to teach you to "make the case." And hopefully, because we've done our pilot well, we know it'll be something you think is worthwhile as well. We want you to participate in this external evaluation.

In effect, Lesley (board member, INGO, October, 2009) suggested that these meticulous evaluation systems were the "value proposition" INGO provided to the NGOs it funded.

> So, you could question why would you give money to [INGO] rather than to one of these programs [SGD NGOs in the Two-Thirds World] directly. I mean, the only answer can be that we're adding value by being there. And we can only add value when we're helping these programs perform better. And that's also why the whole guidelines thing…the idea, developing strong guidelines which can then – which we can also work for the organizations to implement, would be a value-add. So, that's the accountability of the programs.

INGO interviewees expressed that their evaluation system was a crucial part of the SGD aid constellation because of their ability to monitor and influence the SGD NGOs they funded, to enable these groups to professionalize, and, as Lesley suggested, "perform better." INGO aimed to improve practices, efficiency and evaluation mechanisms by creating incentives for the NGOs they funded to "compete" against one other to eventually become flagships, or the "gold standard," (Rosie, Program Director, INGO, Field Notes, October 22, 2009). In other words,

these sophisticated baseline evaluation systems, designed to "make the case" that SGD "worked," were a service that INGO needed to "sell" to SGD NGOs in the Two-Thirds World with whom they partnered. Julie (Founder and Executive Director, INGO, October 2009) explained this in the following way:

> I think the stakeholders on the ground, what we need to do – why that's really important – is, we need to make the case. We need to show that sport is actually going to help them to do a better job. So that's why the 'Make the Case' pillar is so key. We need to show those organizations, the women's movement group, the people on the ground – like, hey, if you use sport, if you introduce it, your impact around violence, or empowerment or reproductive or sexual rights are going to be significantly better. And this is how you can do it. And we give you the examples, and you can connect with them, you can hear from them, you can learn from them, we might even pay for your trip there. And here is all the documents that you need online to do it. And if you want more, we can even come in and train you!

INGO staff consistently referred to the need to "properly train" the NGOs they funded in the Two-Thirds World to "prove" that their SGD programs were, in fact, successful. SNGO staff seemed equally concerned with proving their SGD program was thriving, and also noted the value of competition among NGOs in terms of improving practices and program delivery. For example, Ellen (Former M & E Officer, SNGO, November 2009) stressed the importance of other NGOs in Uganda providing similar programs that addressed women's and girls' rights, domestic violence, and abuse, which she maintained would improve SNGO's practices:

Let's say if I'm producing a product, and no one else is producing it, I won't

know how the community feels, am I producing the right quality? Should I

improve, should I not? Because since I'm the only producer, they keep coming to

buy it even if it's bad or good, I mean they'll say it's good. But if someone else,

some other competitor, I'd really want to know why it is that the others are going

there. Why is it that that product is bought more than mine? So I will try to

improve on mine – so if someone else can come up, I don't think that it's only

restricted to [SNGO]. And we can't reach everyone out there.

Matt, Brett, and Ryan (SNGO staff, November 2009) also discussed the importance of

competition among NGOs for improving practices and staying aggressive in a ruthless

development marketplace.

Nonetheless, competing for funding with other NGOs was frustrating, as SNGO

interviewees described how they felt as though they had to take any form of aid available, or else

another entity might eagerly seize it. Liz (Senior Manager, M&E, SNGO, November 2009) noted

that she was particularly discouraged by forms of tied aid, where donors would only agree to

fund certain elements of their programs at the expense of others. Transportation, health care, and

education were viewed as the least attractive items for donors to fund, because these areas were

viewed as "government responsibilities." As Liz explained

…you know the thing is you can never tell when a donor will stop, so you just

have to keep on fundraising. On and on. And probably, you see [SNGO] itself is

multidimensional. We have so many projects. For example, I can see a lot of

funding for women's rights, and women's activities. But we also have a school

and health centre. And I think many donors feel that that's a government aspect,

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yeah? So, you find it's very, very hard to get funding for a school and the health

centre.

As David Harvey (2005, p. 177) asserts, the rise of NGOs alongside neo-liberalism is not

coincidental; rather, he suggests that "NGOs have in many instances stepped into the vacuum in

social provision left by the (forced) withdrawal of the state from such activities. This amounts to

privatization by NGO." Harvey's contentions shed light on Liz's observations that SNGO's

funders – a mix of International NGOs, One-Third World government development agencies

(e.g., the Danish government), and corporations – would not support social programs that,

arguably, the Ugandan government should be funding. And yet, six of the eleven interviewees

from SNGO frequently highlighted government corruption as a strong impediment to their work.

For example, during my last evening in Winita, I had dinner with Liz, Elisa, Trisha, and Liz's

sister. When Liz arrived, she was extremely distressed, as she had spent an exhausting three

sleep deprived days trying to adjust SNGO's programming requirements so that they would

meet the allocated budget. This instigated an animated conversation about the politics of

funding, and what the responsibilities of the state should be in terms of supporting SNGO's

work. Liz contented that, if only government corruption were tackled, she would have more

resources available to address programming needs, to expand SNGO's health centre and primary

school (Field Notes, November 26, 2009). She further lamented that, although Uganda received

a significant amount of aid from the Global Fund, "none of that money was seen in the local

communities" (Field Notes, November 26, 2009).

Elisa (Field Notes, November 26, 2009) also described how corruptive practices were not

only at the national level, but on a local scale. She explained how doctors and health care

workers constantly stole drugs from the hospitals, and then sold them "on the street for higher

prices." She also recounted that the police had to be paid to come to one's home when assessing robberies, domestic violence cases, and even murders. SNGO often covered this fee as part of their domestic violence prevention programs, another way in which they covered the gap in government services (Alex, Domestic Violence counsellor, November, 2009). Of course, according to Brett and Matt (Directors, SNGO, November, 2009) this lacuna was further exacerbated by the global financial crisis, as SNGO was expected to provide health, education and other services because government funding was particularly constrained. Brett clarified how corruptive government practices meant that SNGO often "looked to external funders" (in the One-Third World) to fund their activities:

> Government [in Uganda] is not very good. The funding doesn't come, you sign
>
> for contracts and are asked to account for money which hasn't come. So, you
>
> don't receive the money. If you receive it, it comes now at the end. And so you
>
> never really get to implement the program. And then, there's a lot of interference
>
> – political interference, because the policies keep changing and keep getting
>
> handed down to you. So, you have very little control, and then you lose your
>
> independence. You can't challenge them… It's very, very much sort of top down
>
> …Or the money comes fully prescribed. So, you can't – you really have no
>
> flexibility to respond.

Moyo (2009) submits that the corrupt practices of African governments are merely perpetuated by their eternal dependence on aid from the One-Third World.[43] Thus, due to a myriad of related factors, including corrupt government practices, and the culture of aid dependency upheld by the One-Third World, SNGO was constantly applying for grants, and searching for donors from the

One-Third World to fund their programs – programs that filled the gap in social service provision which the Ugandan state could not provide.

According to Harvey (2005, p. 77), this process constitutes a deliberate neo-liberal shift from "government" (state power on its own) to "governance," (a broader configuration of state and key elements in civil society), where "the practices of neo-liberal and developmental state broadly converge." A certain irony is evident here, in that, though NGOs are meant to address core concerns around social inequality and marginalization, they are often aversely and/or inescapably active participants in a "market-driven competition for scarce resources" (Wilson & Hayhurst, 2009, p. 174). Cooley and Ron (2002) coin this phenomenon as "marketization of aid funding" which, from an economic perspective, is assumed to increase efficiency, enhance the quality of NGO programming by creating competition, and control corruptive NGO practices. However, others counter that this marketization actually drives dysfunction and deters NGOs away from their stated objectives and normative missions (Cooley & Ron, 2002). In fact, it is possible to take up both sides of this debate and apply them to the entities being studied for this research. I further consider these debates and issues in more depth in the final section of this chapter on agency and social entrepreneurship.

INGO staff and board members such as Ginny and Lesley suggested that some NGOs didn't "work hard enough" to locate external funding, and appeared to be genuinely surprised about the challenges experienced by these entities to locate funding and support (particularly those in the Two-Thirds World):

> I think a lot of the time, NGOs work in offices that look like they are in a refugee camp! I mean, NGOs are surrounded by crappy computers, not the right people. I

mean, if you want to do it right, get the right computers, get the right people, get

the right advice (Ginny, Former Advocacy Director, INGO, October, 2009).

And yet, Ginny's stipulations only provoke further questions: for example, who are the "*right*

people" and who would provide the "*right* advice" to these NGOs? What does "right" mean in

practice – and who defines these normative positions (i.e., "right" from "wrong") when it comes

to NGO programming and practice? And what do Ginny's comments imply about power

relations and global inequalities when it comes to NGOs involved in development work?

Overall, the ethnographic data and interview excerpts demonstrate that *both* INGO and

SNGO were certainly being subjected to "new managerialist" norms, where "the insertion of the

theories and techniques of business management and the 'cult of excellence" were shaping their

behaviour and organizational practices (Ball, 1998, p. 123). Therefore, I argue that both INGO

and SNGO were, in many ways, contributing to the acceleration of further state withdrawal from

social provision.[44] While these findings may not be novel in the context of development work, of

interest were the ways that these discourses of efficiency, competition and managerialism

appeared to be translated in a hierarchical manner; but SNGO staff were quick to challenge this

assumption, suggesting (for the most part) during interviews that they had ultimate decision-

making control over their own programming and funding (e.g., Brett, Matt, Liz). And yet, there

were important moments I witnessed outside of the interview context (such as the account

described above by Liz during dinner) where SNGO staff were tediously and diligently striving

to accommodate the monitoring and evaluation requests of their donors. In fact, evaluation

system used for the SGD program was originally designed by STNC, and passed onto and re-

adapted by SNGO vis-à-vis INGO, as further explained throughout this chapter.

Interviews with INGO staff, in particular, demonstrated that they were particularly concerned with being accountable to their donors and board members, but not the NGOs they funded. It seemed that only when I brought up the idea of "downwards accountability," did interviewees from INGO start to contemplate putting an evaluation system in place that would involve SNGO, and other NGOs they funded in the Two-Thirds World, providing feedback and assessments on how *INGO* conducted itself in their "partnerships." After my interviews with INGO staff, they held a meeting, in which they decided they wanted me to become involved in a new process of improved accountability to aid recipients. They wanted me to by help them design a survey using "Survey Monkey" to be sent out to all of the NGOs they funded in the Two-Thirds World. I quickly declined, as I felt taking on this task would complicate my already nebulous relationship with INGO as an "external" researcher (Field Notes, October 22, 2009).

The issues of NGOization and upwards accountability, are not necessarily novel in SDP research. Certainly, some sport sociologists (e.g., Armstrong, 2004) have accused SDP NGOs, such as Right To Play, of indulging in market-centered approaches to development through the widespread marketing and public relations campaigns of their corporate sport partners, while also suggesting that these NGOs are more focused on signing sport celebrities to their cause than on using sport as a tool to facilitate development. Nevertheless, my research shows how both NGOs in the One-Third and Two-Thirds World experience global neo-liberalism in multifaceted ways that cannot necessarily be detached from one another. That is, I suggest that INGO is able to provide funding and services for SNGO *because the Ugandan state is unable to do so* (for a further discussion of corruptive government practices in the political economic context of Uganda, see Chapter Four). In many ways, INGO's very existence, and thriving business, is predicated on the very dysfunction, corruption and failure of the Ugandan state. Furthermore,

STNC's corporate social responsibility agenda also benefits from the past failures of structural adjustment programs that have perpetuated and reinforced global inequalities, uneven trade systems, and relative poverty in Uganda. STNC therefore "looks good" for providing resources to INGO, and subsequently, INGO is perceived as a saviour by SNGO staff for allocating funds to its martial arts program (even though they would not cover the transportation of the trainers to and from the various schools where the program was held, as transportation was not viewed as an "attractive aspect" of the program to fund).

During interviews, some SNGO staff (perhaps understandably) went to great lengths to relay their appreciation for the benevolence of INGO, expressing their gratitude throughout interviews, which may have been related to their perception of me as an ally or evaluator who worked with INGO, though I went to great lengths to clarify this relationship (as explained in Chapter Four). For example, as Ryan recounted:

> My prayers are on the one that [INGO] sponsors this program longer. Because it has really given much, much support. This is a new initiative which has not been there. [INGO] really needs to be given credit on this. Because without them I guess this program would not really be there. Or at least in a very very minimal capacity. But [INGO] really given lots of support. And, if [INGO] can mobilize more funds to make this bigger, growing and growing bigger I think it would be a very good thing.

At the same time, Julie (Founder and Executive Director, INGO, October 2009) claimed that INGO had an exit strategy, that they were not a business who needed "constant work."

We should be out of this world in 30 years – no more than 30 years….We're not a

business, we're an NGO and I think that's what we need to be. And then

hopefully then there's more donors or people who want to invest and support the

programs because they see the need of it. And if we're able to set that up and

make people excited and make a case for that, then I think our job is done!

These issues speak to recent debates in the SDP literature that have emerged concerning whether

UN agencies, donors and NGOs in the One-Third World drive neo-liberal tendencies in

development work, and subsequently coerce NGOs in the Two-Thirds World to become

instruments of neo-liberal implementation. Lindsey and Grattan (in press) counter that Southern

NGOs (and other, more informal entities working in SDP, such as local community and faith-

based groups) facilitate and take up hegemonic neo-liberal practices, policies and ideologies that

originate in the One-Third World (whether from the UN Office on Sport for Development and

Peace, or SDP NGOs headquartered in the One-Thirds World such as Right To Play). An

abundance of research on SDP has focused on the dominance of Northern (or "internationally

based") NGOs, and the possibility that these entities might be professionalizing, co-opting, and

re-orienting the grassroots, or corrupting the identities of more "grassroots" or small-scale

groups in the Two-Thirds World that have been conducting SDP without influence from funders

or Northern hegemonic agendas (e.g., Darnell, 2010a, b; Hayhurst, Wilson & Frisby, 2011). In

speaking to these issues, Lindsey and Grattan (in press, p. 42), on their research examining local

communities engaged in SDP programs in Zambia, argue that the groups they studied possessed

"more scope to exert their own agency than is often implied by portrayals of Northern power

within the sport-for-development movement." However, I suggest that their emphasis on agency

and resistance needs to be qualified by recent literature by postcolonial development feminists

that suggests the notions of 'agency' and 'choice' have been incorporated in neo-liberal development discourses, whereby the attention has shifted away from the material structures of power and gendered ideologies, to focusing on the individual's notion for self-improvement (Agathangelou & Ling, 2009; Wilson, 2008, 2011). I further elaborate on these claims in the next section, alongside discussions of expert transnational corporate knowledge and neo-liberal modes of governmentality.

6.2.2 Expert (Transnational) Corporate Knowledge and Neo-liberal Governmentality

A vast array of literature demonstrates that knowledge (which is accepted as truth), is often produced by experts in order to manage populations (Foucault, 1978; Li 2007). This scholarship is also concerned with issues of legitimacy, authority and the power of expert (transnational) private knowledge. These items speak to the finding that corporate sponsors were able to "preside over" SGD programs based on their position as specialists with professional knowledge on how to create "successful" SGD initiatives, and to intervene where the state has potentially failed to build and provide environments conducive to promoting gender equality, physical activity participation and wellbeing (see Chapter Four for more on involvement of Ugandan government in SNGO's programming). More broadly, this finding also corresponds to and builds on findings noted in the previous section and other studies on sport for development that illustrate the concurrence of increased NGO 'professionalization' and neo-liberal development approaches, which fosters competition for funds and donors between NGOs working in SDP (e.g., Hayhurst, Wilson & Frisby, 2011; Wilson & Hayhurst, 2009).

For example, as part of an employee engagement strategy, CSR staff were deployed to an Eastern African country to share their 'business knowledge' with a SGD NGO they were funding. [45] When speaking of her time volunteering in East Africa, Louise (CSR Analyst, STNC,

October 2009) discussed how STNC's support for this particular SGD NGO lent legitimacy and credibility to the NGO's policy voice, and strengthened their visibility on key issues pertaining to issues related to gender inequality, social development and elite sport development:

> So by kind of supporting this NGO, we've [STNC] basically raised the profile of women's football in Rwanda. Where as before it wasn't really supported, and wasn't getting any funds at all. You know, they were getting, they started to have a voice at the federation at that level, and then getting some funds.

At the same time, Louise discussed her increased sensitivity and concern for the "power" she felt she held over the SGD NGO staff members. She said she was concerned because she sensed she had "too much influence" over the African NGO's "agendas and plans." She attributed this to the authority of STNC's brand:

> Whenever [STNC's] brand is involved, it's almost like… I have to be careful not to influence them [SGD NGOs in the South] too much, because they want to please the donor…I have to be very sensitive not to try control or direct their agenda or their plan…If I said "oh you should do this," they'd go "yeah, we'll do that!" It was very interesting for me, you know? Because when you come from a Western, corporate environment, it's very easy – you think you're helping but you're almost changing the direction or changing the content. And that was something that I learned very early on, because I was representing [STNC], that I could really, I mean – I had to really be sensitive to the fact that they would try to do whatever they could to make sure that we were happy. And I didn't want that to happen – I wanted it to be a plan that they would own, and absolutely culturally sensitive. So, that's important. And I think that would be the same to anybody

whose donating to these projects. And that – you can very easily make them

switch direction and switch focus and put things in their program and their plan.

Because it would make you happy, and you're their source of funding, you know

PR, a product or whatever (Louise, CSR Analyst, STNC, October 2009).

Four other interviewees spoke of the need to help disseminate "business savvy skills" across the

"SGD sector." To accomplish this, STNC created its own formalized social network (online and

offline) among the NGOs in order to ensure limited resources were used in productive ways.

Essentially [the network] was a [STNC] driven initiative – where…Because of

limited resources, this is the only way we [STNC staff] can support a lot more

NGOs into those connections. And essentially what we're doing is helping them

with their capacity building. So we use their employees, we'd host a workshop

twice in the year, and we'd invite the NGOs to that workshop, and the topic

would range from PR, management, digital marketing…those kind of topics

(Natalie, Regional CSR Representative, October 2009).

Thus, STNC employees contributed to the (seemingly) one-way flow of practices and knowledge

from the perceived 'civilized North' to the 'uncivilized South', which Razack (2004) suggests

creates a framework of 'citizens' and 'non-citizens' that works to confirm the humanitarian

character of development interventions (Razack 2004). Such initiatives carve a neo-liberal space

for NGOs in the Two-Thirds World, where staff are able to self-regulate and discipline

themselves to be a 'business conscientious' population who are now 'better prepared' to survive

and thrive in the competitive, neo-liberal climate of development work. They also attended

workshops held by INGO and STNC to help build these skills, as Rosie (Program Director,

INGO, October 2009) and Charlotte (CSR Analyst, STNC, October 2009) both explained during their interviews.

As noted earlier in this chapter, numerous staff from SNGO discussed how their organization was already very business savvy. In fact, SNGO staff were able to use their own resources and moral authority to essentially retain state responsibilities by attempting to provide solutions to social problems such as domestic violence, poverty and gender inequality. However, despite the apparent influence of INGO and STNC in promoting SNGO's professionalization, branding and sophisticated monitoring and evaluation skills, Matt (Director, IT & Enterprise Development, SNGO, November 2009) decisively pointed out that SNGO was *not* "donor driven:"

> Our experience with [INGO] has been very good, because we developed, we had
> a lot of communication and developed the [martial arts program] together, you
> know? Until we were both comfortable with it. This was what we feel we want to
> do.…So, fortunately in [SNGO] we haven't yet, and we don't hope to, be fully
> donor driven.

In fact, Brett and Liz argued that SNGO was autonomous, and not restricted by donor knowledge and high expectations. SNGO maintained its own monitoring and evaluation systems, and several interviewees noted that it was not forced into any asymmetrical funding relationships that jeopardized independence (Brett, Matt, Liz, Mark). It is, then, *extremely imperative* to note that these assertions contradict Lesley's contention that she felt she was able to control and direct SGD NGOs in the Two-Thirds World through her status as a STNC employee associated with a powerful global brand. And yet, despite these assertions, Liz (Senior Manager, Monitoring and Evaluation, STNC, November 2009) disclosed the utter pressure she experienced while trying to

report back to, and impress, multiple donors. Liz's comments undeniably reinforce the downwards accountability (and lack of upwards accountability) that tended to mark SNGO-INGO-STNC relations.

> There is a lot of information, all donors need their kind of information, and we
> have to try and work a lot to integrate into our [monitoring and evaluation]
> system. To try and build everything so that we can have all the relevant
> information for the donor who needs it. And it's also a lot of planning. Almost all
> year round we are having deadlines. And the reports almost every quarter, almost
> every other quarter, you know? You have some kind of report to send to a
> donor.… It's a bit demanding.

The expertise of STNC was not only about ensuring that NGOs it funded were managed "like a business" by professionalizing NGO accountability systems, but also centered on filling the 'governance gap' (as discussed in earlier parts of this chapter) by providing services and welfare needs for girls, including as Barbara (CSR Manager, STNC, October 2009) maintained, services outside the realm of their "core competencies." In fact, Barbara provided an example of how far STNC would go to become involved in supplying, and then branding, basic needs for girls and women in an African refugee camp where their employees were volunteering on a SGD project.

> It was interesting when we asked the girls in [refugee camp], what do you need to
> participate in sports? Menstrual pads. So we created two factories and, again,
> that's not [STNC's] job…. We created two or three factories, one in each of the
> camps. And what they did is they made menstrual pads. The workers got paid a
> small amount of money, and they – because without menstrual pads, girls can't go
> to school and they can't play sports. One week out of the month you're home. If

you're a week out of the month home, there's no way you keep up with your

studies, you quit school. So, the second thing they said was, "we really need our

own toilets"… they painted [STNC's logo] on it. [STNC's] not in the toilet

business, but if the girls were going to play sport, they needed their own toilet;

they could not, in that society, risk being dishonored or dishonoring their families

by not having their own toilets, so we said okay, toilets!

In this example, STNC may be applauded for successfully providing basic sanitation and health

needs for girls and women in this particular refugee camp, and subsequently creating more

opportunities for their participation in sporting activities, the larger structural inequalities that

prevent these services from being provided in the first place are (for the most part) ignored.[46] In

effect, there is an assumption here that socially responsible practices involve solving social and

environmental problems through the use of appropriate managerial practices in ways that create

wealth and improve societies (Khan & Lund-Thomsen, 2011, p. 75). It seems, then, that

important decisions about social welfare are made through TNCs that act as "philanthropic

governors," which, in effect, represent the actions of a wealthy entity with enough "surplus

wealth," or "philanthropic governing capacity," to extend corporatized, privatized

understandings of well-being and health over distant Others (Nickel & Eikenberry, 2009, p. 271).

What may be more useful is to critically question the broader social, economic and

political forces that lead to the private authority of STNC in the first place. For example, what

role was this particular country's government playing? How did systems of global inequality

enable STNC to use its "transnational private authority" in this particular situation? Effectively,

then, I am advocating that STNC – although "not in the toilet business" – was able to step in and

fill the 'governance gap' by providing this service (while in the meantime branding the bathroom with their company logo).

STNC interviewees maintained that they were sensitive to the variety of cultural contexts where they worked by partnering with "local" NGOs or groups that would help re-work their products, or philanthropic acts, into culturally meaningful programs and items. As Amy (Regional CSR Representative, STNC, October 2009) explained:

We really, just from a business point of view, we have business in Africa but we do it through distributors. And hopefully they're going to check cultural sensitivity. So I think that the best way is partnerships, you have people on the ground who really understand the culture and the partner. That's the only way. And still we make mistakes on very basic things – translation – we come up with a line that's so American!

Similarly, while working in a rural village with a SGD NGO as part of STNC's employee engagement program, Louise (CSR Analyst, STNC, October 2009) described the importance of engaging with the local men and boys in order to convince them that women and girls should be allowed to kick soccer balls:

I think the thing that stood out for me in [East African country] is that it was really, um, not acceptable for girls and women to kick a ball. You know, with the sports – like dancing, or whatever – ok, but to kick a football was really unacceptable. So, when [STNC staff] went into the out into the provinces, so at a more provincial level, they [STNC staff] really have to persuade the male leaders in those communities that it was acceptable for the girls and for the women to play football and to kick a ball. It was this sort of raising your leg to kick a football that is just not acceptable culturally in [East African country]. So, they

have those barriers to break down originally. But I think that was okay. As long as they worked with those leaders within the villages and within the provinces and they took it out of [East African country's capital city] into the more rural areas.

Finally, Barbara (CSR Manager, STNC, October 2009) noted that, while on a CSR mission in Southern Africa, she had to use the local expertise and identity of her African colleague in order to fully understand why the girls there weren't playing soccer:

[Without] bras and underwear – not really sexy, adolescent girls cannot play sports. Would you, at 12 or 13, would you have played sports without a bra? I mean, even the girls that were the least developed – it's really a kind of weird age. You know, physically. I was in [Southern African country] at a program and I kept asking, you know – over two days, I kept asking – so why aren't the girls playing football? And they kept telling me, well, the girls don't like football. And I kept saying – I don't really know any 12 year old that doesn't like to run around and kick the ball…. Didn't make sense. Finally, I got my [Southern African] co-worker who was there to ask the girls and they said we don't have underwear, and if we fall down, we really would be in big trouble of getting sexually assaulted. So, cause I saw them when the boys left – I saw them kick the ball around, and I was like "huh"? And that was my big "aha" moment. It was like, oh my God, we've been focusing on making sure they have the right shoes and the right, you know, equipment, and they need underwear! So, you know, can you do a sports economy around that? It is not rocket science to make bras and underwear, menstrual pads.

Barbara's story demonstrates that, through STNC's work with local partners, not only were they able to gain key insights into new markets (e.g., undergarments and sanitary services for girls), but also exert their neo-missionary power by observing, and then deciding, the "real reasons" as to why girls weren't playing sports (e.g., lack of basic needs such as sanitary napkins, bras and underwear – all issues which could be addressed through STNC's private authority, product donations and its sheer economic power).[47] Taken together, the interview excerpts from Louise, Barbara and Amy also demonstrate the ways that STNC staff positioned themselves as White Western women, and business "experts," trying to negotiate their racialized and gendered subject positions through their "philanthropic" work across Africa.

In many ways, STNC staff tried to negate their position as benevolent philanthropists by suggesting that they were only listening to the needs of, and working with, the "locals on the ground" – an assertion that may very well be true in this particular case. STNC staff, then, were merely demonstrating their altruistic mandate as a socially responsible company that cared about the health and wellbeing of girls in the Two-Thirds World. Indeed, the importance of partnering with local groups, NGOs, and community organizers was constantly referred to throughout interviews with STNC (and INGO) staff. As Louise (CSR Analyst, STNC, October 2009) argued,

> …it's better [for STNC] to partner with local NGOs who really know, you know a good solid sustainable program on the ground. Who, you know, know how to operate in that country, culturally aware. And to, you know, go into partnership rather than we could do it without them really in those countries, it has to be a partnership.

Between lending professional advice to Southern NGOs involved in SGD, tapping into new markets for girls' sporting products, and providing services that perhaps should have been allocated to the state, STNC's tactics seem to represent "technologies of power through their surveillance and normative effects" McDermott (2007, p. 308-309). That is, "experts play a critical role in determining what aspects of people's lives require guidance to ensure population welfare" (McDermott 2007, p. 309). Here, the notion of 'saving the Other' prevents a critical examination of *how* STNC (and neo-liberal globalization, sustained by elites in the One-Third World) may have contributed to their situation in the first place, and where the responsibility of One-Third World-based entities, such as STNC, lies (see Khan & Lund-Thomsen, 2011; Razack 2004). Is it STNC's responsibility to provide social and sanitation services to the citizens of this particular country in Africa? And, if this is their obligation, then what does this signify in terms of the global governance of girls' health, education and development in the Two-Thirds World? In light of these questions, I now turn to the voices of SNGO staff, and consider their reactions and possible strategies of resistance to transnational private authority as deployed through GCSE tactics.

6.2.3 Resisting GCSE Tactics? "Social Issues are not very apparent to the Corporate Sector"

I offer this section as an interlude, and as a potential reaction from SNGO, to the previous two sections pertaining to NGO professionalization and the expert authority of STNC and INGO over SGD programming. In fact, senior SNGO staff members (Matt, Brett, Liz) did not respond favourably to corporate intervention and funding of their development initiatives. As Brett (Director Monitoring and Evaluation, SNGO, November 2009) argued, corporate donors were not sustainable for SNGO, for a variety of reasons:

We really haven't had any corporate funding that responds to the whole need. If you take the [martial arts] program, you probably – they'd give the kits, or they could sponsor the event, a public event – that's as far as you can go. You can't get into a situation where there's one year funding to train 120 girls and then believe that it will be at this kind of level. We will not have that. It's too short term and too linked to things that are very commercial. They want things where they can be seen – you have to advertise them there. So that could be one problem, and of course, you're dealing with people who don't fully understand the sector….Social issues are not very apparent to the corporate sector. This thing about profit is [that's] what matters most. And so, all the problems have to be linked to that. And so, if you're working on things which are difficult to fund, like domestic violence – it's very hard to get funding from the corporate sector.

Brett presents sound reasons as to why SNGO would resist expert private authority, and demonstrates that NGOs are not necessarily always passively susceptible to corporate power and control. From his perspective, SNGO was not *directly* funded by STNC, due to the fact that STNC's funding first passed through INGO before reaching SNGO. For Matt (Director, IT and Entreprise Development, November 2009), this indirect relationship meant SNGO was able to exert more control over any corporate agendas that may have been passed on to them:

We're lucky, because in the case of [SNTC] and [INGO], we're sort of cushioned. Yeah, because [INGO] is between there, so if we have any disagreement in principal, at least there's somebody in-between. But, directly working with the corporate sector, we feel that would be a very uneasy relationship there. But, you need the funding. You really do need the funding.

Contrastingly, other SNGO staff members (e.g., Ryan and Allie) seemed eager to locate more corporate sponsors for the martial arts program, not only for the purposes of funding, but to help legitimize and ultimately expose the girls' talents on a global scale. As Ryan (Child Rights Officer, SNGO, November 2009) advocated:

> I think, when we get more sponsors for this project, when some good children be representing at international games or national games, people will see sense in this kind of sport and game. Also if children in this kind of exercise [martial arts] can really [get a] sponsor, and they get out more…. I have a feeling that the community, the nation will have to see it….If a company can come in and have the support to give, the better!

However, at the time of interviews, Brett stressed that SNGO had very little *direct* interactions with corporate partners (i.e., STNC), although they had been approached by many local and global companies. I argue, then, that part of SNGO staff's ability to resist and fend off corporate funding was not only due to their sharp business skills and highly professionalized organization, but also their drive for self-reliance and autonomy through social entrepreneurial enterprises. In section 6.5, I describe this aspect of SNGO's programming in more depth. For now, I explore how SNGO, INGO and STNC interpreted the myriad of ways that technologies of aid evaluation were deployed and taken up, with an eye to intersections of colonialism, race and gender.

6.2.4 Exploring Racialized and Gendered Technologies of Aid Evaluation

This section extends the findings discussed in section 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 by specifically considering how expert and authority and the technologies of aid evaluation are represented and "proven" through racialized and gendered NGO-donor relations and encounters. By focusing on the multiple ways that SNGO and STNC interpreted "aid effectiveness," I try to bring into

conversation discussions outlined in the previous sections around Western expert interpretations of "successful SGD," and how agency is presented through representing that "success" from the perspectives of SNGO staff.

Without question, the discursive formations of aid effectiveness use evaluative language that often conceals and misconstrues the lived realities of what "success" means on the ground (Campbell & Tegthsoonian, 2010; Mosse, 2004). Aid effectiveness, then, is often positioned as an apolitical instance of global governance, where the concerns of ruling entities (i.e., donors) are inserted into the local practices and understandings through which the targeted recipients (may) be directed and coordinated by its regulatory elements (Campbell & Tegthsoonian, 2010; Li, 2007). However, as I show in this section, those entities working in SGD "on the ground" are able to exert agency and strategically locate their own voices to donors through, for example, the power of visual representation and online testimonials as presented on their websites. I argue that it is imperative to consider these forms of "success" and representation against the notion that the hegemonic development practices of donors simply exploit their partners in the Two-Thirds World, leaving minimal space for the resistance and agency of entities such as SNGO.

Several SNGO staff spoke of the pressure to entertain, and in many cases, conform to donor demands for visual evidence that the programs they funded "worked." For instance, Ellen felt she had to prove to donors that she was "really improving girls' rights" not only through reports, but by accommodating donors who wanted to visit Winita and take photos of the girls and women participating in SNGO's programs:

> You really have to write a good report, and give maybe available evidence if
>
> that's what it takes. And also, if the donors come down [to Winita], I'm sure

they'd like to see practical [evidence]. They'd like to see the [martial arts]

program. They'd like to go out in the field and see the girls perform.

LH: So they see where their dollars are going?

E: Pictures, photos, evidence, yeah. And also, it's better if they come down to the

field and really see what's happening, what's taking place. Talking to these

children. Find out how they feel, what kind of challenges they are facing. I think

this will give them a better feeling instead of just paperwork or something.

Six SNGO staff members (Alex, Allie, Liz, Brett, Matt, Ellen) referred to the increasing field

visits made by donors to Winita, and mounting attention by the global media on the martial arts

intervention. For example, journalists from the BBC had recently visited SNGO's offices in

Winita to conduct interviews with staff for a piece they were doing on the martial arts program

shortly before I arrived. As Alex (domestic violence counselor, SNGO, November 2009)

avowed, "I feel the donors are impressed about the work we're doing. They have also come right

to the grassroots, they *have seen*, and *they know* we are doing real work. And that is why we are

still going to attract more donors."

When donor representatives arrived in Winita, sometimes preparations would be made

for the girls to perform their taekwondo and karate routines. For such occasions, SNGO's PR

department would sometimes arrange for the girls to wear their white uniforms (Field Notes,

November 22, 2009). In fact, photos of the girls practising martial arts in these uniforms are

prominently featured on INGO's website, in their annual report, and were even enlarged and

displayed on its office walls (Field Notes, October 20, 2009). The need to obtain these stories

and visuals was also important from a corporate perspective, to enhance STNC's brand.

We need more, more than M&E [monitoring and evaluation], we need content

that we can use to communicate with our employees, to our consumers, in a

compelling way. Which is more videos and stories. Which is so much more

important – and we spend way more time on that than we do on fretting about

how detailed the M&E (Charlotte, CSR Analyst, STNC, October 2009).

The idea that stories and images were important for donors was also highlighted by SNGO staff,

but Allie framed the use of these items as an instance where the voices of women and girls' in

Winita were heard, lending agency and voice to their cause (as opposed to just quantified

numbers and reports to donors):

I thought we should move away from this presentation that people usually have –

"okay donate!" or, "Oh, this woman is suffering, please, we are an organization,

please we need help here!" But we're getting so much help, ya? The donors are

giving you the money. But the fact that you are putting up the stories, you are also

showing them that you're working (Allie, Public Relations Officer, SNGO,

November 2009).

The tensions and relations between these two abovementioned quotes (Charlotte and Allie)

demonstrate the complexity of ruling relations between SNGO and STNC and ultimately speak

to the power of representation. All visual signs and images carry meaning and specific

understandings that reflect particular impressions of social relations which must be critically

interpreted (Hall, 1997; Rose, 2008). For Hall (1997, p. 226), representation becomes complex

when dealing with difference, as "it engages feelings, attitudes and emotions and it mobilizes

fears and anxieties in the viewer." Similarly, as our culture becomes increasingly visual, "how

we attempt to represent 'the reality' of ourselves and 'Others' is the primary means by which we

think, feel, and comprehend it" (Stoever, 2007, p. 42). In the context of this study, these points

are imperative, for STNC and INGO's websites, annual reports, and other media-related material are certainly spaces through which images of the "Other" (Two-Thirds World girls) are rapidly circulated, strategically situated and politically placed as evidence of SGD's "success."

For Charlotte (CSR Analyst, STNC, October 2009), the stories, photos and videos were thought to be more emotionally appealing for their consumers, and thus, enhanced STNC's ability to sell products. Here, processes of "Othering" citizens of African nations continues through recycled (mis)representations, whereby STNC (and INGO) have the private authority to select particular images, and use subaltern stories to construct Africa as they deem appropriate. Several scholars have argued that neo-colonial of representations of African people – as helpless, tacit, and passive victims – date back to the period following the Ethiopian Famine of 1984-85 (McEwan, 2009; Wilson, 2011). Such images end up formulating a uniform "story" of development, which may ultimately contribute to the discursive creation of the "Third World," and binary conceptions between the "North" and "South." More importantly, these images may also act as a "space where those dominant representations can be challenged and contested" (Cameron & Haanstra, 2008, p. 1476). This is an important caveat, as Allie (PR Officer, SNGO, November 2009) argued in the quote above: "the donors are giving you the money. But the fact that you are putting up the stories, you are also showing them that you're working!" In other words, SNGO's strategic selection of positive images, photos and stories that their PR department placed on their website, and in broader marketing materials, was absolutely paramount in terms of exerting control, voice and agency over the ways that the women and girls of Winita were being broadcasted.

Nonetheless, forms of Two-Thirds World agency need to be better elaborated within the wider interlocking systems of neo-liberal globalization, something that the abovementioned

research tends to ignore. I contend that the need for donors to see, with their *own* eyes, the

authentic moves and benefits of their funds, and then subsequently use these images on their

websites and marketing materials to 'seduce' consumers and solicit donations is not only a form

of re-colonization through the neo-liberal systems of aid, but also speaks to the ways that race,

gender, neo-liberalism and power/ knowledge intersect to create "knowable Others" through

governmental strategies.[48] Thus, the concern here is to not only focus on the discursive

dimensions and meanings of sport, gender and development; but rather, to emphasize the way

material structures that sustain particular understandings and representations of the Other and

lend them continued meaning and authority. That is, a relational materialist perspective

"recognizes the influence of the social specificities such as race, class, gender, and sexuality on

the production of knowledge and its political meanings" (Agathangelou & Ling, 2009, p. 98).

Combining these theoretical insights supports my contention that the young women and SNGO

staff are *not simply powerless* in the face of donor visits, nor are they necessarily exploited by the

use of their images on donor websites and marketing propaganda. As Ryan (Child Rights and PR

Officer, SNGO, November 2009) noted:

> In the PR [public relations] department I have also been taking their [the girls']
>
> videos and photos, and [what they] have been so much interested in, is the way
>
> they look at their photos on how they have participated in this kind of exercise.
>
> They like it so much because they feel that they are being exposed to the outside
>
> world.

Using a postcolonial, relational materialist framework, it is useful to highlight the structural

aspects of the relations among the girls, SNGO, INGO and STNC to elucidate the inherent

contradictions of aid effectiveness, accountability, and the politics of representation. As Wilson

(2011, p. 322) asks, "what are the implications of the kinds of 'positive' images of women [and, I would add, girls] which are produced" and "in what ways are these images gendered and racialized"? I *extend* Wilson's questions to not only think through development 'images' (i.e., as photos and videos on development-related websites and marketing tools), but also to examine the identities of donors. In the next section, I explore how the politics of global sisterhood, notion of "saving distant others," employee engagement programs and the "white women's burden" intersect to create racialized subjectivities and varying experiences of cultural difference through SGD work.

6.3 The Politics of 'Global Sisterhood' and 'Saving Distant Others'

Another major theme that emerged was the politics of global sisterhood and saving distant others. To explain these issues, I first describe how the "White women's burden" combined with STNC's employee engagement strategies, and INGO's SGD activities with NGOs in the Two-Thirds World, resulted in racialized, gendered and classed aid relations that were complicated by issues of "global sisterhood," charity, benevolence and solicitude. I then explain how cultural difference was often negotiated and addressed by partnering with "local" actors in the countries where STNC and INGO worked, in order to gain insights into new emerging markets for women and girls' sport (in the case of STNC) or to help legitimize SGD programming solutions (in the case of INGO).

6.3.1 Employee Engagement and the 'White Woman's Burden' [49]

Throughout interviews, STNC staff argued that CSR, and social causes more broadly, have always been initiated, mobilized and/or sustained by women, and felt that they could use this propensity to their advantage in terms of building their brand. Other interviewees specifically discussed how STNC's increasing involvement in funding and promoting SGD initiatives was

needed to "lay the groundwork" for STNC's amplified focus on girls' and women's sports. Barbara (CSR Manager, STNC, October 2009) observed that "women are making purchasing decisions" and "hold the economic power," and Charlotte (CSR Analyst, STNC, October 2009) posited that women are "naturally" more altruistic, philanthropic, and driven to contribute to social issues:

> The woman, the female consumer we know has always been more interested in social issues and that was I think the cue we were taking to start to build a portfolio that the female consumer could connect with. And that was where the gender and development or sport and empowering women through sport emerged. So it's like, if the consumer wants to stand for an issue, if they care about an issue, we were happy to sort of make that connection, but as long as it had something to do with sport.

Taken together, these comments demonstrate both gendered and essentialist assumptions about the "female consumer" as an ideal target for corporate-driven philanthropic campaigns. As Barbara (CSR Manager, STNC, October 2009) further discerned, the strategies that STNC used to encourage a consumer to "stand for an issue" were also, in a way, used to "create and market a global sisterhood" between mothers and daughters in the One-Third and Two-Thirds World. This tactic was deemed helpful for not only attracting consumers as sustainable supporters of the SGD movement, but also as long term customers and employees of STNC. As Barbara (CSR Manager, STNC, October 2009) explained:

> Development is so – careful what I'm gonna say here – it's so patronizing sometimes. So, if you wanna get beyond children with flies in their eyes, and appeal to the feeling sorry for the kid stuff – it doesn't resonate with this

generation. This generation – young consumers, and I'm talking about 15-30 year

olds – they want a couple of things. It's really different. First of all you have to

start with them: me, my world, the world. So if you want them to care about big

issues like the environment, like poverty, like inequity, like social justice, you

have to start with what's important to me. And what's important to me is my cell

phone, how I look, my school, and oh yeah, finishing school getting a good job –

oh ya, that I have a safe community, and as you expand that circle out, you do

care about the environment. And I've gotta be able to see myself in another young

person….If the [STNC's] target age in consumers is females 15-35, and I know

that someone – a mother whose working out here is facing all the dilemmas of

time, if she can see herself in another mother some place else...If you go to

[African country] and you connect those girls with Canadian girls, you will have

solved those funding issues. Those kids [Canadian girls] will be motivated, and

they will care about brands that they see supporting those girls. Not out of pity,

but because *there's a sisterhood involved*.

Similarly, Jodi (Former CSR Specialist, STNC, October 2009) argued that it was imperative for

STNC to connect with girls as consumers by ensuring they were told the stories of other girls in

the Two-Thirds World who had "real issues" to worry about like "how to get [their] next meals"

(as opposed to being worried about the concerns of the typical One-Third World girl, such as

make-up):

So, for – if you have for instance, girls from 12-16, and they're not really caring

about other people than themselves, but you let [STNC] tell that story about a girl

who is their age, having way different problems than they are – not about make

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up, but more about – "how can I get my next meal?" It's different. But then, it's
also, now that you got their attention, for [STNC], how can they be customers?
And sometimes it's just, you know, buying a t-shirt, and ten Euros goes to an
organization [NGO] which is pretty cool. But at some point you can say, you
know – we need your team support for this organization for one season – the girls
will think okay, I can do that. But how can you do that? So, I think…for [STNC]
it's getting the attention of people that they're very good at.

Despite the potentially compassionate intentions of Barbara and Jodi' statements, issues of
"altruism," "pity" and "salvation" that tend to characterize the consumer-based philanthropy they
describe fall short of critically engaging with, and questioning, the underlying mechanisms of
inequality that continually perpetuate the marginalized situations of girls and women in the Two-
Thirds World in the first place. In a similar way to CSR initiatives such as Product RED™,
encouraging mothers and girls to support brands that are involved in SGD dangerously invokes
the colonial past of the West by *potentially* implying that those who purchase SGD-endorsed
products are led to believe that by purchasing a product, they may be saving its targeted
beneficiaries, or "distant Others" (Ponte et al., 2009). Moreover, the feminization of "altruism"
not only tends to reinforce the idea that such character traits are absent in men, but also works to
undermine progress towards gender equality, particularly if there is no critical analysis of
patriarchy (Wilson, 2008). The inherent dangers of a woman or girl in the One-Third World
seeing herself "in another mother some place else" (as Barbara argued) while empathetically
important, also potentially ignores the transformative aspect of feminist politics that is culturally
and historically specific (Mohanty, 2006; Ong, 1988).

Two other interviewees (Jean and Louise) described the need to engage female consumers in the One-Third World to empathise with their 'counterparts' in the South. At the same time, this engagement was not only focused on consumers, but also STNC's employees. Jodi (Former CSR Specialist, STNC, October 2009) claimed that providing employees with the opportunity to "give back" was a way for STNC to overcome its history of violating worker's rights:

> At first it's all about making profits. You know, you have to sell shoes and get the money….But it's not about only taking from their employees and all the people that are producing the shoes and stuff. It's also, at some point in time, a time to give back.

And yet, the employees involved in STNC's CSR department were often not those providing cheap labour in Two-Third World countries. Through interviews, it seemed clear that it was mostly middle class employees from STNC's offices in the One-Third World who were involved in employee engagement programs that usually targeted women of colour in the Two-Thirds World.[50] Of course, Natalie noted how most of STNC's SGD programs in Southern Africa targeted black women:

> In most cases our [CSR] programs are focused on the black communities. And in [Southern African country] it's a disadvantage to be a black. So that's where all of our efforts are focused. We actually don't have a program that focuses on White women. So, that's what you need to see… you'll really find most disadvantaged communities are usually from black areas.

The majority of INGO's staff, and STNC's CSR employees interviewed were White, or were of Latin American origin.[51] Though it is important to acknowledge that White women are not a

uniform group, they are frequently socially and politically constructed in this way (see Alcoff, 2006). White feminism may be understood as a feminism of assimilation that reinforces the very institutions that are underpinned by economic exploitation and White supremacy (McEwan, 2009; Syed & Ali, 2011). That is, "by virtue of her race, class and gender, the white feminist occupies a privileged place with a moral high ground over development and welfare, thus establishing her position in a public realm of power," (Syed & Ali, 2011, p. 357). It is also important that notions of White feminism essentialize race by exclusively considering white femininities hegemony over non-white femininities. This presents real dangers in terms of failing to account for multiple and relational multiple femininities within race and class groups. I further elaborate on these limitations in section 7.5.2.

Frye uses the term "whiteliness" to refer to those who are not necessarily "white skinned," but to identify people who "generally consider themselves to be benevolent and good-willed, fair, honest and ethical" [(Frye, 1992, p. 154) as cited in Syed & Ali, 2011, p. 351]. Through their work in the SGD sector, or via employee engagement initiatives, most of the STNC and INGO staff seemed to possess the key characteristics of whiteliness as described by Syed and Ali (2011). Certainly, Ginny (Former Advocacy Director, INGO, October 2009) was conscious of the authority her race would have on the programming partners with whom she worked in the Two-Thirds World:

> We bring in our knowledge from other [SGD] programs. We bring in our
> knowledge from research. But these programs develop their own curriculum and
> develop their own way of working in their own local complex it's always – in that
> sense – it's always protected. Yeah, it's not a white woman and telling them
> "well, this is how we're going to do it now."

An example of this was also provided by Louise (along with Charlotte and Barbara), who further described how STNC's employees went over to an East African country as part of an employee engagement strategy. Here, they were responsible for training local SGD NGO staff members to help them "improve" their HR, finance, accounting, PR and website skills. The goal, according to Louise, was to help this NGO "professionalize" so that they would be more attractive to prospective donors and subsequently mobilize more funding.

Interviewees from both INGO and STNC also described how a charity run organized in a West African (predominantly Muslim-based) country in 2006 was a crucial event for engaging STNC employees to "give back" to others "in need." It was also an important moment for the development of STNC's partnership with INGO, where one of the CSR managers, and INGO's Founder and Executive Director, decided there was a need to "work with sport as a way to empower women around violence, to bring peace, post-conflict, to deal with post-conflict matters" (Julie, Founder and Executive Director, SNGO, October 2009). Julie further discussed the importance of this particular run as a vehicle for "liberating Muslim women" through sport:

> So I think 2006 was the first year I ran the race and it was just an amazing event.
> It was so powerful and so impressive. And it really showed how powerful sport
> could be – not just to bring these women together – but also how it *released their*
> *potential to be loud, to be positive, to sing, to dance, and to really join their*
> *friends*. It was just an amazing thing….And what I realized is that they all lacked
> money and lacked platform or organization that brings them together that helps
> them to share lessons learned, or good practice.

Here, I argue that a sense of mission is evident through Julie's words, in that she seems to be able to leverage her privileged place over the development and welfare of these Muslim women

by using sport as a "platform" for them to be heard. These issues reiterate the importance of a postcolonial feminist perspective, one that works to highlight that there are multiple identities and social locations of women and girls that must promote mutual respect and understanding. This recognizes the dangers of claims to universal sisterhood or the homogenization among women across cultures, and the perils associated with showing a "better way" to "our African sisters" (Heron, 2007, p. 89)

Still, STNC and INGO interviewees maintained the strong links between facilitating a sense of mission in their employees by using their "love of coaching and sports" in positive ways. STNC's employee engagement strategy focuses on four key areas: education, environment, inclusion, and health. Each of these priorities is linked/viewed through the lens of sports (for example, enhancing the experiences of girls in physical activity). Through an internal social networking site, STNC employees were able to "virtually congregate," select an area they were interested in focusing on (e.g., health), and then provide ideas on how they wanted to "give back." By logging onto the employee engagement website, employees were also able to describe their passions, select the sports that they were interested in, and so on. Louise (CSR Analyst, STNC, October 2009) explained the online employee engagement system in more depth:

> It's like an internal Facebook for employees, so you can join, and you can put
> your profile up, and you can say, "I'm interested in, you know women's rights."
> And you can donate time, you can donate money, or I can put my cause up and
> say…"is there anybody out there interested in helping me do a strategic plan for
> this organization [NGO]"? And two people emailed me back and they gave me
> some ideas. So that's something absolutely that we want to tap into with [STNC].
> And it's not just giving talents, so you can donate your skills, you can donate your

time or you can donate money to causes. It's really to try and mobilize employees

and you can advertise your cause, basically.

Through this internal employee engagement system, a number of STNC's employees were flown

into the West African country (mentioned earlier) to participate in the charity run, which was

seen by many interviewees as a unique opportunity to travel and use their expertise to help their

counterparts in the Two-Thirds World, while also building their employability skills (Barbara,

Manager, STNC, October 2009). She further explained:

> I said to them [other NGOs and corporations from the One-Third World], "well, I
>
> can preach 'til I'm blue, but come with me to [city in West Africa] where a race
>
> happens every year. And I'm going to show you." Because, if I asked you, do you
>
> think that Muslim women run, everyone laughs! I'm going to show you a race
>
> where there's twenty or twenty-five thousand [Muslim] women running on a
>
> given day…So we went there, and they [other NGOs and corporations from the
>
> One-Third World] were completely excited about it.

Sport (the "race"/charity run described in the quote above) is thus presented here as a space of

gender transgression and fulfillment. There are also elements of carnivalesque in the bizarre and

comical notion of Muslim women running ("everyone laughs"). Barbara and her colleagues are

thus able to (re)assert their differences from the subjectivity of Muslim women, and establish

their dominance through relations of "global sisterhood." Furthermore, by bringing STNC

employees together at this charity run, strong networks and partnerships were developed that

seemed to strengthen and deepen their philanthropic mission and desires to help "develop"

Others by sharing professional knowledge (through employee expertise).

For example, as a former STNC employee, Rosie (Program Director, INGO, October 2009) also attended the run, where she met Julie (Founder and Executive Director, INGO). Inspired by her discussions with Julie and other STNC employees and their partners during the charity run, and the way she felt that it changed the lives of Muslim women, Rosie said she was suddenly motivated to change career paths, and that she saw the "potential of the SGD movement:"

> It wasn't just the race, it was for me – meeting some of the partners that were there, they were [STNC's] partners. And I was like, okay, I get it. It's not just, you know, self-interest marketing going on here. There's something here that is happening, and these women obviously really believe in it. And, then that started to kind of turn the page for me a little bit in terms of what [STNC] was doing in sport, and sport and development. And so, then I had left [STNC] to pursue [working at INGO].

For Rosie, understanding that this particular event wasn't *just* about "self-interested marketing" legitimized STNC's involvement in the SGD movement, and social causes more broadly. From her perspective, the event was *also* about helping Muslim women, and thus, may be invoked as a *neo-missionary altruistic relationship* between STNC employees as subjects, and the Muslim women who participated in the run as 'objects." A paternalistic, mothering relationship is thus attached to being a "good employee," and instilling self-responsibility while also developing, and governing, proper philanthropic citizenship.

Rosie's quote is also significant in terms of highlighting the importance of seeing the realities (and results) of development for oneself. Barbara (CSR Manager, STNC, October 2009)

clarified that this had to do with trust, and actually viewing the targeted beneficiaries who would

benefit from your dollars:

> One of the challenges for a lot of [development] organizations is: I want to see the
>
> girl that money goes to. That's a long trail. If I give to [INGO] and I give to
>
> [SNGO] and I give to [Katie – Co-Founder of SNGO] –you're going to leave
>
> there connected to girls. You're going to *know who they are*. So, [TNCs should]
>
> be smart about customizing, and engage your employees.

Thus, for Barbara, engaging employees was a way for STNC to capture, be acquainted

with, gain access, be exposed to, as well as "connect" with, the recipients of its altruistic

efforts. The next section explores this idea in more depth by specifically considering how

issues of "cultural difference" were negotiated in SGD programming.

6.3.2 Negotiating "Cultural Difference" in SGD Aid Relations

In line with the feminization of corporate philanthropic strategies via employee engagement,

issues pertaining to representation, racialized subjectivity and cultural difference in SGD, was a

particularly prominent finding through this research. I also explore how STNC and INGO staff

struggled to grapple with how cultural difference mediated their interventions into "foreign"

Two-Thirds World spaces. Indeed, the majority of conversations with STNC and INGO

interviewees about funding relations in SGD tended to rest on the assumption of an eternally

accessible and available "African" body, one that is to be captured via photography, video, or

through another medium, and then used to solicit funds, to perform, or be purchased and

authenticated through micronodes of governmentality such as donor encounters, images and

media coverage. As Heron (2007, p. 66) remarks:

> African people are always construed as available to us, and our assumptions are

pervaded by a planetary consciousness such that, just as we assume the right to be

in the Other's space, so are we (self-) positioned as entitled to intervene in the

Other's existence, and to seek relations with whom we choose.

Heron's notion of privileged White women's bodies intervening in African spaces also touches

on the idea that African people are configured as mysterious, sometimes frightening, and

develop(able) Others. STNC and INGO members who described their experiences in Two-Thirds

World countries implementing or observing SGD programs that they were involved in would

often position themselves as global citizens surviving in or improving, a place deemed exotic,

dirty, wild, or ungoverned. Certainly, the constant stream of donor visits to Winita also

reinforces "internal colonialism," or the making of Europeans/ developers (Stoler, 2010). The

quote below from Lesley (board member, INGO, October, 2009) demonstrates these types of

reactions to entering the "African space."

In Kenya I was in two programs in the horrible slums of Nairobi. And, they're

part of the goal is to get kids off the streets, get them into a safe place, because it's

really you know – women are just the object of violence from all sides. So, that

was a major concern.

Similarly, Rosie, Ginny and Jenna (INGO staff) struggled to grapple with how cultural

difference impacted their ability to intervene in foreign spaces. In the quote below, Rosie

(Program Director, INGO, October 2009) suggested that Kenyans needed to be guided and saved

since they were ultimately trapped by their social surroundings. She suggested that these

marginalized surroundings prevented them from grasping the "true" meaning of empowerment,

and how to "empower themselves:"

> I mean, ask the girls in Kenya or whatever what they want, and then you get their idea of empowerment. And of course you have to workshop that and you have to guide them slowly, because the whole term empowerment they have no idea what it is about. And they're trapped in their own social surroundings. So, it takes some time to get them to understand that they can empower themselves.

First, Rosie's arguments about empowerment seem to imply that there is a "correct" definition empowerment as impelled by INGO which needs to be slowly relayed to, and effectively taken up by, targeted beneficiaries in the Two-Thirds World. Rosie's quote also invokes a neo-liberal understanding of agency and empowerment that is propelled by the idea that imparting power on the Kenyan girls (i.e., "empowering them") does not involve taking power *away* from those groups, and structures, that were "disempowering" them in the first place. That is, while STNC and INGO's funds were used to support sport programs that would ultimately "guide" targeted beneficiaries on what empowerment *really* meant; the girls were ultimately responsible for their own self-improvement.

Similar suggestions were made by STNC staff who argued that just by "looking" at the Winita's girls bodies, and "doing muscle mass studies," one could try to confirm whether or not the SGD program was, in fact, successful by quite simply measuring empowerment through muscle mass. For example, (and as previously referred to in Chapter Five), Barbara (CSR Manager, STNC, October 2009) noted that, once I arrived in Winita, I would know if the program "worked" or not because:

> You will just look at the girls who are participating, and look at the girls who are not. You will visibly see. It would be great to get someone in to weigh them and do muscle mass studies…

In effect, "donor dollars" seemed to (perhaps indirectly) contribute to the civilizing process, to improvement, to increase girls' "muscle mass," as well as alter and change the spaces that INGO and STNC perceived as dangerous, and unsuited to promoting gender equality.[52] The notion of the "White expert" is thus ostensibly unleashed; for practices of development have not only always been racialized, but are also gendered in ways that are inextricable from questions of "race." Certainly, in the SGD space, the donor/ development worker/ recipient encounter is decidedly racialized, as Darnell (2010 a,b) has demonstrated through his research on Canadian SDP development workers. The logic of donor-recipient relations is, then, only intensified by the global neo-liberal development, which in itself, is ultimately premised on racial inequalities (Wilson, 2011; Syed & Ali, 2011).

I suggest that the commitment to global neo-liberal development, as promoted via SGD practices, is not only racialized and classed, but also distinctly gendered, not only from the perspectives of the donor, but also from the "targeted recipient" (SNGO, and the martial arts girls). Exploring these relations invokes a notion of postcolonial intersubjectivity, which enables us to recognize that the colonizer and the colonized *mutually* construct their subjectivities (Agathangelou & Ling, 2009). Put differently, I argue that neo-liberal globalization entangles with development encounters to position, sustain and rework particular constructions of the racialized Other (Wilson, 2011). Thus, encounters in SGD as examined in this research were therefore seemingly structured around a predicated, (perhaps expected), White feminist Western/ 'racialized' Other encounter, and any relation that challenged this dynamic interrupted the donor/ recipient logic, though there were examples.

For instance, Angela, an INGO advisory board member, started her own SGD NGO in Kenya. Born in the UK, Angela moved to small rural village in Kenya when she was 28, and had

been living there for just over a decade. She described how, at times, there was a racial preference for some donors when it came to funding SGD work:

> There are certain donors who don't actually want to, who don't particularly want to see a White face working in Africa. They would actually prefer to work with my Kenyan colleague than me, for whatever reasons they might have. And then, there are others who feel it's a bit easier to relate to me because they know that I come from a much more similar culture.…As an organization we sometimes have to think, you know, quite bluntly I suppose, about who is the best person to send to X or Y meeting. And we just have to deal with that and say, okay, in this one it is better to have. So, I mean an example, if we have one with the British High Commission, I hate to say it but they're quite dreadful – I would be the person who got sent to that one.

SNGO's co-founder was actually a White British man named "George," who I was unaware of until meeting him in Entebbe the day after arriving in Uganda, and driving with him on to Winita. [53] He co-founded SNGO after meeting Katie (a Ugandan from the Winita area) over twenty years ago while teaching at a well-known boys school in Nairobi (Field Notes, November 16, 2009), and now spent the majority of his time living in the UK along with Katie, working from SNGO's UK Office, which is responsible for carrying out the initial groundwork of applying for grants, conducting research and liaising with the Ugandan office in order ensure the projects "on the ground" run smoothly. Despite his status as Director and co-founder of SNGO, George remained relatively absent from SNGO's public face (their website, conferences, etc.). Without question, Katie was the public representative of SNGO, and her status as a Ugandan woman was absolutely imperative in terms of securing SNGO's identity as a women's rights

activist organization run by Ugandans, for Ugandans. Katie had also won numerous prestigious international awards and accolades for her work, and due to her numerous achievements, was asked to attend a global conference on social entrepreneurs that was also attended by STNC representatives. It was here that Katie met Charlotte (CSR Analyst, STNC), and, and the idea for SNGO to create a SGD-based program took form (Field Notes, October 9, 2009).

The parallels between George and Angela's stories should not go unnoticed: both British, both White, both former teachers with East African partners they met while working in Kenya/ Uganda, both founders of NGOs involved in the sport for development "industry" in Africa, and both struggling to reconcile issues of race and gender in their work. Notably, other prominent SDP NGOs in close proximity to SNGO have White, ex-pat leaders/ founders: Bob Munro, a White Canadian head of the Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA) in Nairobi, and Trevor Dudley, a native of Nottingham, UK, and head of the Kids' Sports League in Kampala. Right To Play's founder and President, Johann Koss, is also a White European, and though he does not reside full time in Africa, his NGO is certainly well-represented in the region, and has made significant strides in terms of raising funds, and professionalizing.

It would be extremely dangerous, however, to essentialize this Whiteness by proposing that *all* successful and professionalized NGOs doing work around sport for development are necessarily administered by White men and women from the One-Thirds World.[54] And it is important to acknowledge that there are several NGOs founded by citizens of various African nations (and some of these citizens may also be White), that would be viewed as more indigenous, Southern NGOs, with minimal influence from the neo-liberal development approaches of One-Third World. As Brett (Director Monitoring and Evaluation, SNGO, November 2009) attested (and as previously discussed in section 6.2), "there were programs

happening here [in Uganda], but they were not that formal, they were taking a totally different form. But what we have today, many of them seem to have taken the shape of the Northern NGOs." That is, NGOs from the One-Third World formalized, and potentially altered the ways that non-state entities in Uganda were conducting social service work. However, and at the same time, it is imperative not to ignore, or disregard the racial ties to donor dollars, and the ways that there potentially appears to be a racial division of labour that continues in SDP work throughout Africa today, holding many similarities to the missionary outposts and the colonial state (Manji & O'Coill, 2002), when "the white expatriate, the technical expert, was usually the head of the local office" (Suzuki, 1998, p. 1).

In summary, this section has linked the use of racialized subjectivities and representations in SGD work. In some cases, alongside images of the Two-Thirds World SGD beneficiary is a sophisticated, affluent, White NGO leader who, from either behind the scenes, or publicly, is able to help solidify and strengthen relationships with (corporate) donors from the One-Third World. It seems then, that the "new" (the active, powerful karate girl, wanting to be "exposed to the outside world"), and "old" (the White man/ woman expatriate leading the NGO in the Two-Thirds World and, in some cases, One-Third World) representations of development are then simply (re)inscribed and used to sustain prevailing neo-colonial global political and economic power relations. In other words, the incorporation of NGOs as preeminent non-state, morally authoritative actors into emerging systems of transnational governmentality has contributed to, and informed, the new types of representations of aid (including the active, 'can-do girl') produced by them. These issues also link to notions of cultural difference in SGD work, which have influenced the ways in which INGO and STNC intervened in certain Two-Thirds World spaces.

In the next section, I use the perspectives of SNGO staff to consider their response to transnational governmentality, and their perceptions and interpretations of the objectified "can-do girl" construct vis-à-vis social entrepreneurial practices in SGD.

6.4 Facilitating Self-Reliance through Social Entrepreneurship in SGD?

This serves as a rejoinder to section 6.3, in that it returns to the explicit perspectives of SNGO staff. I explain SNGO used social entrepreneurial tactics as a form of agency, social change, and as a potential means by which to benefit from global neo-liberal development by working *within* its constraints. In other words, in a seemingly "agent-less" process of global neo-liberalism, I argue that social entrepreneurial ventures potentially provide a "politics of possibility" (Gibson-Graham, 2006) in SGD work by creating a platform through which SNGO is autonomously able to pursue and practice innovation, creativity and social justice. At the same time, I suggest that invoking the economic through social entrepreneurial practices is not necessarily separate from the Westernized modes of economic empowerment discussed by STNC and INGO staff.

6.4.1 "The Girl Child…is a Mother for the Nation Tomorrow:" Building Girls as "Entrepreneurs of Themselves"[55]

> *Neo-liberalism…represents a new modality of government predicated on interventions to create the organizational and subjective conditions for entrepreneurship – not only in terms of extending the 'enterprise model' to schools, hospitals, housing estates and so forth, but also in inciting individuals to become entrepreneurs of themselves* (Hart, 2004, p. 92).

SNGO's unique organizational structure coalesced around domestic violence prevention strategies through its school and health centre, as well as its advocacy, legal, and monitoring and evaluation offices. Of course, these areas overlapped, as did the portfolios of the staff involved (for instance, domestic violence counsellors also served as monitoring and evaluation officers). SNGO staff attempted to address the structural inequalities that left women and girls vulnerable

to the prevalence of bride price and domestic violence through their multi-pronged programming system (involving prevention, protection and provision). Almost all SNGO interviewees were quick to recognize the importance of promoting economic empowerment to address poverty through their programs. As Matt (Director, IT and Entreprise Development, November 2009) advocated:

> The microcredits and enterprise initiatives we are undertaking is because we appreciate that, if you don't fight poverty among women, you will not help them attain the necessary independence to make their own choices. So they always get torn between justice and social needs, you know?

Matt's comments echo earlier discussions by the martial arts girls about the importance of economic empowerment. Without question, SNGO's organizational culture emphasized improving the lives of women and girls through accessing market opportunities. The martial arts program, then, was viewed as a training initiative for income generation (by equipping the martial arts girls with skills to pursue positions as trainers and coaches). In addition, the program served as an educational intervention on reproductive health and domestic violence.

Besides the martial arts program, SNGO also managed its own social enterprise venture: a ground nut paste processing plant. Through this undertaking, women and girls were encouraged to grow ground nuts as outgrowers, and then SNGO purchased these nuts from them at a fair price, above the "capitalistic on-going market prices" (SNGO website, 2011). The nuts were then processed, packaged, and sold for a profit. Profits went back to the female farmers and were also re-invested in SNGO programs (like the martial arts intervention). The outgrowers were also encouraged to purchase shares in the processing plant to enhance their positions of power: they would not just be suppliers, but partners in a socially viable enterprise that

simultaneously benefited their community (SNGO website, 2011). SNGO was responsible for marketing the nut butter to the community, as Alex (Domestic Violence Counsellor, SNGO, November 2009) explained:

> [The nut butter] is giving them [women and girls who farm the nuts] employment,
> it is giving them seeds, they grow, they have a market. Through marketing,
> [SNGO] pays extra, and then they feel happy because their products are being
> sold. And they [the women and girls] also consume it. It's good, they feel good.
> They empower them to produce and sell to a ready market, which is good.

According to Brett (Director, M&E, SNGO, November 2009), the idea behind the nut butter processing plant was also to promote fair trade practices:

> In terms of the enterprise…[SNGO] processes it [the nuts], cleans it and tries to
> give them [the women and girls who farmed the nuts] a fair deal. So it's very
> much like the fair trade concept, but targeting local markets. And I think it's
> working very well.

Levermore and Beacom (2009) contend that the development potential or social contributions of sport are not what comprise the novelty of the SDP movement or the sport/development relationship; instead, they suggest SDP in itself represents *innovation* in response to the failure of traditional development orthodoxy. I argue that SNGO's ability to creatively combine social enterprise initiatives in both sport and agricultural production serves as an important moment, and departure point, in shifting traditional donor-recipient power relations through innovation as a challenge to neo-liberal development, by exerting their agency and autonomy.

While this initiative did not explicitly resist and oppose the neo-liberal imperative of economic growth as a means to redress poverty – the nut butter factory, along with other social

enterprises (training the young girls to be martial arts coaches, an Internet café, a women's bank, and various sustainable investment opportunities) – were still useful strategies through which SNGO was able to exert agency in the face of neo-liberal development. It also presented an opportunity for SNGO to wean itself from the well-established dependence on donors. In fact, a social entrepreneur website profiling Katie, the co-founder of SNGO, affirms this: "to shift from donor aid dependence to locally raised resources, [Katie] launched the [SNGO] Enterprise, a profit-making arm of the [SNGO], in 2004." "Businesses" were seen as any profitable initiative that would expand women and girls' economic resources and knowledge about domestic violence, bride price and their rights.

Though SNGO staff characterized their relations with donors as mostly positive, they remained committed to trying to be free of donor "purse strings." Certainly, several SNGO staff members (Liz, Matt, Brett, Mark and Alex) all spoke very highly of their long-standing seventeen year relationship with a large development charity in the UK. However, SNGO staff (Alex, Liz, Matt and Brett) felt that the entities' self-driven entrepreneurial endeavours would ultimately benefit Winita because community members would be stakeholders who were socially, politically and economically invested in the success of SNGO in a much different way than donors. When I asked Alex (Domestic Violence counsellor, SNGO, November 2009) if she considered donors to be "stakeholders," she quickly retorted: "no, they're just donors. The stakeholders are these players, the people we work with, only to achieve justice…with grassroots problems!"

Matt hoped this social enterprise model would liberate SNGO from the rigorous reporting structures and tied aid of donors, enabling SNGO be self-sufficient, and to generate and invest their money freely (Field Notes, November 17, 2009). At the same time, Mark

(Accountant, SNGO) said that SNGO had to strike a proper balance, and be careful not to seem too rapacious by appearing to profit significantly from these enterprises. For example, Mark described how SNGO would not put their name on the nut butter labels, as they did not want community members to mistakenly think that all profits were going directly to them. Particularly since the community "already thought that SNGO had enough money" (Mark, Accountant, SNGO, Field Notes, November 17, 2009).

Interviewees from SNGO also described their desire to continue to make their programs as "low-resource" as possible so that they would require only minimal support from donors. One of the other "business ideas," besides the nut butter factory, was the martial arts program for girls. For example, senior management discussed how the martial arts program would eventually be a very low-resource initiative. SNGO would accomplish this in two ways: first, by (re)loading the programming costs onto local government's education systems; and second, by encouraging the girls to be self-reliant, entrepreneurial, and to sell their martial arts skills through coaching, or for entertainment (e.g., by holding public "sparring matches"). As Matt (Director, IT & Enterprise Development, SNGO, November 2009) explained:

> I was basically telling [the martial arts training staff] that if you are doing football, or you love jogging, or you love swimming, or whatever sport, no one gives you money to go and train. In fact, you wake up by yourself, very early in the morning, and you can even consider running up that mountain. So what we need to do – we need to teach these kids to be completely self-reliant. Yeah? Because we got here some feedback that when kids are training, they feel thirsty. Yeah, that's ok. So why don't you carry your one liter of water on the day that you know there is training? Come with it to the training ground, and the coach

will ensure that there's some water for you. Two, we just need a small, neat team

of trainers, here at the head office. And then, the whole thing should move on.

And what we are hoping to do is to actually…come up with a video documentary

that captures the whole training, and the sensitization [gender training] and

everything. So that, how do you handle a school in Nairobi, in Kenya, that calls

and says, "you know what, we've heard about your club in Uganda, in Kenya, and

you know what, we're really interested." You can send them a pack, and say, look

at these trainers in your area, and they should be able to teach your kids this stuff.

So we are hoping that, in Uganda, the expenses that we will eventually incur, for

example, if we want to run an annual event, where we bring all these kids together

and get them to spar and all that. Maybe quarterly events at the sub-county level,

but then they could organize it because on the sub-county or county level, they

can walk to the place and do their sports. So, we're really trying to make it as

non-resource intensive as possible.

Matt's "no excuses" approach to these girls' development is similar to the Girl Effect mantra in

two key ways. First, he noted that the goal of the program was to eventually to be an autonomous

'do-it-yourself' venture; and second, he suggested the girls need to obtain the knowledge and

capabilities through this program to thrive in a neo-liberal development climate. This would

involve persuading the girls to be more self-responsible, to insist that they find their own

resources (water). He wanted them to be aware that financial support would not always be

available for them to train, and thus argued that they must be able to fend for themselves by

being entrepreneurial and self-motivated in order to sustain the martial arts program. The 'do-it-

yourself' programming model would also spread more quickly to other communities across

Uganda, solidifying politically charged movement that empowered girls to be more confident. As

Ryan (Child Rights and PR Officer, SNGO, November 2009) advocated:

> What we are really looking at so much is her confidence. And we are looking at
>
> after the skills, what comes next for a free violence world? Which starts with the
>
> girl child who is a mother for the nation tomorrow. So we really have a feeling
>
> that if these girls are going to train more, we are going to get a number of
>
> people…like a movement. Yeah.

Building "a mother for the nation tomorrow" meant ensuring that girls would successfully spread

their messages of "self-empowerment" throughout their communities. Certainly, Rosie (Program

Director, INGO, October 2009) made it quite clear that, for INGO, the girl was the locus of

social change, one who carried INGO's programming messages to others. This was, in fact, a

major aspect of the Girl Effect:

> We definitely believe there is a Girl Effect, that, the girl is reinvesting in her
>
> family, and in her community….Cause you know, [we] mainly have programs
>
> that are working with just girls at this stage. And, the personal stories of the girls,
>
> when you get to know that like, this girl is bringing that information. Because we
>
> ask them – who do you teach? Did you tell anybody what you learned? You
>
> know, and you hear it! "I told my sister, I tell my friends, I um…you know,
>
> sometimes I tell my parents."

In fact, INGO's Annual Report (2009) confirmed their commitment to social entrepreneurship

through SGD programming:

[INGO] believes that sport and physical activity can be a part of an empowerment strategy and an economic force. Our vision is to build and support a sustainable movement with strong leaders and women-led sustainable social enterprises.

The focus on creating self-reliant girls as disseminators of social change, and as "entrepreneurs of themselves" links well to studies that explain how the freedom of individuals depends on their ability to participate in a new system of public management, where regimes of power center on 'the conduct of conduct' (Hjorth, 2009). However, unlike other studies in SDP that discuss governmental rationalities where conduct of Others is managed by Northern volunteers (e.g., Darnell, 2010b), SNGO staff such as Matt seemed to indicate that the girls in the martial arts program shape *their own* conduct. In other words, the girls are not only being managed by other developmental agents (SNGO, INGO, STNC), but governmental rationalities are also buttressed by the ordering of *one's self*, vis-à-vis (governable) entrepreneurs. In many ways, then, social entrepreneurial and microcredit programs encourage Two-Thirds World women and girls to be "the socially responsible citizen and the active, socially responsible individual who is in charge of her own destiny" (Batliwala & Dhanraj, 2007, p. 25).

Others suggest that social entrepreneurial models that explicitly focus on women and girls risk reinforcing patriarchal structures through neo-liberalism. There are many assumptions that women and girls are more diligent and efficient workers than men, and that they always take primary responsibility when meeting children's needs, thus making them appear "more efficient and creditworthy as micro-entrepreneurs" (Wilson, 2008, p. 87). Brett (Director, M&E, SNGO, November 2009) referred to many of these contentions by describing an initial microcredit program SNGO administered before the nut butter initiative:

We started off with this micro credit [a few years ago], giving small loans [to

women]. It worked very well….Their agricultural output increased, their food

security level increased, but even more abuse set in as the men started wanting the

money to pay their tax. Yeah, or if they're fined after battering the wife, he uses

the woman's money to pay. But nevertheless, it – the women, women's lives

changed, but not very strategically.

Though initially, it seemed that the women Brett describes had more agency and control over

their own lives through this particular entrepreneurial initiative, the structural factors that

prevented gender equality from being achieved continued to serve as barriers. Such tactics may

subsequently end up perpetuating market-based approaches to development that advocate

women's empowerment through economic development, instead of focusing on transformative

processes for their social development (see Eyben, 2007). In many ways, and as I suggested in

Chapter Five, the Winita girls experienced similar promises and plights through their

participation in the martial arts program, where their development was mostly predicated on self-

improvement, self-reliance and individual responsibility in lieu of creating strategies to address

community attitudes, patriarchal structures and the social institutions that contributed to their

marginalization in the first place.

In summary, SNGO's concern with business tactics, creativity and financial stability

seemed to signify that it takes *more* than lobbyists and activists to sustain advocacy work on

girls' development and domestic violence. As Fowler (2000, p. 650-652) cautions, these issues

clearly link to a "new era" for NGOs pursuing development work as social entrepreneurs:

Social entrepreneurship is but a new 'sign of the times' privatization label for the

community development and start-up initiatives that NGDOs [non-governmental

development organizations] have been running or assisting for years…Social

entrepreneurship offers a more risk-strewn framework for the future of NGDOs

and development beyond aid. The primary risks lie in NGDOs a) adopting the

social entrepreneurship framework as a basis of self-survival; and b) not properly

managing the interplay between potentially competing sets of values – social

action set against the demands of market behavior (p. 650-652).

SNGO's drive for entrepreneurship was not isolated from the other actors in the SGD aid

constellation. In fact, SNGO's focus was carefully linked to STNC and INGO's concerns on the

links between the Girl Effect, social entrepreneurship, sport and women and girls'

empowerment. Taken together, INGO and STNC benefited, and stimulated, entrepreneurial

regimes in SGD in the Two-Thirds World, which ultimately impacted SNGO's focus on using

entrepreneurialism (and social entrepreneurship through sport) to promote women and girls'

economic development.

6.4.2 Locating "Authentic Entrepreneurial" Subaltern Stories at the "Bottom of the Pyramid"

STNC actively searched the Two-Thirds World for social entrepreneurs carrying out work on

SGD who would lend support, innovation and legitimacy behind its brand. The hope was that

this would enable STNC reach new "untapped markets" in Sub-Saharan Africa, South America

and the Middle East. Interviewees stressed the importance of locating compelling and 'authentic

stories' about the successes of 'grassroots NGOs' or female entrepreneurs who had effectively

used sport (or other social enterprise activities related to sport) to promote girls' and women's

rights, empowerment or gender equality:

From a brand perspective they [social entrepreneurs] also help us feed ideas

towards what the brand can look for – to build new strategies and new initiatives

and new campaigns. We're really looking for inspirational stories – for initiatives

that will feed the brand in terms of coming up with future initiatives (Natalie,

Regional CSR Representative, STNC, November 2009).

The innovative approaches upheld by social entrepreneurs to SGD interventions not only

provided STNC with new branding strategies, but also granted STNC access to cutting-edge

projects, lending an opportunity to showcase its support of these "grassroots" initiatives to

socially conscious consumers. As Jean (Regional CSR Representative, SNTC, October 2009)

confirmed:

If you start – I mean, if you support some project on girls and women, you can get

fantastic associations for your brand, and you can use that for consumers, and

you're going to be one of the first to be able to reach this market.

This drive for corporate social engagement, when enmeshed with neo-liberal globalization,

pushes SNTCs (and not only NGOs) to look to social innovation and entrepreneurship as

strategies for survival in an increasingly competitive and unstable global economy. In other

words, STNCs now need to "struggle to gain ownership over the ethos of generosity…[therefore]

corporations have invented new ways to differentiate their versions of generosity from those of

their competitors" (King, 2004, p. 482).

Three STNC CSR employees also discussed the importance of locating authentic stories

told by social entrepreneurs about the 'power' of sport to address gender inequalities in their

local communities. The role of the STNC was to then 'amplify these stories' globally through the

use of their brand. SNGO's martial arts program, for instance, was featured on the website for a

"gender, social entrepreneurship and social change through sport" competition sponsored by

STNC. Here, social entrepreneurs and NGOs posted over 200 "stories" about the ways they were

using sport to promote social change and empowerment for women and girls in innovative ways. These stories were coordinated, sorted and judged by STNC corporate executives and its network of celebrity sport ambassadors, CSR staff and "experts" on SGD. As Amy (Regional CSR Representative, October 2009) noted, "the hope was that these [stories] would become incubators of ideas for development of new products of, bottom of the pyramid or social programs."

Charlotte (CSR Analyst, STNC, October 2009) stressed that the 'impact stories' STNC located from 'grassroots social entrepreneurs' (such as through the social entrepreneurship competition) were more cost-effective than sending development workers abroad:

> We believe from a development perspective, from an impact perspective, that an
> impact story – is much stronger with lots of grassroots social entrepreneurs
> than…a model that, you know, costs $40,000 to send a Western volunteer into a
> developing country. And if you start looking at the cost structure, you start
> thinking hmmm, how great is that story! It's like the Red Campaign. Like how
> much money do you need to spend to get that one dollar that you get? But given
> that it's so hard to partner with all the different grassroots NGOs, and one story
> isn't going to…meet all of the needs of the brand – it's gotta be much bigger than
> a small grassroots NGO in Uganda.

Boje and Khan (2009) remind us that corporations have the authority and power to disseminate the compelling stories of individuals in the Two-Thirds World who otherwise may remain 'voiceless', a subaltern to be revealed, but who cannot speak. In general, SNTC staff stressed that 'impact stories' were important for demonstrating how they might be involved in supporting, helping, or promoting the narrative of a woman or girl from the Two-Thirds World who overcame adversity and political, economic or social struggles through the power of sport. In

some cases, the STNC would post a video of the woman or girl's SGD project on their website, or on a website they sponsored. Such stories, then, were almost always overtly sponsored and branded by them. Without question, these chronicles were useful for supporting and lending strong associations for the STNC's brand, and for locating and reaching "new untapped markets" in Africa, South America and the Middle East (Charlotte, Barbara, Jodi).

Thus, finding these markets was done through locating social entrepreneurs (often women and girls) who were doing pioneering work around SGD programming, and then funding/ partnering with these individuals. In fact, Charlotte (CSR Analyst, STNC, October 2009) met Katie (co-founder, SNGO) at a social entrepreneurship event that STNC sponsored. STNC had partnered with a social entrepreneurship NGO (SENGO) that represented the "association of the world's leading entrepreneurs" or what they referred to as "the citizen sector." This particular SENGO funded entrepreneurs doing socially innovative work on various issues such as gender empowerment, fighting HIV/AIDS, environmental sustainability, and so on. They referred to these individuals as "fellows," for which Katie (co-founder of SNGO) was selected due her gender-based development work in the Winita District. Below, Charlotte describes how STNC collaborated with this particular INGO to locate entrepreneurs in sport for development:

> So what happened was…we came to [Social Entrepreneurship NGO] saying
> "we'd really like to do something with you, are you guys doing sport?" And
> they're like, "sport, what are you talking about? We don't do sport, we do
> development or social entrepreneurs and that's not around sport, that's around
> social issues." And we're like, just have a look and see how many of your fellows
> are actually doing sport. And they found like 60, and they're like "holy s***, I

never thought that…" They're not calling it sport, they're calling it AIDS awareness or blah blah blah – whatever the different topics are – like gender empowerment…But ya, they're using sport so, um… Then we had a meeting in [West African city] around Women in Sport and the [West African city] run, and we brought a bunch of the [Social Entrepreneurship] Fellows that were working on Women's issues and were starting doing sport as a result of our conversations with them through [SENGO]. And that's how Julie [INGO Founder] met Katie [SNGO co-founder].

From Brett's perspective, SNGO's innovative approach to development, combined with Katie's formal recognition as an official "social entrepreneur" in gender and development, meant that pioneering work in SGD was only logical.

The model, the way [SNGO] works, it's very, very much looking for innovations, you know, looking for things that introduce risk-taking, risk-taking things – that challenge the status quo, challenge the stereotypes and draws up the women beyond what they really traditionally believe. Yeah, and having done this work with the girls a long time, [Katie] was then nominated, and won this award. The MDG [Millennium Development Goals] Torch bearer and the [SENGO] Fellowship. And being the [SENGO] Fellowship…through this, [Katie] met lots of different groups including [STNC] and [INGO], that came up with new and better ways of engaging young girls. And sports was, at that time, one of the things that everybody felt is very, very instrumental in engaging them and broadening their perspective.

Charlotte asserted that STNC staff persuaded SNGO to engage in entrepreneurial SGD programming:

> [SNGO] probably – they probably, I don't think they were doing sport before we [SNTC] met them. I think it was more – again, that's a great example of, you meet, you learn, you hear, and you apply immediately. And it's that sort of learning organization which is very in sync with the kind of *entrepreneurial* activity, rapid prototyping, and iteration, and apply learn, apply learn. So I think it's a great example of how, because of that connection, they went down the sport route, and now it's taking more, and they saw the opportunity to achieve their other objectives.

Thus, through the constellations of various SGD relations, through the influence of STNC, combined with SNGO's desire to endure the neo-liberal development climate, the social entrepreneurship model was promoted, and in multiple ways.

In fact, after closely interacting with SENGO, INGO also decided to fund their own "Fellows" component, whereby they would have prospective social entrepreneurs conducting work in SGD apply for funding to carry out various sport and gender initiatives. As of November 2009, INGO had funded over twenty fellows in fifteen countries. Interestingly, several INGO staff and board members (Julie, Megan, Rosie, and Lesley) considered INGO to be a social enterprise itself. This label, Julie (Founder and Executive Director, INGO, October 2009) felt, made them more attractive to corporations:

> Ya, I think definitely, well [STNC] for instance is definitely interested in social entrepreneurship because social entrepreneurs are basically looking for more impact, more fact, and maybe more income through the work that they do….So, I

think yes, corporations, if they see us as a social enterprise it's much more

interesting to invest in for a corporation I think than to just put something in

charity say "okay, good luck and we hear from you later, just send me a report." If

there's no return on their investment, then why would they invest really if it's just

to help me basically, or to help [INGO] or whoever? So yeah, I think

corporations, they relate more to entrepreneurship because that's what they're

doing basically.

This is not to say the STNC was not helpful or supportive in terms of inspiring, driving and

mobilizing the important work of these entrepreneurs. Rather, the concern lies with the

seemingly colonizing tendencies that were used to gain access to grassroots ideas and activities

that would, as Natalie (Regional CSR Representative, STNC, October 2009) claimed, "feed the

brand in terms of coming up with future initiatives." By working with and locating SGD

entrepreneurs in new markets across the Two-Thirds World, STNC would be able to even

increase their sales by accessing those four billion poor "customers" (i.e. those who live on less

than $2 a day) at the bottom of the pyramid. In fact, five STNC interviewees spoke of harnessing

the "bottom of the pyramid" model, which suggests that those residing in extreme poverty (four

billion low-income consumers outside of mainstream markets at the "bottom of the pyramid")

can be a 'market' in themselves that can be served with low-cost goods and services (Prahalad,

2005). For example, Barbara (CSR Manager, STNC, October 2009) explained how STNC's

support of the SGD initiative taking place in the refugee camp held significant implications for

accessing women in the Middle East as new customers.

The next billion consumers are not going to look like the first billion. [STNC] is a

very, very strong market with the first billion consumers, but…people who can

afford [STNC's] stuff is not even at the very tip….So when we did the [SGD

program in African refugee camp], it was great and altruistic but it also really

gave designers a lot of insight into if STNC was ever going to pursue more

actively the youth bulge around the Middle East.

Though interviewees maintained that Uganda was not necessarily an immediate market for

STNC, their involvement in funding SNGO's martial arts intervention still provided an

opportunity to locate, be exposed, and possibly tap into, an emerging market for future

investment.

6.5 Chapter Summary and Implications

This chapter began by exploring the multifaceted funding relationships among STNC, INGO,

and SNGO, primarily through the lenses of gender, nation, race, sexuality and class. I

demonstrated how each entity in the constellation of SGD aid experienced, and contributed to,

global neo-liberalism in diverse ways that cannot easily be detached from one another.

The first section focused on NGOization and hierarchies of class, examining the ways

that SNGO staff members struggled to negotiate their positions as increasingly

"professionalized," middle class employees (in the Ugandan context) working in the "charity

business." They continually worked to realign their identities as paid NGO workers with the

marginalized and disadvantaged groups they aimed to serve. At the same time, SNGO staff were

constantly scrutinized and under surveillance by INGO's rigid monitoring and evaluation

systems, a system that was, in fact, originally designed by STNC. As a consequence, SNGO staff

had to accommodate and make some concessions in terms of providing INGO (and indirectly,

STNC) with appropriate "success stories" describing the benefits and positive experiences of the

martial arts program. Under this evaluation system, SNGO was forced to locate other funding

sources to support particular elements of the program (such as transportation) that were seen to be "unappealing" expenses by INGO and STNC.

Transnational private governance, CSR and expert authority were also explored in the opening section on donor/ NGO relations. I used these concepts to examine how the power of STNC, INGO and SNGO were used to brand SGD interventions, and to provide "expert" and "technical" solutions to problems that may otherwise have been addressed by African governments. Indeed, in the case study explored in Winita, STNC and INGO were able to provide funding and services in conjunction with SNGO because it seemed that the Ugandan state was unable to do so.[56] More specifically, INGO's very existence, and thriving business, seemed to be predicated on the dysfunction, corruption and failure of the Ugandan state.

The following section stressed the importance of SNGO's resistance to INGO's moral authority and STNC corporate power. Specifically, interviewees from SNGO presented sound reasons as to why their organization was able to challenge private authority and corporate funders in general. SNGO staff demonstrated that NGOs in the Two-Thirds World are not necessarily always passively susceptible to corporate influence and control. From their perspectives, SNGO was not *directly* funded by STNC, due to the fact that SNTC's funding first passed through INGO before reaching SNGO, and therefore was autonomous from SNTC's coercive tendencies.

As I suggested in Chapter Five, the agency of the Winita girls in using martial arts to support their own local development goals form, in the context of the global capitalism, actions that are compelled by, entrenched within, and/or resistant to the hegemonic relations that continue to position neo-liberalism as the predominant feature of development (cf., Darnell, 2009). In this chapter, I have tried to pay critical attention to, and demonstrate, the resilience and

resourcefulness of the SNGO and the martial arts girls in the face of patriarchal regimes and structural inequalities. This, of course, was linked to the ways that itinerant capital integrates with local gender relations to create impoverished and marginalized conditions for the subaltern, "on the ground."

I also discussed the problems and perils associated with "representing success" in the SGD sector through images, photos and videos – tools used by all entities in the aid constellation (SNGO, INGO and STNC) to "prove" that SGD, in fact, "worked." SNGO staff noted the increased frequency of donor visits where funders wanted to "see" the results of SGD programming with their own eyes; and yet, SNGO staff members maintained that their organization (and the martial arts girls) was not necessarily exploited by such encounters. Through their website, and other mediums, SNGO staff claimed that they were able to exert agency in SGD through their own stories of success, and present themselves to the "outside world" as they wished. Still, in many ways, these representations often played into the hands of funders in order to solicit further donations.

The racialized relations of aid, and the various subject positions of actors involved in this constellation, were also discussed. I described how the "White women's burden," combined with STNC's employee engagement strategies, and INGO's SGD activities with NGOs in the Two-Thirds World, who position themselves as benevolent, fair, honest and ethical women who were concerned about the wellbeing of their "Southern sisters." The ethic of a global sisterhood was cited as an important justification for STNC's employee engagement deployments in the Two-Thirds World. Cultural difference was often negotiated and addressed by partnering with "local" actors in the countries where STNC and INGO worked, in order to gain insights into new

emerging markets for women and girls' sport (in the case of STNC) or to help legitimize SGD programming solutions (in the case of INGO).

At the same time, I tried to show how the multiple identities and roles of staff members and young women were shaped by hierarchies of race, class, gender and nation, which meant that their involvement in the SGD constellation was never static, but fluid. These relations did not necessarily always function in a binary fashion (i.e., corporate employee, White woman from One-Third World vs. SNGO staff member, African woman from Two-Thirds World) but were fuzzy and interchangeable. I also argued that these nuances and multiple identities have not yet been sufficiently theorized and taken up by SDP research thus far, but there is the potential to do so by foregrounding postcolonial feminist frameworks that are attentive to intersectional approaches.

The final section of this chapter considered the ways that SNGO was able to exert agency and autonomy from donors through their various social enterprises, including the martial arts program. Specifically, I argued that SNGO staff exercised local agency by promoting self-reliance, not just among their staff, but also to the martial arts girls. The goal was for SNGO to eventually be unchained from the shackles of donors. Self-responsibility, self-care and individualism were also promoted through this entrepreneurial mantra. I argued that social entrepreneurship-as-agency was used as a critical strategy for SNGO's survival within the confines of neo-liberal development. At the same time, this entrepreneurship-as-agency approach did not transform the oppressive structures and patriarchal ideologies that exploited women and girls in Winita in the first place.

Hereafter, I linked SNGO's focus on social enterprise to broader discourses and social entrepreneurship promoted by INGO and STNC. The latter two entities were interested in

locating (and, I maintained) exploiting the stories of successful (SGD) social entrepreneurs in the Two-Thirds World. STNC wanted to use these stories to feed new and innovative ideas to their brand, while also locating new markets for their products at the bottom of the "assumed" pyramid (e.g., Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East).

Overall, in this chapter I suggested that combining various geo-political perspectives (i.e. One-Third World and Two-Thirds World SGD actors) is essential for realizing that taking the local standpoints of the girls and SNGO staff in Winita in isolation from the critical analysis of Westernized understandings of SGD is restricted in its contextual and political insights and contributions. Using postcolonial perspectives that aim to challenge the agency/ passivity binary, by seeking to recover the voices of the disadvantaged and oppressed may assist in facilitating a dialogue between development entities in the One-Third and Two-Thirds World. For example, instead of viewing Winita (Uganda, and Sub-Saharan Africa) in isolation from the broader global discourses and relations of development, this chapter tried to use a relational perspective that recognizes the connections and commonalities between the One-Third and Two-Thirds World, while still acknowledging and valuing how power relations and global inequalities are exacerbated by race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, class and nation (Agathangelou & Ling, 2009).

Thus, examining the flows of people, capital, cultures and other elements helps researchers to understand mutuality as opposed to the assumed binary of the "active, responsible" Northern agent versus the "passive, backward" Southern recipient (McEwan, 2009, p. 213). In summary, I suggest that these approaches combine, and build on, on Li's notion of the "constellation" of development and governmental interventions, and Eyben's (2010) "relational" understandings of aid, where uneven and shifting transnational flows of knowledge, power and material resources are produced and experienced in diverse contexts, as depicted in Figure 6.1.

It is also important to summarize and reiterate INGO's role and presence in the aid constellation as discussed throughout this chapter, particularly as they were trying to act as a critical "hinge" to keep the "SGD aid machine" well-oiled. In the first section of this chapter, I described how some of INGO's staff and board members (for example, Lesley and Jenna) expressed their frustrations with programming tactics that seemed to solely focus on sport-based modes of development (e.g., sport-focused social entrepreneurial activities). Alternatively, these interviewees suggested that INGO should consider promoting educational development and support basic needs (such as through non-sport related economic development ventures), or better link these elements to SGD interventions.

INGO's monitoring and evaluation models were designed to ensure that sport was always included in all the development activities they funded. The NGOs in the Two-Thirds World that INGO funded were separated and categorized into either "incubators" or "flagships" in order to validate progress, and to ensure that SGD programs with potential to grow (i.e., incubators) were evaluated and verified to be "worthwhile investments." INGO's monitoring and evaluation system stemmed from the same assessment guidelines used by STNC to scrutinize INGO's work. INGO therefore continued this chain of accountability, and the direction of this accountability was mostly downwards. That is, there seemed to be no mechanisms in place for INGO to provide feedback to STNC, or for SNGO to convey critical alternatives to INGO's accountability systems.

INGO staff argued that their accountability systems were their main "value proposition" and "competitive advantage." While they emphasized their unique ability to translate the value of what was happening in SGD "on the ground" to corporate donors in the One-Third World in an effective and efficient way, their systems seemed to ignore the specificities of the diverse

cultural contexts of Uganda, and the varied ways that SGD was taken up in the over twenty countries where INGO funded SGD projects.

Throughout this chapter, I attempted to situate issues of benevolence, philanthropic governance, corporate power and agency as social entrepreneurship by thinking through intersections of global neo-liberalism, racialized, class, nation and gendered SGD aid. In light of these issues, I contend that we must consider the complicity of the West in perpetuating the very global inequalities that justify GCSE interventions in the first place. As Darnell suggests, we need to distinguish between charity and issues of inequality in SDP research and praxis (Darnell, 2009). These issues also connect to the augmenting influence and authority of STNC over social welfare arenas, and to broader structures of corruption and global economic inequalities between and among nation-states. Given this, what are we to make of STNCs apparent ability to provide and brand social services in the Two-Thirds World? And can we blame SNGO for becoming increasingly 'professionalized', and for focusing on social entrepreneurship and economic innovation as a strategy for survival in a world where neo-liberal globalization dominates? I will explore these questions in greater depth in the conclusion chapter that follows.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

Focused on the glass half empty rather than half full, [an] angry and sceptical political sensibility is seldom if ever satisfied… If we are to make the shift from victimhood to potency, from judgment to enactment, from protest to positive projects, we also need to work on the moralistic stance that clings to a singular conception of power and blocks experimentation with power in its many forms (Gibson-Graham, 2006, p. 6).

7.1 Introduction: Embracing the "Glass Half Full"?

Over the past few years, while attempting to explain my research topic to others unfamiliar with this study, I am often asked whether – at the end of the day – STNC's girl-focused development interventions are, simply put, "good" or "bad." During these conversations, I find myself uncomfortably reverberating between a "glass half empty" and "glass half full" perspective as articulated by Gibson-Graham (2006) above. At various points in this story, I have uneasily danced around what I perceive to be the ethical implications of corporate involvement in development programming. And so, in this conclusion, I try to take a firm stance in terms of my position on these contentious issues. For the most part, I seek not to offer answers and predictable summaries, but instead, put forth some of the key contradictions uncovered through this work. I then move on to what I believe to be the methodological, theoretical and substantive contributions of this study, and make some suggestions in terms of future research. Finally, I share some preliminary thoughts as to how researchers might move towards mutual accountabilities and a more ethical and responsible SGD praxis.

7.2 Conclusion

This study had two main objectives: the first was to explore the diverse ways in which girls experienced a martial arts SGD program that was being deployed in Winita, Eastern Uganda as part of a vast array of strategies used by a Southern NGO (SNGO) to address the augmenting domestic violence and abuse of young women. A secondary focus was to examine global corporate social engagement (GCSE) interventions by considering how relations among a TNC, International NGO (INGO), and Southern NGO impacted and influenced constellations of aid as deployed in SGD, particularly by considering the "Girl Effect" discourse as it mediated these aid relations. My research was framed by the following research questions, which subsequently guided my analysis:

1. Understanding the SGD 'Aid Constellation:'

a) How are contemporary constructions of gender, race, poverty, sexuality, nation and culture shaped through the various individuals and institutions within the sport, gender and development aid constellation?

b) To what degree do corporations executing GCSE initiatives address the intersections of cultural difference and gender in their transnational programs?

c) How do domination and resistance mark sport, gender and development encounters at individual, institutional and societal levels?

d) How do institutional processes, as they pass throughout the aid constellation, influence the practices of knowledge that organize the SGD agenda; particularly as these processes shape the experiences of women and girls and foster subject positions within the wider SDP project?

e) What is the nature of the relationships between entities in the SGD aid constellation?

f) How do SGD-based corporate/non-governmental organization partnerships affect the lives of the women and girls involved?

g) How are notions of "empowerment," "participation," "development" and "sport" taken up and/or challenged by donors and (I)NGO staff?

h) What are the complex dynamics of power behind cross-cultural notions of 'cooperation' and 'development' between donor and recipient groups?

i) How are TNCs using GCSE strategies and discourses in order to "legitimize" their entrance into the sport, gender and development arena without challenging any of their actual operations and practices?

j) Who are the agents of knowledge in GCSE initiatives and what languages are being prioritized and marginalized?

k) How is it possible that TNCs are accepted by the societies they operate in?

2. Understanding sport, gender and development programs

a) What issues are of central concern to staff (including the young women who volunteer as martial arts trainers) administering SGD programs, and how are these issues linked to their everyday experiences?

b) How do staff administering SGD interventions at local, national and international levels describe and interpret their experiences?

c) What forms of patriarchy exist in SGD, and how do these re(produce)/ challenge the world views of those working in and around SGD programs and funding agencies?

d) How are Western notions of 'empowerment,' 'participation,' 'development' and 'sport' taken up and/ or challenged by those executing SGD interventions at local, national and transnational levels?

In essence, this study involved investigating the socio-political and relational implications of SGD by exploring and following the myriad connections through which they "come to life," and by considering how global/ local conceptions of SGD are formed, shaped and deployed through links among social actors based in particular sites. Throughout the next sections, I attempt to summarize my key conclusions for each research question.

7.2.1 Shaping constructions of Gender, Race, Poverty, Sexuality, Nation and Culture and Empowerment through Constellations of Aid in SGD

Throughout this dissertation, I have discussed how intersections and assumptions of race, gender, nation, class, poverty, sexuality, and culture mediate aid relations in SGD. For example, in Chapter Five, I demonstrated how employees from STNC and INGO maintained particular ideas about what empowering and "developing" girls from the Two-Thirds World implied. For these staff, facilitating empowerment through SGD often meant "slowly" translating its "real" meanings (Rosie, Program Director, INGO, October 2009), and/or acting as an "enabler" of empowerment that ensured girls in the Two-Thirds World would have opportunities to partake in sport (Charlotte, CSR Analyst, STNC, October 2009). Through these examples (and many others), I argued that the assumptions made by STNC and INGO staff about the targeted beneficiaries of SGD interventions, and their "partners" in the South, were exacerbated by particular socio-political understandings of race, poverty, gender, nation, class, culture, and sexuality. My findings indicated that, for the most part, these social categories often intersected to paint a very static "picture" of what the typical SGD targeted beneficiary might look like. That is, the Girl Effect, and SGD programs that append to its mission, tend to narrowly define what type of girl should be empowered/ "saved:" she is heterosexual, a racial minority, poor, and without agency.

In Chapter Six, I explained how racialized relations of aid, and the various subject positions of actors involved in the aid constellation, influenced the ways that meanings of SGD were deployed and "taken up" by targeted beneficiaries. Using constructs such as the "White woman's burden" and the "politics of global sisterhood," I demonstrated how assumptions about race (e.g., the "whiteliness" of STNC and INGO staff, often implying benevolence, fairness, and honesty) enmeshed with an ethic of global sisterhood that justified and often propelled SGD interventions to be conceptualized/ initiated in the One-Third World, and taken up in the Two-Thirds World. I also argued that this "flow of benevolence" did not always necessarily occur in a one-way manner (i.e., "North to South").

Through relations of aid, gender norms, notions of femininity and masculinity and gender relations circulated and intersected with particular ideas about race, sexuality, nation and culture. These (dis)connections organized SGD actors (STNC, INGO, SNGO staff, and the young martial arts trainers) in multiple and diverse positions, often ensuring that SGD programs – no matter how expertly defined, well-organized or strategically developed – were taken up in unintended and unruly ways. That is, staff from both the One-Third and Two-Thirds World had copious and sometimes conflicting understandings of what the martial arts program was supposed to, in effect, "accomplish." Their understandings were constructed around discourses of gender and development informed by ideas of, and broader global discourses about, the Girl Effect, social entrepreneurship, sport and economic empowerment, and neo-liberal governmentality (to name a few). The main point to underline is that the subject positions and identities of staff involved in executing, deploying and managing SGD programs *matter*, and uniquely shape and inform SGD aid relations and initiatives.

7.2.2 STNC and INGO: Do they address cultural difference through their SGD programs?

 Chapter Six explored the strategies used by STNC and INGO to try and address issues of cultural sensitivity and difference through their programs and policies. According to interviews, participant observation, and document analysis, STNC and INGO suggested that they were attentive to issues of difference and cultural sensitivity in the following ways:

1. By partnering with key actors in the Two-Thirds World when designing and executing and/ or funding SGD programs in these contexts.

2. By "listening" to the needs and voices of SGD NGOs and targeted beneficiaries in the Two-Thirds World when designing and executing and/ or funding SGD programs in diverse nations and local contexts.

3. For STNC specifically: by maintaining regional offices in Two-Thirds World, employing local staff in these offices, and using them as reference points in order to ensure branding and marketing communication – particularly messaging around CSR – was "in tune" with local/ cultural understandings of these same issues.

4. Using online mechanisms/ Internet platforms to build a stronger Two-Thirds World "presence" among SGD network actors, where Two-Third World groups could upload their own content and manage their own "identities" without being "censored" and/or "managed" by STNC or INGO.

5. Assisting to build "south-to-south" collaboration by funding networking events/ meetings among NGOs in the Two-Thirds World.

Though these strategies demonstrate that STNC and INGO were certainly attempting to address "diversity" in SGD, I maintain that, perhaps being "culturally sensitive" detracts from the inherent power inequalities that pervade SGD aid relations in the first place. I elaborate on this point further in section 7.7.

7.2.3 Domination, Resistance and SGD "Encounters"

Throughout this dissertation, I have drawn on Gramscian and Foucauldian constructs of power, as well as postcolonial feminist theory, to show how "dominating groups' abilities to exercise power or maintain their privileged positions are always subject to change and resistance" (Pringle, 2005, p. 259). I argued that hegemony and postcolonial theory are useful for highlighting the resilience, entrepreneurship and creativity of the young martial arts trainers, and SNGO staff, in response to the poverty and structural inequalities driven/ exacerbated by global neo-liberalism. At the same time, I used key constructs from Foucault's governmentality, including technologies of the self and biopedagogies, to recognize the body as a central site for the workings of neo-liberal forms of gender empowerment through the Girl Effect discourse (i.e., individual empowerment, self-responsibility), etc.

I also fused key insights from postcolonial feminist theories on knowledge construction, representation, agency, global capitalism, and discursive constructions of gender with Gramscian Marxist perspectives to locate agency "from below," but through an understanding of relational materialism, which builds on Marxist notions of a division of labor in the making of histories, but where the social location of the inquirer "generally reflects, though it is never reducible to, social relations that stem from a particular material context" (Agathangelou & Ling, 2009, p. 98). I argued that this relational materiality was crucial for understanding and contextualizing the relationships of domination and resistance as they were invoked and reworked through the aid constellation through multiple directions (not simply in a linear form, or "top down/ bottom up").

Overall, I asserted that the agency and resistance of women and girls, as positioned through SGD initiatives, mostly occurs through the hegemony of neo-liberal development, which often depicts such initiatives as accommodating patriarchal power relations, more so than evidence of *structural change*. I reiterated that, though the agency and resistance of the young

martial arts trainers vis-à-vis the martial arts program should *not be dismissed*, it is important to acknowledge that these instances are nonetheless represented in very explicit ways (e.g., gendered, heteronormative, racialized, etc.), and still perpetuate specific assumptions about how domination and resistance, vis-à-vis gender relations, "play out" in SGD. Though I recognize that some SGD programs do offer crucial spaces through which to challenge and resist development inequalities (e.g., Forde, 2008), there remain few examples of politically charged or radical alterations to the dominant political, social and economic order that exacerbate girls' poverty, marginalization and inequality in the first place. I debate these issues further in section 7.3.5.

7.2.4 Nature of relationships between entities in the SGD Aid Constellation and their impact on lives of young women of Winita

This research characterized the relations among SNGO, INGO, STNC in multiple ways: at times they were hegemonic, patronizing, unequal, repressive and even exploitive. Relations characterized in this way were mostly discussed throughout Chapter Six, particularly when considering the technologies of aid evaluation used to monitor and regulate the flows of money used to support and, in many ways, control SGD programs (see section 6.2.4). In other instances, there was evidence that relations among SNGO, INGO and STNC were based on collaboration, mutual dependence and understanding, where each actor was part and parcel of a broader SGD "movement." In particular, (and perhaps unsurprisingly) INGO and STNC's CSR staff seemed to coalesce around similar visions, mandates and understandings of SGD. I argued that this was mostly due to the deep personal relationships and social ties among staff members (some of whom had been employees of both STNC and INGO), and the common ground these entities maintained. Their offices were also in close proximity to one another, and they frequently held

weekly meetings and attended the same conferences, events and workshops on SGD (e.g.,

charity run in West African country), which facilitated cooperation and relationship-building.

The relations between SNGO and STNC, and SNGO with INGO were equally nuanced.

Interviews with SNGO staff revealed a genuine appreciation and respect for INGO's mission,

and of course, for INGO's financial support of the martial arts program. However, this was

layered with frustrations regarding the stringent monitoring and evaluation processes used, and

broader critiques of INGO's refusal to fund "non-sport" activities involved in the SGD program

such as transportation, and the provision of basic needs for the girls to participate in martial arts

(i.e., food and water).

To be clear, by ignoring these key infrastructural needs (i.e., transportation – including

fuel and vehicle maintenance for the two trucks used by SNGO) and by overlooking pertinent

domestic political economic issues (e.g., SNGO's policy and legal work on bride price and

domestic violence prevention), STNC and INGO made particular assumptions about the ways

"aid" would be taken up by SNGO, while not accounting for clear holistic solutions to the larger

social, economic and political problems that SNGO was trying to address through their work. Put

differently, explicitly funding "sport-focused" gender and development activities is limited in its

scope, impact and effect if the donors' restrictions prevent or undermine the ability of SNGO to

address the basic non-sport needs of targeted recipients and the other issues that directly

impinged upon the sport program.

For example, SNGO mostly used their vehicles to tend to women and girls who had

recently been the targets of domestic, sexual and/or gender-based violence. This was because, as

Ryan (Child Rights Officer, SNGO, November 2009) explained, the local police were deemed to

be "unreliable," and would not arrive at the scene of a domestic violence incident in a timely

manner (or, as Ryan noted, police would demand financial compensation from the victims in

order to take action against the perpetrators). Therefore, SNGO deployed domestic violence counsellors and legal aid associates immediately after an incident was reported. When such incidents were reported at the same time as the martial arts program was scheduled, Elisa and Trisha (senior martial arts trainers) were left stranded at SNGO's office, unable to find transportation to the (often) distant training sites where the girls awaited their sessions. This was because SNGO only had two vehicles to service all of their programming needs. Moreover, many of the martial arts program participants had to walk long distances to attend the program, and were often frustrated if they arrived at the school grounds only to find the session cancelled due to Elisa and Trisha's absence. If STNC and INGO had considered such issues, they may have put more funding into transportation.

SNGO was focused on using policy influence as a strategy to address structural inequalities. Through their legal department, and clear policy lobbying strategies, SNGO consistently tackled what they perceived to be as distinct gaps in the ways the Ugandan government recognized, protected and enhanced women and girls' rights. Through their efforts on bride price, marriage and divorce laws, SNGO was making some progress towards addressing the superstructural barriers to well-being of the young women in Winita. I contend that, if STNC and INGO paid more heed to these legal battles through policy influence (for example, through their own national policy change/advocacy channels in Western Europe vis-à-vis their international development/foreign policy departments), or by lobbying/ pressuring the Ugandan government to recognize SNGO's desire for policy shifts, they may have better assisted SNGO with these legal avenues for social change.

SNGO's relationship with STNC was quite complex. In many ways, from the perspective of SNGO staff, it was characterized by indifference, mostly because staff argued that they were not "directly" funded by STNC, and therefore suggested they did not receive funding from a

corporation. As Brett (Director Monitoring and Evaluation, SNGO, November 2009) maintained, "social issues are not very apparent to the corporate sector." And yet, this was clearly a relationship of importance considering STNC staff (Charlotte, Barbara) maintained strong ties to Katie (Co-Founder, SNGO) due to Katie's social entrepreneurship award funded and administered by STNC. In fact, Charlotte (CSR Analyst, STNC, October 2009) considered STNC to be a strong influence on SNGO's decision to instigate a martial arts program in the first place.

Finally, the relationships between these actors and the young women of Winita must also be addressed. Interviews with the young martial arts trainers did not disclose a great deal about their relations with STNC or INGO. For the most part, some trainers did acknowledge "visitors" from the West, and described how they (the young trainers) "enjoyed performing" martial arts during these encounters.[57] The young trainers acknowledged the benefits and challenges to participating in SNGO's martial arts program: they seemed open to discussing the challenges of participating in the program, and how it might be improved (e.g., providing basic needs such as food and water during training, improving transportation of trainers to different locations where program ran, and addressing the lack of community and family support for the program).

Ultimately, the relations among the actors in the aid constellation impacted the lives of the young martial arts trainers in inadvertent and intricate ways, as I describe in more detail in sections 7.3.1-7.3.3. For example, the technologies of monitoring and evaluation imposed by INGO (through SNTC) meant that the martial arts program was assessed in terms of its "scale" and "number of girls reached/ targeted" more so than by its quality, or the ways that its key learnings were translated to families and the wider communities of the Winita District. I have suggested that this is problematic on numerous levels. First, this system of evaluation failed to recognize SNGO's own distinct assessment systems of the martial arts program used through

their own monitoring and evaluation department. Second, SNGO staff seemed concerned about "scaling up" and expanding the program – a key focus of INGO's monitoring and evaluation measurements – rather than first addressing the wider structural barriers that seemed to prevent some of the program's aims from being fully realized.

Moreover, the technologies of aid evaluation involved a "rotating door" of INGO staff visits to Winita. During these visits, INGO staff would gauge the impact that the martial arts program had on the girls' lives. On these occasions, the girls wore their white martial arts uniforms while INGO staff took photos and videos of the young women's sparring sessions to use for their annual reports, brochures and website. Staff also interviewed the girls to ensure the program was "working," and recorded testimonials from the young trainers about the programs' successes.[58] In light of these issues, I avow that we must continue to explore the institutional elements and social, geographic and political diversity of SGD interventions, and the critical impact that such relations have on the lives of targeted beneficiaries.

7.2.5 "Legitimizing" GCSE Tactics and Interventions in SGD

This research has demonstrated that STNC was able to legitimize their entrance into SGD through the power of their brand, the private authority of transnational corporate knowledge, neo-liberal modes of governmentality, and the ethic of global sisterhood. Chapter Six highlights numerous instances where these tactics were effective for legitimizing STNC's entrance into the various Two-Thirds World nations where they carried out SGD programming. These tactics included employee engagement strategies such as charity runs in the Two-Thirds World, providing sanitation services such as public toilet facilities in refugee camps, and providing consulting services such as STNC's business "seminars" to help improve SGD NGOs' abilities to "professionalize." In these ways, STNC's sophisticated business skills, organizational

knowledge and abundant resources seemed to be (from STNC's perspective) in high demand by NGOs in the Two-Thirds World.

And yet, sometimes STNC's presence was subtle, and difficult to detect. Ironically, the Directors of SNGO argued that they did not want to be affiliated with the corporate sector, as they contended that TNC's had no regard for "social issues." Though they had been approached by multiple corporate donors (e.g., one of Uganda's most highly regarded national banks wanted to sponsor their work), SNGO's directors (Brett and Matt) continually refused private sector involvement. However, some SNGO staff members did not consider STNC to be a direct donor of the martial arts program, and therefore accepted their funding through INGO. At the same time, not all SNGO staff were opposed to corporate involvement in their work. Indeed, many staff were eager to locate TNCs that would provide a "sports sponsorship" for those elite martial arts trainers who, staff argued, were particularly promising athletes with enormous potential to showcase their talents to a global audience. In these ways, some SNGO staff felt that a corporate sponsorship would be beneficial for augmenting the visibility of these talented young athletes.

7.2.6 Overall Conclusions

This study found that the drive for global corporate social engagement, when entangled with neo-liberal globalization, pushes STNCs (and not only NGOs) working in SGD to look to social innovation and entrepreneurship as strategies for survival in an increasingly competitive and unstable economy. Of course, as the research here demonstrates, this shift holds profound implications for those targeted by GCSE-driven SGD programs. It means that girls may be viewed by actors in the SGD aid constellation as creative, innovative and entrepreneurial targets of neo-liberalism. This contention supports the key tenets of the Girl Effect, and perhaps

suggests that girls do, in fact, hold enormous amounts of potential as the next "agents" of development.

Importantly, these arguments do not necessarily dismiss girls' agency, and should not imply that possibilities for resistance only exist within the confines of economic empowerment via social entrepreneurial strategies in SGD. Certainly, there are other social and cultural ways for exerting agency and resistance, which future research may bring our attention to. The findings of this dissertation do suggest, however, that the "targets" of SGD programs must actively work within the constraints of neo-liberal development tactics, and alter them for their own benefit in order to gain increased autonomy (whether through "digging," or working as a karate instructor). This increased self-sufficiency and self-reliance via social entrepreneurship seems to be beneficial on two levels. First, for SNGO, social entrepreneurship and innovative development approaches to SGD and "gender empowerment" may result in "cutting ties" from the purse strings of donors in the Two-Thirds World. Second, for the young martial arts trainers, increased autonomy means becoming "entrepreneurs of themselves" by taking charge over their own lives. As I further argue in the forthcoming sections, becoming self-reliant is problematic when the young trainers are not supported structurally to pursue their economic independence, or in their quest to challenge gender norms.

7.3 The Contradictions, Contemplations and Challenges of SGD

In this section, I build on the summary described in 7.2 by elucidating what I consider to be the key challenges and contradictions uncovered through this research in terms of aid relations in sport, gender and development, and the erratic ways that SGD programs influence targeted beneficiaries. Throughout this section, I try to build on the work of other ethnographers of

gender and development aid such as Ferguson and Gupta (2002), Ferguson (2006), Mosse (2005 a,b), Li (2007) and Thayer (2010).

Based on my research, it is clear that aid relations in SGD are not only unruly, complex, diverse and contradictory, but also result in entrepreneurial development strategies and unique social experiments that are innovative and rapidly changing through the multiple constellations of actors constantly shifting and challenging the meaning of a simple "dyadic partnership" in development. The aid relations that I studied cannot be understood as simply "paternalistic" (cf., Baaz, 2005), but are rather a constellation of multiple organizational actors where individual ties and connections often mean that influential but undetected relationships within a development network may go unnoticed (i.e., STNC staff meeting with SNGO's co-founder at a charity run in North East Africa, contributing to SNGO's decision to use a SGD program).

Mosse and Lewis's (2005) edited volume entitled *The Aid Effect* shows how ethnographers exploring the social-relational logics of the "new aid regime" focus on "the politics behind policy: the relationships of control disguised as local ownership, the politics of the gift behind the legality of the contract, and [the] interpretive flexibility and productivity of development policy" (Mosse, 2005b, p.22). The work examined in this dissertation suggests that the "new aid regime" characterized by neo-liberal politics as described by Mosse and Lewis' edited volume is still very much alive, particularly through the increasing involvement of TNCs in SGD. Indeed, the rational-instrumental character of neo-liberal aid regimes, and the disjunctures and contradictions that lay claim to this system, will only continue unless we are able to move towards a more ethical, responsible, and perhaps more accountable SGD praxis. In this section, I sketch out some of the key contradictions and challenges of aid relations and practices in SGD as highlighted by this research. The issues outlined are not meant to be

exhaustive – they are only meant to illuminate some of the tensions that arose through this research.

7.3.1 Challenge #1: The Girl Effect, SGD and Gender as a "Constrained Choice"

The evidence presented in this research suggests that the young women of Winita had beneficial experiences by participating in the martial arts program, whether through its "gender training" components, entrepreneurial mechanisms, and/or elements of physical fitness. Certainly, for every staff member or young martial arts trainer interviewed, there seemed to be some type of positive message to be delivered relative to their experience in the program.[59] Chapter Five (section 5.2) summarizes the positive aspects of the martial arts initiative, mostly using the perspectives of the young martial arts trainers. As this section suggests, the program seemed to successfully encourage the girls to be flourishing, educated, employable and confident young leaders ready to take on responsibility for their own development and health.

And yet, throughout this study, it seems crucial to question the assumption that the young women of Winita are supposed to be able to make decisions and choices about their own health and well-being within the broader contexts of power and privilege, where their gender ultimately influences the control they have over certain choices and opportunities. However, perhaps the more crucial question is whether or not we can assume that they necessarily always *have a choice* in the first place. The assumption seems to be that if only the girls make the *right* choices, avoid risky behaviour (i.e., practice individual avoidance) and take more responsibility for their own actions, then will they be able to reap the benefits of the martial arts program.[60]

Moreover, the girls' reported their increased physical strength by training in taekwondo and karate made them more valuable and productive citizens. For example, the young martial arts trainers noted that their family members positively commented on their abilities to carry out

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extra housework more quickly and efficiently. These young women also spoke of their appreciation for their increased fitness as useful for digging to gain income so that they could then purchase sanitary napkins to participate in the program (to feel comfortable when conducting their karate kicks). In other cases, the young trainers conveyed that martial arts made them feel more secure while carrying out evening chores when they were more likely to encounter violent attackers. These were not the intentions of the martial arts program, as Matt and Brett clarified when I raised these issues during my final days in Winita (Field Notes, November 22, 2009).

Of course, the martial arts program is simply a departure point for changing the ways girls are valued and perceived in Winita, and throughout Uganda. The young women's ability to earn their own income through digging, and perform chores quickly and efficiently (and feeling confident enough to carry out these tasks in spite of the dangers that lurked in the evening) were all positive outcomes of the program from *their perspectives*, even if they weren't necessarily the *intended* outcomes. It was beyond the scope of this research to investigate and understand the processes and rationales behind these unintended outcomes (e.g., exploring whether the girls were being attacked more often due to their new-found martial arts skills, or whether they did more domestic work or digging explicitly because of their improved physical fitness). However, my results do underline the need to further consider the inadvertent outcomes of the Winita girls' participation in this SGD initiative, in order to truly understand if being able to engage in these activities (described above) was truly transformative.

There is certainly only so much that SGD programs are able to change, and altering the structural constraints that uphold power inequities responsible for limiting girls' choices is above and beyond SNGO's capabilities. As Charrard (2010, p. 218) stipulates, "we treat structural forces and having conflicting effects on women's lives in different social settings, as they may

all at once facilitate empowerment and agency on some dimensions and increase marginalization on others." In other words, "essentializing" and "blaming" structural forces as an inherently constraining agency is perhaps unrealistic, particularly as agency can also reproduce social structures. It may be unhelpful, then, to view structure and agency dichotomously, especially in terms of understanding women's agency across cultures (Charrard, 2010). Certainly, sport in itself is a social structure, imbued with social relations and processes that mediate girls' participation in SGD interventions. Structures of opportunity, and the ways that sport and gender are institutionalized across Winita (and, more broadly, Uganda) through political and social systems, inevitably influence the ways the girls take up the program.

Still, the Girl Effect, and SGD programs that take up and build on its key tenets, ignores the myriad structural constraints that operate in the lives of the Winita girls that prevent them from fully benefiting from its intentions. The general assumption remains that girls have the choice to participate in the program: they simply need to make the *active* choice to participate, and the rest will follow. I concur with Agathangelou and Ling's (2009, p. 52-53) argument that "providing choice for women" will not automatically lead to an independent, fulfilled life. That is, the increased focus on the ability of women in the Two-Thirds World to be self-reliant by making their own decisions and choices may ignore the fact that such choices are being made under oppressive social structures and institutions (Wilson, 2008). Addressing such tensions of agency, culture and structure remains a continuous challenge in SGD research and programming.

7.3.2 Challenge #2: (Re)considering Gender Relations in SGD Research and Practice

A second challenge identified through this research is the lack of consideration of gender relations in SGD research (and, more broadly, SDP scholarship). Indeed, the study explored in this dissertation highlights the importance of foregrounding, disentangling and deconstructing

the ways that "culturally dominant forms of practising gender are negotiated, coproduced, and performed within interpersonal relationships," (Bottorff et al., 2012, p. 176).

Before departing from Winita, many of the SNGO staff (Liz, Trisha, Matt, Brett, Ryan) wanted to know if this research revealed any insights into whether or not boys should be included in the martial arts program (Field Notes, November 25, 2009). This seemed to be a pressing question throughout many of my informal conversations with SNGO staff and the young martial arts trainers during fieldwork in Winita. For how was the program to shift gender relations between boys and girls, when the boys were not being included in the "gender training," or the martial arts activities? Addressing the relational impact of gender in the context of SGD is utterly crucial in order to understand how social relations shift and change in the face of variable and fluid gender dynamics. Considering the relational impact of gender in SGD also involves viewing gender as a continuum, and challenging gendered assumptions about prescribed/ predetermined gender relations by acknowledging that girls may not be the *only* targets of violence. This may involve, as Bottorff et al. (2012, p. 178) write, "opening up space for conceptualizing male femininities and female masculinities." However, in contexts such as Uganda, it is imperative to be sensitive to the fact that challenging gendered assumptions is not always culturally appropriate and acceptable.

The martial arts program reinforced the assumption that girls are the only targets and victims of violence in Winita by exclusively enrolling girls in the program, as boys watched in curiosity from the sidelines. SNGO celebrated the girls' participation in the martial arts initiative through public demonstrations, providing them with a platform to display their strength, confidence and power while the young trainers were attacked by *borda borda* (men on bicycles) as described in section 5.7.1. Still, as Cooky (2011, p. 211) reminds us, "the public celebration of

girls' and women's sport does not always translate into increased participation, increased

opportunities, or broader shifts in the *structural* landscape of sport" (Cooky, 2011, p. 211).

Perhaps, then, the martial arts program was forming a small crack in that structural

landscape, slowly altering gender relations by training the girls of Winita as a starting point, for

SNGO was only responding to its mission: to prevent domestic violence against women. And

this mission was based on statistical evidence that SNGO had been gathering for well over a

decade about the high rates of sexual and gendered-based violence against women and girls by

men and boys in the Winita District. In the broader context of Uganda, where homosexuality is a

criminal act, it was almost dangerous for staff to move away from the heteronormative

assumptions that provided justification for their focus on teaching self-defence to only girls (as

doing so would acknowledge that homosexual relations actually existed) (Ryan, Child Rights

Officer, Field Notes, November 19, 2009).

At the same time, the gendered expectations and understandings impelled by the Girl

Effect discourse also fail to consider the diversity and hierarchy of gender roles and identities

that shape the multiple ways that gender connects to sport for development interventions. Staff

from STNC and INGO upheld very specific assumptions about gendered relationships, many of

which were infused by Western-based gender norms vis-à-vis the Girl Effect. For example, the

idea that empowering a girl economically (by training her to be a martial arts coach) seems to

assume that once girls are employed and have income disposal, they will be more autonomous

and free to make their own decisions. Though opportunities to become martial arts trainers

presented an important chance at economic independence and (perhaps) empowerment

(depending on whose definition of empowerment is being used), nonetheless assuming that girls

would be able to take on such roles tends to ignore the broader systemic problems underlying

and reinforcing gender discrimination in the first place – problems such as domestic violence,

and how power is negotiated in gender relations in the Winita District more broadly. There was evidence – based on my interviews with the young martial arts trainers, and SNGO staff – that the boys and men were perceived to feel threatened by the fact that girls were participating in martial arts, learning new skills, and in some cases, earning a living through their new positions as martial arts trainers. Subsequently, the girls experienced verbal abuse, and in some cases, physical abuse due to their participation in the program.[61] Therefore, assumptions of heterosexuality aside, it is still essential to develop a program for boys and men to provide them with educational opportunities to discuss their roles in sexual, domestic and gender-based violence.

Future research on SGD programs, therefore, needs to use a more nuanced, intersectional and relational theory of masculinities and femininities. A starting point for research that builds on the study presented here might be to investigate the interactions between boys and girls in the Winita District, and the means by which these relations influence girls' development, health outcomes, constraints and opportunities. I elaborate on these ideas in section 7.5, in which I make recommendations for future research.

7.3.3 Challenge #3: Preventing or Perpetuating Gender-Based Violence through SGD?

The third challenge speaks to the uncertainties pertaining to sport and its relationship with gender-based violence, or more specifically, whether sport is a useful tool for *preventing* sexual and gender-based violence, or whether it *perpetuates* such violent encounters. For example, there is an abundance of literature from the One-Third World (e.g., Cense & Brackenridge, 2001; Fasting, Brackenridge & Walseth, 2002) that explains how sport participation may expose female athletes to increased instances of sexual violence and harassment (e.g., mostly from "male authorities" such as coaches). At the same time, the "protection hyphothesis" suggests the

sport is useful for females to build their capacity to protect and defend themselves against sexual harassment and abuse *outside* of sport by developing self-esteem, confidence and physical strength (Fasting, 2005; Fasting, Brackenridge, & Sundgot Borgen, 2003). Fasting (2005, p. 5) summarizes the ambiguities of this research in the following way:

> Very little is…known about differences between the incidence and prevalence of sexual harassment and abuse inside and outside sport. Without such data it is impossible to verify arguments concerning whether sport is "worse" than other life activities, the relative immunity of sport from the problems of sexual harassment and abuse or arguments about the value of engaging in sport as a protection against sexual harassment and abuse more generally.

In the Two-Thirds World, particularly in the Sub-Saharan African context, several studies have demonstrated that the participation of women and girls in sport – whether as spectators or athletes – may in fact experience more sexual harassment and violence through their involvement. For example, a recent edited collection entitled *Gender, Sport and Development in Africa* demonstrates that women are viewed as a threat to the male system of power relations in sport, and they subsequently "become targets of toxic myths, stigmas, and harassment in sport spaces to perpetuate the domination of these spaces by heterosexual, masculine males," (Shehu, 2010, p. x). In Zimbabwe, Daimon (2010) shows how – by entering the soccer stadium – female spectators are often the more susceptible targets of soccer violence, increasingly subjected to sexual harassment, gender-based violence and insulting remarks and ridicule supported by the public, which inevitably makes women feel as though they "ask for harassment" by going to the stadium in the first place. Due to the dominant norms of femininity in Zimbabwe (e.g., passivity and submissiveness), women are not expected to attend soccer matches alone and thus are not permitted to enter the "public sphere" without a male escort. Women and girls who choose to

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enter such spaces do so at their own risk, and are therefore subjected to various forms of violence and ridicule (Daimon, 2010).

What does this all mean for a SGD intervention such as the martial arts program? The results of my study indicate that this intervention successfully increased girls' self-esteem, confidence and self-defence skills. The stories of audacity relayed to me by the young martial arts trainers, combined with Lexi's legend, demonstrated that *outside* of sport, the intentionality of the program to address the sexual violence and abuse endured by the girls was, for the most part, successfully realized. At the same time, the young martial arts trainers did describe incidences of ridicule, sexual, physical and emotional abuse due to their participation in the program. They were told that if they engaged in martial arts, they would lose their virginity, which would subsequently dishonour and humiliate their families, resulting in stigmatization, dire consequences, and endangered futures.

Despite these barriers, I suggest the young martial arts trainers who participated in the program blatantly challenged Ugandan femininities characterized by domination and complicity with hegemonic masculinity. Based on my interviews and observations, these young women boldly confronted Ugandan gender stereotypes that suggest girls should be submissive, shy, complicit and feeble. These young women did not appear to require the protection and authority of boys and men, (which has always been a key element to maintaining men's and boys' power over women and girls). In section 5.7.1, I showed how the girls simultaneously strategically resisted and tackled the assumptions of gender hierarchies, yet also played into hegemonic masculinities. These young martial arts trainers accomplished such actions by using forms of subversive agency: simultaneously resisting and co-operating with the hegemonic forms of masculinities in very strategic ways.

It remains difficult, then, to decipher whether the young women of Winita were incurring more violence and abuse by participating in the martial arts program than those who did not participate. However, INGO – in recognizing the prevalence of gender-based violence in SGD spaces – has now built a campaign that argues SGD programs provide a "safe space" to discuss and build strategies to address violence inside and outside of sport. Further research is therefore needed to address the possible connections between gender-based violence prevention interventions and SGD programs.

7.3.4 Challenge #4: On "Gold Standards" and Ironic Activism in SGD

The three preceding sections mostly focused on the central challenges that emerged in terms of SGD and the martial arts program specifically (focusing on responding to the second objective of this study). With this section, I shift to address the first objective of this research by revisiting the relations of the aid constellation, and the implications of striving towards the "gold standard" in SGD work (or "best practices").

Through a strong culture of monitoring and evaluation, INGO wanted to brand itself as the resource for "all things SGD" – connecting development specialists, women's rights activists, and elite sports organizations with the SGD cause. They understood that there was a gap to fill by melding these three worlds together (development, elite sport and women's rights groups) for the common cause of empowering women and girls through sport for development programs. Most of the interviewees from STNC and INGO viewed INGO as a key entity to bring together what they perceived to be very disparate movements, including development organizations, women's rights groups, and elite sport organizations. To do this successfully, INGO felt that creating a formula to set a "global gold standard" for SGD programming was crucial for enabling governments, companies and volunteers to have a comprehensive benchmark with which to rate

all SGD programs. And yet, the presumed authority of the "gold standard," and the ways that the twenty-six NGOs (mostly in the Two-Thirds World) with whom INGO worked were evaluated, were based on a very Westernized criterion of what "success" and best practices actually entailed.

For example, INGO evaluated their SGD partner's programs based on scale (e.g., of girls enrolled in the program), the potential for sustainability and "scale-up," (how many targeted beneficiaries could be reached), and finally, what they called "influencer criteria" (or the popularity and prominence of a program in a given community/ country) (INGO Strategy Report, 2010-2012). However, the gold standard of programming did not seem to incorporate more holistic issues that promoted girls' development such as transportation to and from programming, paying their education fees, and ensuring their health and safety were accounted for while participating in martial arts. Instead, according to Liz (SNGO staff member), INGO insisted on only paying for sport-focused development in order to use their donor dollars efficiently, while SNGO scrambled to locate funding for the other "unattractive" programming necessities (as described above). I contend that this is part of the "gold standard" mentality, where INGO evaluated the success of the SGD programs it funded based on, for example, SNGO's ability to use INGO's dollars effectively and efficiency. For the most part, this left SNGO struggling to figure out how to fund the "extra social services" (i.e., transportation) that would actually make their SGD program meet this Westernized gold standard. Only then would they be able to obtain further funding from INGO.

INGO wanted to promote competition among the SGD NGOs they funded in order to improve practice and increase efficiency. At the same time, though, it is important to note that INGO tried to facilitate south-to-south partnerships and co-operation by funding leaders from the SGD NGOs they supported in Kenya, Uganda and Zimbabwe to enable them to congregate and

network through meetings hosted by INGO in these countries, and in Western Europe. Though these SGD NGOs in Kenya, Uganda and Zimbabwe were not competing for "targeted beneficiaries," they were competing for INGO's funding, and so in many ways, INGO's search for the gold standard created a strong culture of competition among them (Rosie, Program Director, INGO, October 2009).

In summary, and as other research on NGOs conducting work in sport for development has demonstrated, there are inherent contradictions in a kind of "ironic activism," whereby NGOs that are mandated to address core concerns around gender inequalities and poverty are often "uncritically, reluctantly and/or seemingly unavoidably" participants in a neo-liberal-driven competition for limited resources (Wilson & Hayhurst, 2009). Indeed, as Smith (2008, p. 35) remarks, "more deliberate cultural work is required to amplify the values of democracy, cooperation, and community over the neo-liberal values of profit, competition, and individualism." I argue that, through their search to locate the "global gold standards" for SGD, INGO risked homogenizing and perpetuating a singular, uniform "SGD logic" without considering cultural diversity and local contexts. Also striking was that INGO was based in the West, writing the "best practices" documents in English to help legitimize the work of SGD NGOs in the Two-Thirds World. In other words, did SNGO really need INGO to tell them what *their* best practices were? At the same time, Rosie (Program Director, SNGO) noted that they were simply trying to act as an "enabler" for SGD NGOs based in the Two-Thirds World.

Without question, then, transnational experts such as INGO were crucial elements in the operation of the SGD "machine." As Escobar (2008, p. 201) reminds us, the goals, training, interests, tastes and orientations of development "experts" (such as INGO) are what keep development networks going, and "well oiled." In the next section, I further consider the significance of these issues in terms of negotiating development in a neo-liberal system that

constantly requires and demands that organizations such as INGO and SNGO "prove" to their donors that the work they do is making a concerted difference in the lives of marginalized young women.

7.3.5 Challenge #5: Adjusting to neo-liberal globalization, or embracing radical social change (or both)?

The preceding section suggests that the NGOs involved in this research have the potential to embody and act as the new agents of imperialism and potentially "Trojan horses of neo-liberalism" (Harvey, 2005) due to their role in perpetuating inequalities through practices of "ironic activism." Throughout this dissertation, I have suggested that INGO and SNGO have been subjected to new managerialist norms and practices of NGOization that increasingly push these entities to compete with one another, embrace a "business is best" mentality, and manage their development projects with an eye to bottom lines and public relations strategies. In many ways, I have argued that it is difficult to evade or negotiate the damage and destruction that capitalism leaves in its wake as it infiltrates SGD practices, particularly by pushing girls as the "new success stories" of neo-liberal development.[62]

At the same time, it is perhaps all too easy to point the finger at global capitalism and suggest that it "causes everything" (Bedford, 2009; Gibson-Graham, 2006). As one sage scholar and mentor asks: "Can we distinguish between sound management practices and capitalist ones? Could there be an effectively run NGO with Africanist or socialist goods and outcomes? What would be the difference?"[63] That is, must NGOs wholly embrace radicalism, revolutionary change and avoid any forms of complicity with global capitalism, or are hybrid versions of NGOs acceptable, i.e., ones that embrace both neo-liberal tendencies and radical revolutionary change? Have we, as Gibson-Graham (2006, p. 53) eloquently asks, "come to accept that 'the economy' establishes the bottom line for action and 'it' makes us perform in certain ways?" Or,

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is there room for celebrating alternatives and different understandings of organizations such as SNGO that are building a locally based social movement in the Winita District alongside innovative social entrepreneurship programs using SGD?

Along these lines, Gibson-Graham (2006, p.3) argues for an alternative to the judgemental, hyperskeptical, parsimonious and unpleasant academic who claims that it is impossible to make any dents in corporate globalization, that any alternatives are simply part and parcel of the neo-liberal order, and that attempts to change the system are, at best, co-opted and naïve. From this perspective, it is important to look for nuances in the research presented here. For example, though SNGO received funding indirectly from STNC and INGO, this does not necessarily mean that it has no agency to govern its own practices, or challenge gender inequalities within the confines of global capitalism. And perhaps STNC is not *only* stepping in to provide social services in the Two-Thirds World because they are trying to tap into new markets, feed their brands, and improve their bottom lines. In other words, the story told throughout this dissertation has many sides, angles, positions and perspectives. It is therefore crucial to reflect on the social position of the storyteller.

As a former NGO worker, UN employee and current graduate student, I find myself wedged uncomfortably in the middle of these challenging debates, critically listening to and reflecting upon both sides, and aware of some of the multiple struggles and unruly practices in development work and theory that make this debate a particularly challenging one. Perhaps the challenge for unravelling stories like the one described in this dissertation is to layer heavy handed remarks and judgements about the involvement of TNCs in development, or about NGOs imperialistic and "business-like" qualities, with what Gibson-Graham (2006, p. xxvii) calls "an ontology of a politics of possibility." For Gibson-Graham (2006, p. 3), the ontological commitment to this theory is an ethical act of enabling such a politics, by, for example, "building

community economies as a practice of (post)-development." Touching on these issues further, I briefly describe what I believe to be involved in an ethics of accountability and politics of possibility in SGD praxis in section 7.7. Before doing so, I outline the scholarly implications of and contributions to this research.

7.4 Scholarly Implications and Key Contributions

In this section, I examine some of the key contributions and scholarly connotations of this research by considering its theoretical, methodological and substantive contributions. The first sections focus on the theoretical interventions made, focusing on sport feminisms, cultural studies of girlhood and sport, sociological studies of sport for development and peace, global governance theory, and postcolonial feminist theory. I then turn to the methodological implications of this research, followed by some suggestions about possible interventions made to improve SGD policy and programming.

7.4.1 Sport Feminisms and Cultural Studies of Girlhood and Sport

This research tried to respond to requests of sport feminists (e.g., Hargreaves, 1999, 2004) that more research speak to the local-global issues of scale and to a "transnational, anticapitalist feminist politics" (Mohanty, 2006, p. 233). As Hargreaves (2004, p. 202) argues, "the focus [in sport studies] is on discrimination and inequalities within the nation state…[and] there has been very little attention by the academic community to the local-global connections." Despite the increasing attention paid to SGD interventions, sport feminists have tended to ignore literature on international development, and postcolonial feminisms, whereas studies on sport for development tend to neglect gender, although there are some notable exceptions (e.g., Brady, 2005; Friesen, 2010; Hargreaves, 1997; Hayhurst, MacNeill & Frisby, 2011; Larkin, 2007; Kay, 2011; MacDonnell, 2010; Nicholls & Giles, 2007; Saavedra, 2005).

In this study, I have used multiple frameworks to conceptualize gender such as viewing gender as a constrained choice, thinking more critically about gender relations, institutionalized forms of gender and masculinities and femininities in the context of SGD. I have also submitted that it is important not to discount the nation, local cultural norms and customs when theorizing what SGD actually *means* for those taking up such initiatives. These considerations apply not just to the girls as targets of SGD programs, but also those staff implementing SGD programs "on the ground" (i.e. SNGO staff). Gender is indeed a multidimensional construct, and I argue that research on SGD thus far has not sufficiently attended to its multiple nuances and conceptualizations, particularly in the Sub-Saharan African context (exceptions include Forde, 2008; MacDonnell, 2010; Shehu, 2010). Through a postcolonial feminist approach attentive to intersections of race, class, gender, nation, and sexuality, this research has aimed to address how these constructs of gender are interwoven within systems of global neo-liberalism.

Second, cultural studies of girlhoods (e.g., Pomerantz, 2009; Harris, 2004; McRobbie, 2000, 2009) and explorations of girl studies in sport sociology (e.g., Azzarito, 2010; Cooky, 2009, 2011; Daniels & Leaper, 2006; Evans, 2006; Heywood, 2007, 2008; Messner, 2009; Sabo, 2009) have, for the most part, remained firmly rooted in One-Third World contexts. The research explored in this study has attempted to theorize girlhoods in Two-Thirds World contexts – not in isolation, but in *relation* to dominant constructions of the "global girl" as the new subject of capacity unleashed vis-à-vis the Girl Effect. By framing my two results chapters as dialogues between entities, instead of writing a results chapter based explicitly on each entity in the aid constellation, my goal was to consider the relational undertones of postcolonial feminism, particularly by acknowledging the premise that "gender, sexualities, race, classes, nations, and even continents exist not as hermetically sealed entities but rather as part of a permeable interwoven relationality" (Shoat, 2002, p. 68). Interviewing staff from STNC, INGO and SNGO

was useful for highlighting the multiple relations and identities entangled within the constellation of actors involved in delivering SGD aid, programming and policy.

Taken together, what this means theoretically is that researching "girlhoods" in conjunction with postcolonial feminist theory not only helps us attend to issues of voice, agency, power, privilege, race, gender, class, sexuality, colonialism and nation and their ultimate impact on girls in the Two-Thirds World, but is also useful for encompassing and accounting for the multiple, layered and hybrid ways that girls in the Two-Thirds World experience sport and SGD interventions informed by the Girl Effect discourse more specifically. Indeed, there has been a notable silence in the literature on just *what exactly* the Girl Effect means for subalterns: girls in the Two-Thirds World. I argue that they have been silenced by this discourse because it works to fictitiously homogenize their voices, instead of accounting for the multiple, nuanced and lived realities of what it means to be a girl in a specific cultural context in the Two-Thirds World. Accounting for the voices of the young women of Winita begins to contribute to the lack of research on young women in the Two-Thirds World. As Waite and Conn's (2011, p. 118) assert, "in the context of young people's voices in development more generally (an oddity given the very young demographic profile of many African countries), girls and young women are less likely to have a voice."

In summary, this study has attempted to draw attention to these lacunas by using postcolonial feminist conceptualizations of girlhood to highlight how intersectional and relational approaches to feminism improve our understandings of how girls experience SGD programs. In these ways, I have also aimed to shed light on the ways that their sexuality, gender, class, nation and race impact the ways that they take up SGD activities and programming tactics that are part of a broader global "Girl Effect" movement harnessed and driven by the West.

7.4.2 Fusing Global Governance with Postcolonial Feminist International Relations Theory in Sport Studies

Postcolonial feminist IR theory (Agathangelou & Ling, 2004, 2009) has yet to be examined within the sociology of sport, and more broadly, IR theory has been largely ignored in the context of sport (with a few notable exceptions, such as Houlihan, 1994, 1997 and Black, 2008). As Black (2008, p. 469) argues, "sport remains widely neglected in the scholarly fields of International Relations (IR) and Foreign Policy specifically, and Political Science more generally." For the most part, SDP research has primarily used neo-realist international relations (IR) perspectives that tend to focus primarily on the role of the state within the international system (e.g., explaining and comparing the role of Western state(s) in designing and implementing sport development and development-through-sport policies and programs e.g., Houlihan 1997; Houlihan and White, 2002). Scholars have argued that these studies mostly focus on the involvement of states in sport, sports diplomacy or to achieve foreign policy objectives, and (at times) the role of NGOs and major international federations in governing sport (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011).

I contend that by using postcolonial feminist IR theory, this study departs from neo-realist approaches to exploring sport development and development-through-sport that focus exclusively on the state. This has been accomplished by highlighting the involvement of non-state actors, viewing these entities as socially constructed "agents," and by considering the agency and culture of the marginalized "Other" in global development politics (in this case SNGO and the young martial arts trainers). Using global governance and postcolonial feminist IR theory also contributed to the constellation approach invoked through this study by recognizing that Winita is connected to the broader global discourses of the Girl Effect and various relations of development and global governance. This study has deliberately promoted a

relational perspective that acknowledges the importance of multiple non-state actors in world

politics such as NGOs, social entrepreneurs, and transnational corporations in the international

system, while still recognizing how power relations and global inequalities are exacerbated by

race, gender, sexuality, class and nation. This study has also contributed to theorizing GCSE,

corporate social responsibility and international development (e.g., Bhanji, 2008; Evans, 2007)

within the SGD context, particularly by responding to Khan and Lund-Thomsen (2011) and

Prieto-Carron's (2006) contentions that more studies on CSR and international development

need to highlight the "people-case" to identify how CSR initiatives (and GCSE interventions)

affect the communities they target.

7.4.3 Methodological Contributions

Methodologically, global ethnography has not yet been used within studies of sport for

development. Through this research, I have tried to provide useful tools with which to examine

multiple and overlapping dimensions of the sports-industrial complex. This has included the

structural, institutional, ideological and cultural aspects of this complex, and the various key

groups involved, including a transnational corporation, NGOs and those targeted by SGD

interventions. Sport sociologists have only recently started to explore the connections between

the sports-industrial complex as it interacts with sport for development (e.g., Maguire, 2008;

Kidd, 2008; Giulianotti, 2011). I suggest that using a global, multi-sited approach inspired by

institutional ethnographies that combine multiple geo-political perspectives (i.e. top-down and

bottom up, or Two-Thirds World and One-Third World SDP initiatives) has provided new

insights and meanings into the transnational nature of SDP studies. While studies of SDP NGOs

in isolation of transnational forces are useful for providing in-depth accounts of policies,

programming and impacts, I contend such studies potentially ignore crucial transnational, cross-

cultural and postcolonial dynamics that influence these same issues. Also, the use of multi-sited ethnography offers promise in the field of postcolonial feminist IR by exposing IR as a "culturally and historically specific ethnographic account" of actors and their place in the world (Vrasti, 2008, p. 300-301). As Escobar (2008, p. 200) advocates, what's now required for the critical ethnographers of development aid is

> …a detailed understanding of the relation between policy and practice as it is played out at many sites by a diversity of actors; interestingly, this understanding needs to be multi-positioned in addition to multi-sited, with the anthologist as part insider and part outsider in several of these sites. The hope is that, given the reality of development, the critical ethnographer could illuminate the conditions for a more effective popular appropriation of the projects.

Escobar's remarks lend great importance to the need to continue multi-positioned, and multi-sited, ethnographic work in SDP.

Finally, this research has also provided empirical responses to queries posed by sport sociologists studying SDP practices and policies pertaining to the politics of "cross-cultural politics of sport humanitarianism," and the underlying dynamics of power relations embedded in sport for development on a transnational scale (Giulianotti, 2011). Therefore, it might also serve as a starting point for untangling the complexity of cross-cultural dynamics by focusing on the SGD aid constellation, its (un)intended effects, and the political rationalities and discursive relations that underpin it.

7.4.4 Substantive Contributions

My hope is that this research will provide a clearer understanding of how SNGO staff encourage and build transformative agency for girls and their communities, and the kinds of resources staff

needed in order to improve their ability to deliver quality SGD programs. By highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of the martial arts programming in terms of its ability to address and explore conflict management, relationships and domestic violence, this research will potentially contribute to improve programming models, but only if SNGO staff, and the young martial arts trainers, perceive the findings to be valuable and true to their own perspectives. The following points provide a brief summary of some of the key substantive contributions of this research. I intend to build on these points through research reports submitted to each organization involved in the study.

- Important insights have been yielded through this research by exploring how policy and funding objectives such as empowerment, self-respect, and gender (in)equality are understood and executed by SNGO staff through karate and taekwondo.

- In-depth understandings were revealed in terms of how the intentions of those entities funding SGD projects (e.g., INGO and STNC) are actually translated into practice through karate and other programs delivered by SNGO.

- Through interviews with SNGO, INGO and STNC staff, I had the opportunity to discuss ways in which global corporate social engagement interventions, and the relations they involve, may be improved to make certain that those at the "receiving end" of sport, gender and development interventions are aware of the potential implications of corporate involvement in SGD.

- This research provides a clearer understanding of how SNGO staff encourage and build agency for girls in the Winita District and beyond, and potentially addresses the types of resources staff needed in order to improve their ability to deliver sport, gender and development programs.

- Interviewing STNC and INGO was paramount in order to contextualize how donors perceive SGD programs, and therefore was useful for identifying how these understandings are translated, challenged and/ or contested by their partners in the Two-Thirds World.

- This research could potentially contribute to a platform for SNGO's monitoring and evaluation team to begin to understand how donors and funders can better understand their objectives and concerns as they pertain to SGD programming.

- By exploring issues of cultural sensitivity programming in SGD with STNC staff, the hope is that this study will make a contribution to building more insightful and culturally relevant corporate interventions in development. As Brett (Director Monitoring and Evaluation, SNGO, November 2009) argued, "social issues are not very apparent to the corporate sector." If NGO Managers like Brett from the Two-Thirds World continue to view corporate involvement in development in such a negative way, then an important dialogue still needs to take place. This research offers a potential starting point for such a dialogue.

- There have been preliminary discussions of conducting a collaborate webinar with INGO and SNGO on issues pertaining to gender-based violence and SGD. These discussions are ongoing, but given that INGO is already doing some research and work in this area, I suggest the time is ripe to link researchers who specialize in gender-based violence in sport with the SDP community to try and build collaborations and future research projects.

By selecting a range of actors in the delivery of SGD programs (international NGOs, national NGOs and corporations), this research has attempted to analyze shared understandings, tensions and commonalities in the values, beliefs and strategies amongst corporations and NGOs relative

to the enhancement of gender equality through SGD practices and policies. Overall, I hope that the findings from this study will offer new understandings and bring marginalized perspectives, concerns and beliefs onto the SGD agenda. In turn, this might create new pathways for new and important conversations within and between corporations and NGOs, thereby enabling policy dialogue and practices to be more transparently realized and inclusive of a range of interests in Uganda and possibly globally.

7.5 Limitations
7.5.1 Methodological Limitations

There are limitations involved in conducting this study which need to be recognized. First, the use of semi-structured, in-depth interviews with vulnerable groups such as the young martial arts trainers may be critiqued in terms of distancing "ordinary people from their own stories" (Benson & Nagar, 2006, p. 587). Scholars such as Haraway (1998, p. 584), caution researchers that "there is a serious danger of romanticizing and/ or appropriating the vision of the less powerful while claiming to see from their positions." These issues of power, privilege and position were actively considered through this study, but I suggest that further studies on SGD must explicitly use participatory action research, paired with decolonizing methodologies, to try and engage with the colonial residue and contentious power struggles involved in conducting a multi-sited, global ethnography of SGD.

Another notable limitation was that I excluded important groups' perceptions and understandings of SGD, including the boys of Winita, the young martial arts trainers' family members, their teachers, local authorities, and community members. I also did not encompass the perspectives of government and state officials, and arguably, I did not examine enough policy documents and texts that may have provided important information on the state's role in governing and funding SGD programs in Uganda. My response to these limitations is that this

project already encompassed multiple layers and groups, and expanding it any further would have detracted from its contributions. Being only one researcher, it was beyond the scope of this study to include more data, although future studies may potentially address these gaps by encompassing these groups (boys, government officials, community members, and so on) in a SGD study. Kay and Spaaij (2011) have already started to make such contributions.

Another methodological limitation related to issues of translation and the politics of cross-cultural research in SGD, as well as concerns about rigour, reciprocation, and the ethical dilemmas of incorporating the social location of the translator into one's research. I described these concerns in more depth in Section 4.8.3. To reiterate, I concur with MacLean (2007) and Palmary (2011), who argue that translation does not have to be perceived as a limitation or a barrier to conducting socially charged, ethical, cross-cultural research. Arguably, it may provide an opportunity to actually promote and facilitate cross-cultural dialogue and understanding with research participants, but only if the translator's deliberations and decisions are made clear. By also interviewing the translator (Trisha, senior martial arts trainer, SNGO, November 2009) I argue I was able to obtain a sound understanding of her perspectives and viewpoints relative to the martial arts program. I had built a strong rapport with her, and we continually discussed the word choices she used while she translated. While, admittedly, there are still limitations involved in this process, I maintain that there was value and rigour in using Trisha to translate some of the interviews with the young martial arts trainers.

Finally, I also recognize that the specific situation and particular geographic location of the participants studied means that it is difficult to generalize this research to other instances of GCSE and projects focused on SGD. However, I position this study within Fine et al.'s (2008, p. 174) framework of "intersectional generalizability," defined as:

Work that digs deep and respectfully with community to record the particulars of historically oppressed and colonized peoples/ communities and their social movements of resistance, as well as work that tracks patterns across nations, communities, homes, and bodies to theorize the arteries of oppression and colonialism.

Intersectional generalizability recognizes both "theoretical" and "provocative" generalizability. Fine (2008) defines the former as gleaning lessons about social oppression and forms of resistance moving from one context to another. The latter provokes readers and audiences around the world to rethink "the possible," and asks researchers to "move their findings toward that which is not yet imagined, not yet in practice, not yet in sight" (Fine, 2008, p. 229). I submit that this study has been framed in such a way that it may possibly take up Fine's constructs of generalizability, as opposed to its more traditional, formulaic predispositions that are dependent on sample size.

7.5.2 Facilitating a better dialogue among Feminisms

In Chapter Six, I expanded my use of postcolonial feminist theory by considering "white feminism" and Frye's (1992) conceptualizaton of "whiteliness" to contemplate the ways that STNC and INGO staff enacted their philanthropic governance over SGD programs. I felt that these frameworks were useful for centering race, gender and class in relation to SGD programming of Uganda and the governmentality strategies of STNC and INGO actors. I also critiqued the notion of a "universal sisterhood," which I argued to be contentious on numerous levels, particularly since it tends to construct a sense of shared unity while ignoring alternative, distinct histories. It also eschews issues of race, class and the historical backdrop of White women who acted as willing agents of colonial mandates (McClintock, 1995; Stoler, 2010; Syed

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& Ali, 2011). That is, the "unity of women," as Mohanty (2006, p. 116) claims, needs to be struggled and worked towards, and must acknowledge material and ideological power differences and be historically and politically contextualized.

However, there are certain limitations to the frameworks of postcolonial feminisms, and white femininities. First, white feminism mostly focuses on race by considering white femininities hegemony over non-white femininities, neglecting to contemplate multiple femininities within race and class groups, and thus potentially ignoring "which raced and classed femininities serve the interests of male dominance and which do not." (Schippers, 2007, p. 89). As Schippers (2007, p. 89, drawing on Hill Collins, 1990) further argues:

> If we claim that racial and ethnic minority femininities are subordinate to white femininity, we obscure the subordination of white women in the gender order and we deny that racialized femininities might actually empower racial and ethnic minority women in a way that white femininities do not for white women.

Similarly, Shoat (2002, p. 69) critiques the ironic binary between East and West feminisms in feminist theory, arguing that this simply reinscribes neat dichotomies between racialized feminisms (black versus white), a binarism that, she suggests, works to "ironically repositio[n] whiteness and Westerners as normative interlocutors." That is, certain kinds of racialized feminisms become essentialized over others, instead of creating "multichronoptic links" and promoting intellectual dialogue that supports a "kaledidoscope framework of communities-in-relation without ever suggesting that positionings are identical" (Shoat, 2002, p. 69). To further overcome these binaries in future SGD research, I argue that we must use Shoat's relational, multichronoptic feminist framework to carry out more research "on the ground," particularly by using decolonizing, participatory action research that considers girls' embodied experiences of global inequalities, "empowerment" strategies and SGD programming.

It is also crucial to acknowledge various critiques of postcolonial feminist theory in order to fully comprehend its utility (and drawbacks) as a theoretical framework. Dirlik (1994) charges that postcolonialism is too rooted in discourse, and that the relationship between global capitalism and postcolonialism is largely absent from much of the recent literature. Spivak (1988) speaks to the inherent dangers that the postcolonial critic may encounter in continuing to thrust a "dark vision" of "Otherness," which she argues detracts from the ability of the "subaltern to speak," as they are denied full political representation. Indeed, concerns about text, representation, and imagery are "perceived as too far removed from the exigencies of the lived experiences of millions of impoverished people" (Jackson, 1997, as cited in McEwan, 2009, p. 112). Originally, to overcome these limitations, I had wanted to fuse postcolonial feminist theory with decolonizing and participatory action research in order to better ground this theoretical framework in the lived material experiences of people's lives. However, I have come to realize that postcolonial feminisms, when linked to political economic concerns vis-à-vis international relations theory, actually *do* focus on materiality by critically considering questions of global inequality, power relations, control over resources, and therefore have the potential to demonstrate how world politics can reflect and sustain the material global inequalities that signify daily life.

7.6 Future Research Ideas

The following is a list of suggestions for future research:

- A future study might explore SGD programs that target marginalized boys in the Two-Thirds World. There have not yet been any SGD studies that consider the voices of boys, and those that focus on the experiences of girls and young women tend to exclude the perspectives of boys altogether. Moreover, research that includes the perspectives of

family and community members in relation to girls and young women's experiences of SGD interventions would also be useful.

- Using innovative participatory action research methodologies in SGD research, such as "participatory video drama" (Waite & Conn, 2011) would be useful for fostering positive research relationships, levelling asymmetrical researcher-participant power relations, and would also mean that the voices of girls and young women targeted by SGD initiatives would be heard. More generally, using visual research methodologies would be beneficial for unpacking and further conceptualizing the socially situated context of gender and SDP practices and programs.

- Future studies should consider the intersections between social entrepreneurship and SGD. As I have suggested through this research, social entrepreneurial ventures are imperative to consider as a form of agency and ownership in SGD programming. And yet, few studies have explored how these kinds of programs impact girls, boys, families and communities. There is a dire need to understand the socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-political implications and consequences of social entrepreneurship and "economic forms" of empowerment in the SGD context.

- Translating terms such as "empowerment" and "agency" as it is understood in SGD programming from both Two-Thirds World and One-Third World perspectives presents serious challenges to researchers engaged in multi-sited ethnographic work. More studies need to better tackle the shifting meanings behind these politically loaded words. Again, using visual methodologies and ethical, responsible cross-cultural research processes would present useful starting points in this regard.

7.7 Recommendations for Organizations Engaged in SGD Work

7.7.1. SGD NGOs in the Two-Thirds World

This research demonstrated that there is considerable promise for SGD NGOs based in the Two-Thirds World to increase their autonomy, creativity and innovation through social entrepreneurial strategies that are intertwined with/tacked on to SGD interventions. This is a novel finding that requires further research, particularly research that engages collaboratively with NGOs conducting such pioneering work.

At the same time, it is also pertinent to recognize that social entrepreneurship and SGD programming must *carefully balance* the potential of NGO autonomy with the dangers of shifting too much responsibility onto targeted beneficiaries such as girls who must already negotiate immense gender and power imbalances (e.g., gendered divisions of labour). There are notable feminist critiques of social entrepreneurship initiatives (e.g., Rankin, 2001; Roy, 2007) particularly those that center on microfinance. These critiques need to be cautiously considered against the potential benefits of such programming tactics (see section 3.4 for a summary of feminist criticisms of microfinance and social entrepreneurship development programs).

This is not to say that social entrepreneurship is a panacea for SGD programming, nor should we generalize this finding to all NGOs embarking in SGD work in the Two-Thirds World (or even in the One-Third World). However, it is imperative to consider the value of social entrepreneurship strategies for promoting increased organizational independence given that the findings of this study highlight that donors still largely influence and drive SGD programming through technologies of monitoring and evaluation and governance (for example, by only funding the "sport" aspects of SGD programming, and not broader infrastructural requirements such as transportation and basic needs such as food and water).

7.7.2 INGOs/ Intermediary SGD Donors

INGO's major "selling point," as Lesley (executive board member, October 2009) described, was its ability to translate the work of SGD NGOs "on the ground" into tangible, expert-defined "homogenized" outcomes and impacts for donors to understand the value of investing in such initiatives. The guidelines created by INGO were to be used as leverage to secure donors in an increasingly competitive funding environment. The logic seemed to rest on the premise that neoliberal models of gender and development would continue to drive SGD programming. That is, INGO's services would continue to be in demand due to factors such as the downsizing of STNC's CSR department in lieu of the recent financial crisis. Thus, STNC's reduced staff size arguably resulted in a reduced capacity for understanding the value of investing in SGD NGOs (hence the need for INGO's skill set).

Despite the debatable "necessity" for such services, the globalized, homogenous and (perhaps) overly functionalist measures of SGD's "successes" provided by INGO (i.e., investing in SGD means that girls in the Two-Thirds World are "empowered") are problematic in that they erase the nuanced and highly complex experiences of SGD programs in unique and diverse cultural contexts. For example, INGO invested in SGD NGOs across South America, Sub-Saharan Africa and the South Pacific, but aimed to create and disseminate coherent, universal SGD guidelines on a global scale that donors would be able to easily digest. Given the context of neoliberal development, it may indeed be important to "speak the language of donors" such as STNC by developing "gold standards" and baseline surveys that succinctly summarize and translate the impacts of SGD programming. However, this does little to assist targeted beneficiaries and entities working in diverse contexts if monitoring and evaluation tools ignore

nuanced experiences of SGD. INGO should also be prepared to represent the distinct needs, and a full understanding of the socio-political context to STNC.

In returning to the points described in section 7.7.1, it is perhaps fair to suggest that there would be little need for INGO's services if SGD NGOs were able to generate their own funds to support their programs through social entrepreneurial ventures. However, given the relative novelty of social entrepreneurship in SGD, INGO's services will likely continue to be in demand. Therefore, a possible departure point for addressing the universalistic nature of INGO's monitoring and evaluation work is by emphasizing trust, organizational learning and cultural diversity. By prioritizing different ways of gaining "SGD knowledge," – for example, through participatory and collaborative monitoring and evaluation strategies – INGO would possibly begin to alter their SGD monitoring and evaluation frameworks. As Mayoux and Chambers (2005, p. 278) contend, participatory monitoring and evaluation strategies avoid the pitfalls of trying to measure and evaluate "'complete objective truth," and instead, seek to "establish in a systematic way the most relevant indicators for the question in hand – a process which is inherently subjective and partial."

Using participatory monitoring and evaluation strategies are beneficial for understanding: 1) how the specific aims and objectives of a SGD program, (e.g., "self-empowerment") are being developed and deployed; 2) how SGD organizations are researching/ tracking their abilities to enhance the lives of the intended beneficiaries through these aims; and 3) what ways would be culturally and programmatically appropriate for understanding the impact of their programs on participants. Mayoux and Chambers (2005) argue that participatory monitoring and evaluation strategies should work to "reverse the paradigm" by changing the sequence of assessment

methods by involving the intended beneficiaries and NGO staff in the process of "impact assessment."

For example, PAR strategies such as photovoice and drawing techniques would be a useful way to have girls from various cultural contexts describe issues related to "empowerment" (or a culturally appropriate word that relates to empowerment in their community). Here, young women might use photos and drawings as a medium to understand what and how they feel about the specific SGD program and how it influences their lives, the lives of their families, and/or their community (Holte-McKenzie et al., 2006). This method is similar to others deployed in PAR-focused studies on physical activity, poverty and marginalized populations (e.g., Lavallée, 2009). Hereafter, participants would have the option to share their photos and drawings with the larger group (and possibly SGD NGO staff) to promote communication and mutual learning. These visual mediums could be disseminated to INGO and even STNC – as both entities suggested in Chapter Six – visual representations of SGD programming were valuable for that better understanding the impact of interventions from the perspectives of targeted recipients.

Thus, the aim of participatory monitoring and evaluation techniques that use visual mediums is to understand how the program has impacted participants from *their perspectives* (without imposing the pre-existing program aims and objectives). Cumulatively, this information would be useful for INGO (and donors such as STNC), for understanding the culturally specific impacts of a given SGD program in comparison with the NGO aims and objectives. Put differently, and in terms of the SGD aid constellation, these methods will not only be useful for examining the lived experiences of the women and girls, but will also inform how discursive understandings of SGD are translated in various ways through aid relations.\

7.7.3. STNC/ Corporate Donors

Over the past decade, the role of corporate donors in SDP programming has only increased (Levermore & Beacom, 2009), and will likely continue to as long as global neoliberalism reigns. If we assume that TNCs will remain staples of the SDP landscape, what role should they play, and how might they be persuaded to redress some of the structural inequalities that continue to exacerbate and marginalize young women targeted by SGD programs, structural inequalities of which they are very much a part? There are no easy solutions to this conundrum, particularly considering that TNCs are privileged by and depend upon neoliberal modes of governance, which further contributes to a hypercapitalist patriarchy that "invokes free markets (although inequitably), private ownership and competition, and corporate power as the foundation for human existence, representation, interpretation, and ultimately the medium for resolving all human problems," (Canella & Miller, 2008, p. 26).

A starting point might be to invoke more collaborative, democratic and legitimate systems of intervention, whereby citizens and NGOs in the Two-Thirds World are better able to negotiate and communicate directly with donors such as TNCs, particularly in terms of making decisions about private sector involvement in their well-being. One possibility for enhancing this communication is through online, digital and mobile phone technologies, which may be useful mechanisms for amplifying the voices and needs of citizens in the Two-Thirds World, helping them to directly engage with donors. As Bardgett et al. (2009) have demonstrated, the potential use of SMS messaging between donors and SDP NGO constituents in countries such as Kenya is promising, where there are over 11.4 million mobile cellular telephone subscribers. For example, SMS messaging technology would be potentially useful for obtaining the perspectives of citizens on STNC's decision to build a sanitary napkin factory (discussed in Chapter Six). Though by no

means a "cure all," we must continue to think openly about how these innovations might potentially shift decision making in SGD to significantly alter unequal relations of power between donors and project "beneficiaries."

7.8 Critical Reflections: On Juggling "Cautious Optimism" with Critique

I now return to my contentions in the introduction of this chapter, by beginning with a quote from Hedge (2009, p. 291), who argues that "claiming a commitment to a feminist politics through a pro forma of self-reflexivity does not, as we have come to know, ameliorate the epistemic violence that is perpetuated in the process of representation." By conducting a multi-sited, global ethnography of the SGD aid constellation, particularly by using postcolonial feminist theory, imbued with Foucauldian concepts and studies of global governance, I inevitably drew "the Other" into what Hedge (2009, p. 291) refers to as "inherited vocabularies and structures of our disciplinary frameworks." I arrived at this study through a complicated web of circumstances that made my position as a white, educated, middle-class, Canadian woman who was informally connected to INGO through my graduate research exchange to a university in Western Europe particularly challenging. I had no previous experiences with these groups, and all I could draw on were my modest previous experiences working for a SDP NGO, and for large bureaucratic organizations involved in international development.

There were inevitably times, I am certain, that I misunderstood the words of an interviewee, misread a document, or made problematic assumptions about the occurrences I observed. Moreover, my critique of the "white Western woman" who hopes to contribute to socially just work in the Two-Thirds World is certainly ironic considering my identity and the kind of research that has been the focus of this dissertation. It is therefore important to acknowledge I do not claim to possess any "moral impartiality," nor do I intend to blame

marginalized staff from STNC, INGO or SNGO who are struggling within the constraints of SGD programming and politics, the pressures of "meeting the bottom line," or who are trying to locate the "gold standard," through the critiques, claims and assertions that I have discussed throughout these pages. I certainly recognize that I, too, am inadvertently implicated in the philanthropic governance and social relations of the aid constellation, and that I cannot sever my own subjectivity and the ways that my benevolence, or "philanthropic intentions" are also implicated through the research I have conducted.

Rather, my intentions have been to ignite debate, to think deeply about the neo-liberal system that continues to place the onus on girls to be in charge of their own lives and health, and the well-being of their nations. I have only intended to make what I think have been fair critiques, by identifying the unintended consequences and broader contradictions of corporate social responsibility practices as they intersect with SGD work "on the ground." There is no sense in assuming that, to analyze the girls' experiences of the martial arts program through the lens of biopedagogies, or to critique practices of GCSE and the increasingly professionalized SGD NGO practices through the lens of neo-liberalism, is to make personal attacks at the staff members of INGO, STNC and SNGO, and young martial arts trainers. Indeed, the staff expressed their own critiques of SGD programming, and of the constraints to being perceived as an employee of a powerful transnational corporation that simply wants to "exploit" marginalized people to "improve its image" or "contribute to its bottom line." I sincerely hope to have captured these voices of dissidence and frustration to contribute to a more nuanced picture of how SGD actually "works."

That said, some of STNC's assertions and claims about CSR and its relation to the "SGD cause" permit contestation and further exploration. From my perspective, the concern should not be about the perceived benevolence of STNC, but rather about the reasons behind girls'

marginalization in Winita in the first place: to me, their marginalization pertains to a variety of issues, but I have mostly critiqued structural inequalities, an unequal international trading system that exacerbates their poverty, the corruptive practices of the Ugandan state and a lack of social welfare services. As Nickel and Eikenberry (2010, p. 274) argue:

> We should be focused not on the supposed generosity of philanthropic governors, but instead on the circumstances that have resulted in the denial of well-being for so many people that we are willing to accept a privatized form of governance imposed by the unelected wealthy.

Indeed, what *are* these circumstances, and how can we address them? If we continue to get caught up in judging whether STNC's and INGO's actions are benevolent, then perhaps we're missing the bigger picture, as Nickel and Eikenberry (2010) seem to suggest. And still, even if STNC *is* culturally sensitive, and even if their intentions *are* philanthropic, we cannot ignore the fact that their actions do not necessarily change the ultimate structural systems that continue to marginalize the well-being for many in Winita. And, more broadly, it is important to point out that STNC was not democratically elected into a position that permits them to make decisions about the welfare of girls in the Two-Thirds World. So goes the changing landscape of global governance. And yet, postcolonial feminist approaches to development cannot only be about criticism, as Rankin (2010) and Gibson-Graham (2006) would argue. There needs to be room for hope, for igniting political imagination, and recognizing the limits to hegemonic power. We may be able to accomplish this by committing to a more ethical, and responsible SGD practice. I reflect on what this might look like in the final section.

7.9 Final Words: Towards Mutual accountabilities and a more ethical and responsible SGD

> *Where critical development studies comes up relatively thin is in the challenge of praxis – how to be critical while also engaging with development in pursuit of*

substantial social change. The reflexivity in relation to geopolitics would seem, rather, to have produced a reticence toward praxis and an understanding of the role of the critic as "properly distinct" from the role of the programmer (Rankin, 2010, p. 183).

Rankin's words are crucial to consider in the context of SDP (and SGD more specifically), where I similarly argue that there remains a deep divide between "critics" and "programmers." Whereas Rankin argues for an ethics of accountability in the planning praxis, I contend that a similar mutual accountability and ethical responsibility must exist in SDP and SGD research. While offering a comprehensive picture of what this might entail would be beyond the scope of this dissertation, my goal here is to begin a dialogue that I hope might be continued through further research.

A potential departure point for thinking about bridging the gap between the SGD "critic" and "programmer" is to try to break down the theoretical barriers that often prevent collective action for social change from occurring. That is, we must learn postcolonially, and build on relational materialisms that might promote a more dialectical way of thinking. To expand on these issues, I consider Agathangelou and Ling's (2009) "worldist notion of accountability" framework, which I suggest is particularly useful to contemplate ways of moving forward, and to foster a more ethical and responsible, SGD research and practice. The questions Agathangelou and Ling (2009, p. 134-135) pose include:

- Who is accountable for what?

- How do we institutionalize critique and dissent, as well as reconciliation and reconstruction, in democratic deliberation? How do economic interests and other material considerations structure the discourse and practices of world politics?

- What kinds of communities are we building, for whom, and why?

- Which agents contribute to what kind of impact on community-building? What inequities need redressing?

- How have we engaged with each other? Under what conditions? Why? How have we learned from each other? What are some moments of syncretic connections and collaborations?

- Where do multi- and trans-subjectivities occur and how can we draw on them for syncretic engagement?

These questions also require a critical reflection on issues of transnational solidarity, the role of national governments in controlling service provision, and the best ways to address neo-liberal modes of governance. Along these lines, what I am arguing for, in conjunction with Abu-Lughod (2002, p. 789), is working together with girls and women in the Two-Thirds World to build transnational, mutual solidarity, in respecting difference and using a more "egalitarian language of alliances, coalitions, and solidarity, instead of salvation." Mutuality also means recognizing that those carrying out research on SGD need to be reflexive, for reflexivity should begin with the researcher, and situating one's social location and position historically in relation to project "beneficiaries" (Abu-Lughod, 2002; Rankin, 2010). There was certainly more opportunity to do this through the research presented here.

Nonetheless, I argue that we must carefully consider the importance of a postcolonial research ethic that acknowledges and openly engages with the geo-political, material, and historical divides between SGD programmers, "targeted beneficiaries" and critics, while also trying to locate common ground and shared mutuality. By foregrounding these issues, particularly through decolonizing, participatory action-driven research (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011; Kay, 2009), or by using a public sociology perspective to SDP (Donnelly et al., 2011), only then will the journey of ethically charged, responsible SGD research begin. This may also

mean embracing experimentation and social entrepreneurial ventures such as the ones SNGO is

beginning to develop. These interventions attempt to innovatively change and challenge the

power dynamics of SGD so that actors from the Two-Thirds World may eventually connect with

entities in the One-Third World not because they are "desperate" for economic resources, but

rather, for mutual learning and ethical engagement. With these hopes in mind, I conclude this

dissertation with the voice of a young martial arts trainer, whose real name I cannot use, but

whose vision of SGD I wish to embrace:

> Some brothers, they just say, "you can't manage anything!" But for me, I told
>
> them "you come and see us there when we are training. Then you will know that
>
> taekwondo is good!" (Jessica, young martial arts trainer, SNGO).

Appendix A: Interview Guide for SNGO Staff

Note: SGD = sport, gender and development

Broad understandings of SGD

1. Please tell me about yourself:
   a) What is your position in this NGO?
   b) How long have you been in this position?
   c) What do you do as part of your work/ day-to-day activities?
   d) How did you come to be involved in sport, gender and development? Is this your main focus or do you have other responsibilities as well? How do they compare to your focus on/work with SGD?

2. How do you want the girls and women to experience your program? How do you ensure that they have these experiences?

3. What did you think would be/what are some of the positive benefits (direct or indirect) enjoyed by the girls when you started your program? (*Probes:* how are these issues tied to their everyday experiences? Have you encountered similar benefits for yourself?)

4. What are some of the challenges the girls and women in your program have experienced? (*Probes:* how are these issues tied to their everyday experiences? Have you encountered similar challenges? How have the girls and women in your program overcome these challenges? How does your program help them to do so?)

5. How does your organization engage with notions of "empowerment", "participation" and "gender equality"? How do empowerment, participation and gender equality "happen"? (*Probes:* how does your organization understand these concepts? How does empowerment relate to cultural difference and gender in terms of SGD programming? What are some of the ways you are approaching gender inequalities through sport in Uganda/ [Winita District]?)

6. What strategies are in place to translate the girls and women's experiences in the program to their families and communities?

Understanding the SGD Aid Relations:

1. How does the mandate of your NGO fit into the funding goals of your donors? (*Probes:* do you ever challenge the funding goals of your donors? If so, how? If not, why not?)

2. How do the conditions and requirements concerning funding from donors influence your work? (*Probes:* how did these conditions evolve? How do these requirements influence your relations with your community? Do they influence your ability to promote participation, empowerment, and your ownership of your program?)

3. Do the conditions differ for you if the donors are corporate, bilateral or international NGOs? (e.g., INGO)? (*Probes:* if so, how do they differ? How are they similar? What kind of tensions are involved in terms of following or challenging these conditions?)

4. How do you use partnerships to approach gender inequalities? Are there any conflicts between you, your funders, and your program participants? (*Probes:* any specific information regarding programming, committees, research ,etc.?)

5. What are the advantages and/or disadvantages of involving corporations and NGOs based in the North in the work that you do?

6. If you were to give advice to another SGD NGO just starting out in terms of obtaining funds and building a program focused on SGD, what would you tell them? Why? Any other advice you would give?

Appendix A2: Condensed/ Simplified Interview Guide for Young Martial Arts Trainers

1. Can you tell me about yourself and your life (*Probes:* Can you share some of the challenges that you have experienced? Can you share how you approached or dealt with these challenging or difficult experiences? What are the things that make your life enjoyable?)

2. How did you become involved in the Martial Arts Program? How have you experienced the Martial Arts Program? (*Probes:* Challenges/ problems with the program? Benefits of the program?)

3. What advice would you give to a friend/ relative wanting to get involved in the Martial Arts Program? (*Probe:* why?)

Appendix B: Interview Guide for INGO Staff and Board Members

Broad understandings of SGD

1. Please tell me about yourself:
    a. What is your position in your organization?
    b. How long you have been in this position?
    c. What do you do as part of your work?

2. How did you come to be involved in sport, gender and development? (*Probes:* how did this involvement evolve? Why is SGD important to you? What personal connection do you have to SGD?)

3. What did you think would be/what are some of the positive benefits (direct or indirect) enjoyed by the girls involved in the programs that you fund? (*Probes:* how do you think these issues tied to their everyday experiences? Have you encountered similar benefits for yourself?)

4. What are the goals associated with the projects you fund in sport, gender and development? (*Probes:* how are these goals being decided upon? How do you help shape/ influence the way these goals evolve?)

5. How does your organization engage with notions of "empowerment", "participation" and "gender equality"? How do empowerment, participation and gender equality "happen"? (*Probes:* how does your organization understand these concepts? How does empowerment relate to cultural difference and gender in terms of SGD programming?)

6. How do you account for / are sensitive towards cultural difference through your programs? (*Probes:* what policies are in place to recognize/ address cultural difference?)

Understanding the SGD Aid Chain

1. How do you seek out donors to fund INGO's programs? Do you approach corporate, bilateral and other donors differently? (*Probes:* what kind of relationships do you hope to build with these donors?)

2. Who are you accountable to through your programs? What structures are in place to monitor and evaluate your accountability? (*Probes:* what policies and procedures are in place for the giving and accounting of aid money? What kind of relationships do you hope to build with these donors through aid-giving)

3. How did your relationship with corporate donors evolve/ come about? What are the reasons for partnering for these entities? (*Probes:* e.g., resource mobilization? Policy influence? Legitimacy?)

4. What is the nature of your partnerships in SGD, particularly those with corporate donors? Benefits? Challenges? (*Probes:* If no challenges, why? If challenges, how did these come about? Please explain).

5. If you were to give advice to another NGO just beginning to fund and deliver development programs (or SGD programs more specifically), what would you tell them? Why? Any other advice you would give?

Appendix C: Interview Guide for STNC Staff

Broad Understandings of SGD

1. Please tell me about yourself:
a) What is your position at STNC? How long you have been in this position?
b) What do you do as part of your work?
c) How are you involved in social innovation/ development / sport, gender and development interventions? Is this your main focus or do you have other responsibilities as well? How do they compare to your focus on/work with SGD? (*Probes*: How did your involvement evolve?)

2. Why is SGD important to you? What personal connection do you have to SGD?

3. What kinds of experiences do you want the girls and women to have who participate in the programs you fund? What did you think would be/what are some of the positive benefits (direct or indirect) enjoyed by the girls in sport, gender and development programs funded by STNC? (*Probes:* how are these issues tied to their everyday experiences? Have you encountered similar benefits for yourself?)

4. What are the goals associated with the projects you fund in sport, gender and development? (*Probes:* how are these goals being decided upon? How do you help shape/ influence the way these goals evolve?)

5. How does your organization engage with notions of "empowerment", "participation" and "gender equality"? How do empowerment, participation and gender equality "happen"? (*Probes:* how does your organization understand these concepts? How does empowerment relate to cultural difference and gender in terms of SGD programming?)

6. How do you account for / are sensitive towards cultural difference through the SGD programs you fund? (*Probes:* what policies are in place to recognize cultural difference?)

7. How do STNC's "Girl Effect" and "Let Me Play" campaigns relate to the SGD agenda?

Understanding the SGD Aid Chain

1. What role does STNC play/ want to play in the sport, gender and development movement?

2. Can you tell me about STNC's past involvement in sport for development interventions? What about those that focus explicitly on women and girls?

3. What are some of the specific areas of focus for STNC in terms of gender and sport for development? [*Probes:* How was this area of focus developed? Who was involved and is involved in the decisions re: SGD? What are the key priorities for this portfolio?]

4. How did your interest in funding programs on SGD evolve? What was driving this interest? (*Probes:* what is the business motivation for becoming involved in SGD? What

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kinds of benefits does STNC hope to reap from funding SGD initiatives? How does the SGD mandate overlap with STNC's corporate social responsibility objectives?)

5. How do you understand gender (in)equalities in terms of sport and international development (*Probes:* what are the root causes? The various forms? Impact?)

6. Why is STNC involved in funding programs focused on sport, gender and development? (*Probes:* how do these initiatives relate to other corporate community interventions? How do you decide which interventions to fund? What is involved in this process?)

7. What are the benefits and tensions involved in engaging NGOs such as INGO in funding, organizing and administering SGD interventions? (*Probes:* What is the nature of this partnership/ relationship?)

8. If you were to give advice to another corporation just beginning to fund development programs (or SGD programs more specifically), what would you tell them? Why? Any other advice you would give?

Appendix D – University of Toronto Ethics Approval

University of Toronto
Office of the Vice-President, Research

Office of Research Ethics

PROTOCOL REFERENCE #24406

October 5, 2009

Dr. Bruce Kidd
Department of Exercise Science
55 Harbord St.
Toronto, ON M5S 2W6

Ms. Lyndsay Hayhurst
Department of Exercise Science
55 Harbord St.
Toronto, ON M5S 2W6

Dear Dr. Kidd and Ms. Hayhurst,

Re: Your research protocol entitled "Exploring Sport, Gender and Development Programs and Global Corporate Social Engagement Strategies in Uganda and the Netherlands"

ETHICS APPROVAL	**Original Approval Date: October 5, 2009** **Expiry Date: October 4, 2010** **Continuing Review Level: 1**

We are writing to advise you that a member of the Health Science Research Ethics Board has granted approval to the above-named research study, for a period of **one year**, under the REB's delegated review process. **Please ensure that you submit an Annual Renewal Form or a Study Completion Report at least 30 days prior to the expiry date of your study.**

All your most recently submitted documents have been approved for use in this study.

Any changes to the approved protocol or consent materials must be reviewed and approved through the amendment process prior to its implementation. Any adverse or unanticipated events should be reported to the Office of Research Ethics as soon as possible.

If your research has funding attached, please contact the relevant Research Funding Officer in Research Services to ensure that your funds are released.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your project.

Yours sincerely,

Daniel Gyewu
Research Ethics Coordinator

McMurrich Building, 12 Queen's Park Cres. W, 2nd Floor Toronto, ON M5S 1S8
TEL: 416-946-3273 FAX: 416- 946-5763 EMAIL: ethics.review@utoronto.ca

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Appendix E – List of Free Nodes

(corporate) Global governance of SGD - Expert authority and knowledge

(corporate) Global governance of SGD - Cultural sensitivity, diversity and context

(corporate) GCSE tactic - Neo-liberalism (CSR)

(corporate) GCSE tactic - Power of the brand

(corporate) Relationships - NGOs as professionalization & business (self-sustainable)

(corporate) Corporatizing girls - getting girls in the game (challenges & benefits)

(corporate) Relationships - NGO partnerships (corporate-NGO-private foundation)

(corporate) Global governance of SGD - M& E proving the case

(corporate) Understandings of SGD - Empowerment (how does it happen)

(corporate) Understandings of SGD - providing job opportunities for women and girls

(corporate) GCSE tactic - CSR as employee engagement

(corporate) GCSE tactic - CSR as feminine (gender)

(corporate) GCSE tactic - CSR not philanthropy and giving (shift away from philanthropy)

(corporate) GCSE tactic - connecting to consumers & consumer engagement

(corporate) Global governance of SGD - bottom of the pyramid targeting & testing new markets

(corporate) GCSE tactic -Social entrepreneurship and innovation

(corporate) Global governance of SGD - market multilateralism

(corporate) Relationships - social change networks

(corporate) GCSE tactic - CSR as personal agenda

(corporate) Relationships - North-South skill transfer and knowledge

(corporate) Relationships - Helping imperative and politics of sisterhood

(corporate) GCSE tactic - authentic stories (e.g., about SGD)

(corporate) GCSE tactic - CSR as business

(corporate) GCSE tactic - CSR role of government

(corporate) GCSE tactic - MDGs and CSR

(corporate) Relationships - Bridging global and local via partnerships

(corporate) Relationships - sustainability of SGD programs

(corporate) Understandings of SGD - benefits and functionalist view (MDGs)

(corporate) Understandings of SGD - as elite sport

(corporate) Relationships - participatory and bottom-up

(corporate) GCSE tactic - CSR and Celebrity athletes

(corporate) GCSE tactic - CSR and competition

(corporate) GCSE tactic - CSR as product donations

(corporate) Corporatizing girls - Girl Effect (missionary girl power & investing in girls)

(corporate) Corporatizing girls - Girl Effect (statistics and proof)

(corporate) GCSE tactic - CSR Cross cutting modes of

(corporate) History of TNC's CSR

(corporate) no corporate involvement in SDP

(corporate) Relationships - partnerships (cross-sectoral)

(corporate) GCSE tactic - CSR as bottom line

(int'l NGO) SGD programming - cultural difference & context

(int'l NGO) Funding & donor relations - showing impact, M&E

(int'l NGO) Funding & donor relations - (neo-liberal environment) competition, efficiency & privatization of NGOs

(int'l NGO) Funding & donor relations - private sector involvement & CSR

(int'l NGO) Funding & donor relations - two-way

(int'l NGO) Perceived benefits of SGD - agency, individual self-responsibility & promoting body awareness

(int'l NGO) Perceived benefits of SGD - challenging & breaking gender stereotypes

(int'l NGO) Int'l NGO relationships - social entrepreneurship & innovation

(int'l NGO) Perceived benefits of SGD - empowerment

(int'l NGO) Contextual SGD issues - empowerment (how does it happen)

(int'l NGO) Perceived benefits of SGD - economic (empowerment) benefits

(int'l NGO) Int'l NGO relationships - professionalization & NGOization

(int'l NGO) Contextual SGD issues - domestic. gemder-based & sexual violence and rape

(int'l NGO) SGD programming - 'can do' & neo-liberal girl, helping girls develop

(int'l NGO) Perceived benefits of SGD - building social networks

(int'l NGO) Funding & donor relations - Politics of solicitude & stealing pain of others

(int'l NGO) Funding & donors relations - involvement in SGD via employee engagement

(int'l NGO) Int'l NGO Governance - Governance & authority

(int'l NGO) Contextual SGD issues - Girl Effect

(int'l NGO) Funding & donor relations - (importance of) social capital

(int'l NGO) Int'l NGO Governance - importance of experts (e.g. advisory council)

(int'l NGO) Funding & donor relations - building legitimacy

(int'l NGO) Funding & donor relations - donor profiling

(int'l NGO) Perceived benefits of SGD - girls' rights

(int'l NGO) Funding & donor relations - Philanthropy and giving (shift away from philanthropy)

(int'l NGO) Perceived benefits of SGD - build self-confidence

(int'l NGO) SGD programming - women's movement & feminsm

(int'l NGO) Funding & donor relations - equal power relations

(int'l NGO) SGD programming - importance of female leaders & role models

(int'l NGO) Funding & donor relations - corporate personnel & professional NGO staff

(int'l NGO) Funding & donor relations - Foundations & Social investors

(int'l NGO) Perceived benefits of SGD - peer-to-peer teaching

(int'l NGO) SGD programming - safe physical & emotional space

(int'l NGO) Int'l NGO relationships - fostering south-to-south partnerships
(int'l NGO) Contextual SGD issues - sport apolitical & 'under radar'
(int'l NGO) Contextual issues - menstruration
(int'l NGO) Contextual SGD issues - girls' domestic duties
(int'l NGO) Funding & donor relations - bottom of the pyramid & testing new markets
(int'l NGO) Int'l NGO relationships - Internet (as building legitimacy)
(southern NGO) SGD - Issues addressed - empowerment (how does it happen)
(southern NGO) SGD - Benefits of martial arts - increased confidence
(southern NGO) SGD - Benefits of martial arts - discipline
(southern NGO) SGD - Issues addressed - GIRL EFFECT- Agency and resistance (promoting)
(southern NGO) SGD - Benefits of martial arts - self-defence
(southern NGO) Funding - competition and professionalization of NGOs
(southern NGO) SGD - challenges of martial arts - excluding boys
(southern NGO) Funding - Knowledge & Funding - north- south relations
(southern NGO) SGD - Issues addressed - Addressing community resistance via public demonstrations & PR
(southern NGO) SGD - Issues addressed - economic empowerment
(southern NGO) Contextual issues - Sexual violence and rape
(southern NGO) SGD - Benefits of martial arts - community& family support
(southern NGO) Funding - M&E - upwards accountability
(southern NGO) Contextual issues - Responsibility of the girl (self-defence against SV)
(southern NGO) Contextual issues - Governance- government involvement & governance gap
(southern NGO) Funding - private sector involvement
(southern NGO) SGD - challenges of martial arts - culturally inappropriate
(southern NGO) Funding - donors - identified
(southern NGO) SGD - and elite sport
(southern NGO) SGD - Benefits of martial arts - rights and social justice
(southern NGO) SGD - Issues addressed - Domestic Violence
(southern NGO) SGD - challenges of martial arts - community resistance
(southern NGO) SGD - Issues addressed - bride price
(southern NGO) Funding - donors - coming to the South
(southern NGO) Org background - history of SGD project
(southern NGO) SGD - Benefits of martial arts - education
(southern NGO) SGD - Issues addressed - challenging gender stereotypes
(southern NGO) SGD - Benefits of martial arts - high demand from community
(southern NGO) SGD - challenges of martial arts - girl child as shy
(southern NGO) SGD - Issues addressed - overcoming gender stereotypes
(southern NGO) SGD - Issues addressed - role models
(southern NGO) Funding - Self-reliance, not donor-driven, long term

(southern NGO) Funding - M&E - demands & burdens on NGO via reporting structures
(southern NGO) Funding - M&E - resist M&E practices
(southern NGO) SGD - challenges of martial arts - poverty, lack of resources (esp. transportation)
(southern NGO) Org background - mission statement & aims
(southern NGO) Contextual issues - communicating with community & changing attitudes
(southern NGO) SGD - Issues addressed - providing basic needs through programming
(southern NGO) Contextual issues - why takwondo & karate
(southern NGO) SGD - challenges of martial arts - lack of time
(southern NGO) SGD - Issues addressed - increased awareness of child rights
(southern NGO) SGD - Issues addressed - leadership
(southern NGO) SGD - Issues addressed - training others
(southern NGO) Org background - Jackie Chan & influence of Western (Eastern) movies
(southern NGO) SGD - Benefits of martial arts - achieve best potential & freedom
(southern NGO) SGD - benefits of martial arts - building family and social networks
(southern NGO) SGD - challenges of martial arts - lack of space
(southern NGO) SGD - challenges of martial arts - training girls to be violent
(southern NGO) Funding - microcredit (as neo-liberalism)
(southern NGO) SGD - challenges of martial arts - not priority for NGO
(southern NGO) SGD - Issues addressed - Innovation & (social) entrepreneurship
(southern NGO) SGD - challenges of martial arts - lack of teacher & parent support
(southern NGO) Funding - donors - difficulty with multiple donors
(southern NGO) Org info - partners
(southern NGO) SGD - challenges of martial arts - more time (should be) spent on life skills
(young women) Challenges of martial arts - Sexuality and violence
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - physically fit
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - self-defence
(young women) Challenges of martial arts - community resistance
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - confidence
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - discipline
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - relationships with family (support)
(young women) Life challenges - Agency and Resistance against discrimination
(young women) Life Challenges - Educational and teacher support
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - Training others (mostly girls) reasons behind
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - pursue economic opportunities
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - Respect
(young women) Challenges of martial arts - uniform

(young women) Benefits of martial arts - building social networks
(young women) Challenges of martial arts - relationships with family
(young women) Life Challenges- Basic needs lack of food & water
(young women) Life Challenges Marriage and family
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - community support
(young women) Challenges of martial arts - Discrimination against girls playing sports
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - general
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - travel
(young women) Challenges of martial arts - menstruation
(young women) Life Challenges - Poverty
(young women) Challenges of martial arts - boys
(young women) Life Challenges Domestic work
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - learn new skills
(young women) Challenges of martial arts - lack of equipment
(young women) Life Challenges - Basic needs - menstruation
(young women) Life Challenges Difficult family situations
(young women) Challenge of martial arts - verbal abuse
(young women) Challenges of martial arts - domestic work
(young women) Life Challenges - Physical abuse
(young women) Challenges of martial arts - general
(young women) Challenges of martial arts - lack of time
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - access to (exrtra) education
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - build (new) skills
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - competition
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - enhances education
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - learn new language
(young women) Challenges of martial arts - injuries
(young women) Challenges of martial arts - Military soldiers
(young women) Challenges of martial arts - myths about taekwondo and karate
(young women) Life Challenges - Lack of agency and voice
(young women) Life Challenges -Gender and education

Appendix F: Manual Colour Coding Across Four Levels

(young women) Challenges of martial arts - community resistance	12	46
(young women) Challenges of martial arts - Sexuality and violence	15	35
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - physically fit	14	34
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - confidence	12	32
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - self-defense	14	30
(young women) Life challenges - Agency and Resistance against discrimination	10	26
(young women) Life Challenges Marriage and family	6	22
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - discipline	12	20
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - relationships with family (support)	12	20
(young women) Life Challenges - Educational and teacher support	10	18
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - Respect	8	16
(young women) Benefits of martial arts - community support	6	14
(young women) Challenges of martial arts - Discrimination against girls playing sports	6	14
(young women) Challenges of martial arts - uniform	8	14
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(southern NGO) SGD - Issues addressed - empowerment (how does it happen)	8	18
(southern NGO) SGD - Benefits of martial arts - discipline	6	17
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(southern NGO) SGD - Benefits of martial arts - self-defense	6	13
(southern NGO) Contextual issues - Responsibility of the girl (self-defense against SV)	4	11
(southern NGO) Funding - competition and professionalization of NGOs	6	11
(southern NGO) SGD - Benefits of martial arts - increased confidence	8	11
(southern NGO) SGD - challenges of martial arts - excluding boys	6	10
(southern NGO) SGD - Issues addressed - economic empowerment	5	10
(Southern NGO) Funding - Knowledge & Funding - north- south relations	6	9
(southern NGO) Funding - Self-reliance, not donor-driven, long term	3	9
(southern NGO) Contextual issues - Governance- government involvement & governance	4	8
(southern NGO) Funding - M&E - demands & burdens on NGO via reporting structures	3	8
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Notes

[1] Throughout this dissertation, I use the word "girl" while recognizing that, as Pomerantz (2009) argues, "disciplinary definitions of the 'girl' are both constructions (i.e. artificial classifications) and lived realities (i.e. real experiences) at the same time." That is, the girl may reflect multiple truths to multiple audiences. Jones (1993, p. 159) suggests that, "girls become 'girls' by participating within those available sets of social meanings and practices – discourses – which define them as girls." Thus, to avoid the patronizing and tenuous language associated with "the girl," I avoid using this language when referring to the participants in this research. Instead, I make every effort to refer to them as "young women" or the "young martial arts trainers."

[2] Although there has been a recent explosion of sport for development and peace programs deployed by international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as Right To Play, it is important to acknowledge that international development interventions anchored in sport for development date back to nineteenth-century colonizing (Kidd, 2008; MacAloon, 2006).

[3] In 2000, 189 world leaders committed to realizing the Millenium Development Goals by 2015. Eight goals aim to fight poverty, and support a framework for designing and development programs in nations throughout the Global South (referred to as the "Two-Thirds World" throughout this paper – see note below).

[4] Throughout this paper, I use the terms 'One-Third World' (to refer to the Global North) and 'Two-Thirds World' (to refer to the Global South). Following Esteva and Prakash (1998), I argue that these terms represent the social minorities and majorities in both the North and South while attempting to remove ideological and geographical binaries as found in other terms (e.g., North/ South).

[5] Winita is a fictional name I've given to region to protect identity of NGO/ participants. I discuss issues of anonymity and ethics in more depth in Chapter Four.

[6] It is pertinent to note that Burawoy (2000) critiques institutional ethnography for being "out of step with the times" and only focuses on the "negotiated order" (p. 22). Despite these critiques, he later suggests that these issues may be overcome by extending the specifics of institutional ethnography, and case studies, "to the globe" (p. 24).

[7] For Spivak (1988) there is a danger in the postcolonial critic continuing to thrust a "dark vision" of "Otherness" via sport for development projects; a critique where "indigenous culture is presumed to have been suffocated by the discourse of western capitalism" (Aitchison, 2001, p. 143). The peril here is that the postcolonial feminist perspective does little to enable the "subaltern to speak," as they are denied full political representation.

[8] An exception to this is the recent edited series by Shehu (2010), which focuses on SGD programs and initiatives in countries such as Zimbabwe, Malawi, Nigeria, and Mauritius.

[9] *Juju* refers to "magic" or "witchcraft" (often used to win sport matches). See Shehu (2010) for further details on the relationship between sport and *juju*.

[10] Gender-based violence is defined as "a violation of women's human rights and a form of discrimination that prevents women from participating fully in society (and here we can include theworld of sport), and fulfilling their potentials as human beings," (Fasting, 2005, p. 1).

[11] Productive power' focuses on how the social relations and processes of power are constituted through frameworks of knowledge and 'discursive practices' (Foucault, 1991; Barnett & Duvall, 2005). Productive power is manifest in the ways that CSR norms within the sport for development project create particular kinds of actors with "associated social powers, self-understandings, and performative practices" (Barnett & Duvall, 2005, p. 60). Productive power also has the potential to shift the frameworks and structures from which institutions operate, reorienting normative values on what is considered "right" and "appropriate" (Lipschutz, 2005), demonstrating that norms, culture and other social structures have "causal force" (Finnemore & Sikkink, 2001).

[12] The 'bottom of the pyramid' model suggests that those residing in extreme poverty (three billion low-income consumers outside of mainstream markets at the 'bottom of the pyramid') can be a 'market' in themselves that can be served with low-cost goods and services (IBLF, 2007). For a company such as STNC, this is an innovative form of CSR that drives new forms of business and contributes to their bottom line.

[13] The next four paragraphs of this section are similar to parts of Hayhurst & Kidd (2011).

[14] See Hayhurst (2009b) and Hayhurst (2011). A version of this table is also used in Hayhurst & Kidd (2011).

[15] This first paragraph is similar to a section outlined in Hayhurst, MacNeill & Frisby (2011).

[16] Agathangelou and Ling (2004, p. 518) suggest that a postcolonial framework is similar to social constructionism because it "begins with the premise that we intersubjectively create our worlds."

[17] However, many of these books were purposely focused on the experiences of girls of particular nationalities (e.g. Australian, Canadian, British) and as such addressing the contexts of those girls residing elsewhere was likely outside of the scope of the authors' analyses.

[18] I provide background on sexuality to provide much needed context for the martial arts program, given its mandate to prevent sexual and gender-based violence to improve the well-being and health of young women in Uganda.

[19] Note that Jones & Norton only examined the sexual health practices of Ugandan girls in the southwest, whereas this dissertation explores the experiences of girls in the northeast, and as such their results should not be generalized to speak for/ represent *all* Ugandan girls. However, I argue that their insights are still relevant for the study at hand.

[20] This information is located on SNGO's website, which, for anonymity purposes, will not be cited.

[21] Note that the girls interviewed for this research were ages 16-18, and volunteered for SNGO staff through their work as martial arts trainers throughout their communities and during after school programming.

[22] No formal interviews or participant observation took place before I received ethical approval from University of Toronto Ethical Review Board on October 5, 2009.

[23] Note: I only had informal conversations with Doug, Danielle and James. Their names are listed her for informational purposes only.

[24] In speaking with Trisha and Elisa about what questions would be appropriate to ask the young martial arts trainers, it was clear that these girls had minimal to no interactions with donors/funders, with the exception of when donors came to the field to observe them practising martial arts. While I may have asked them questions about these instances, I felt that this would involve designing an entirely new interview guide which may be problematic, as opposed to simplifying/using the guide I already had for SNGO staff members.

[25] In October 2010, a local tabloid in Uganda, *The Rolling Stone,* published a list of alleged gays and lesbians with a caption calling for them to "be hanged," featuring gay activist David Kato on the cover page. Along with two other individuals, Kato successfully petitioned the Uganda high court to prevent the tabloid from further publishing these photographs. In early 2011, Kato started to receive death threats, and by the end of January, he was found brutally murdered (Mutua, 2011, p. 462).

[26] Though interviewees from each entity (SNGO, INGO, STNC) referred to the positive aspects of partaking in SGD programs, I mostly focus on the perspectives of the young martial arts trainers throughout this section in order to prioritize their voices and understand their viewpoints, especially because the girls' understandings of this initiative are clearly imperative for uncovering how the program impacts their own lives.

[27] In this context, digging refers to digging "shambas," or small holes often needed by landowners to plant crops.

[28] Of course, this cycle ignores other factors, such as community resistance, using karate to fight off sexual predators, and other issues. These other factors will be discussed in more depth in the chapters that follow.

[29] In essence, post-feminism is a new regime of gender and racialized power that borrows from certain aspects of liberal feminism, and connects these elements to the neo-liberal project emphasizing privatization, individualization, self-responsibility and decentralization (McRobbie, 2009). From this perspective, liberal feminism's demands for equality have apparently "been reached," and thus the old sexual contract that claimed women and girls' marginalization has

been broken: men and women are now apparently "equal" in the public sphere. In turn, the next sexual contract emphasizes minimal visibility, but at the same time encourages girls to embrace "activity concentrated in education and employment so as to ensure the participation in the production of successful femininity, sexuality and eventually maternity" (McRobbie, 2009, p. 90). Market-based empowerment, then, is celebrated by neo-liberalism, and is portrayed as a substitute for transformative radical feminism. Although most of McRobbie's work focuses on young women's feminist politics in the One-Third World, I argue that many of her observations are pertinent for considering what discursive work is facilitated by the Girl Effect to situate the girls of Winita as successful neo-liberal subjects.

[30] In moving to a different location within the aid constellation, Chapter Six will further examine the ways that global processes of "social responsibility" and neo-liberalism shape the ways that the girls ("the local") take up these initiatives.

[31] As with the other names used in this research thus far, a pseudonym has been used to protect the identity of this individual.

[32] Stories about girls failing to deflect attackers were rarely discussed during interviews, or while I was present at SNGO's office.

[33] Note that "gender training" is a term used by SNGO.

[34] As Triantrafillou and Nielsen (2001, p. 65) assert, "the more effective empowerment is – the more the subject participates actively in taking charge of herself to promote well-being and her family – the more profoundly she is enmeshed in relations of power."

[35] I discuss my positionality and social location in more depth in Chapters Four and Seven.

[36] I recorded this comment after having a discussion with one of Lexi and Vani's teachers following our interviews.

[37] I explore this possibility in Chapter Four.

[38] The global/ local dynamics of these events (e.g. "Women's Day") are elaborated upon further in Chapter Six.

[39] At the same time, it is important to consider gender performativity and its connection to the ways that the young martial arts trainers embodied gender through their clothing and martial arts kicks and movements (MacNeill, 2011). By understanding that gender is not only produced by and on particular bodies, but how it is also located in distinct behaviors, practices and activities, where gender identities become legitimated (Butler, 2004).

[40] Here, I recognize that race is a socially constructed concept that is part of a historically, politically and fluctuating system of classification which needs to be contextualized within broader systems of ideologies of racial hierarchies and difference, and not as a visible, biological trait (McClintock, 1995).

[41] Brett did not elaborate on these issues throughout his interview, but I further consider the debates he raises in Chapter Seven.

[42] Pearce (2010, p. 632) goes on to argue that, "social change cannot be reduced to funding, and the view that it might be so reduced encourages the arrogance of some Northern NGOs."

[43] Moyo (2009, p. 57) further suggests that: "The cornerstone of development is an economically responsible and accountable government. Yet, it remains clear that, by providing funds, aid agencies (inadvertently?) prop up corrupt governments.…With easy access to cash a government remains all-powerful, accountable only (and only then nominally) to its aid donors."

[44] David Harvey would perhaps explain these NGOs as the new "trojan horses for global neo-liberalism" (see Harvey, 2005).

[45] This project is distinct from SNGO's martial arts program in Uganda. It is a separate SGD program that STNC funds, and is used as an example to demonstrate the ways that STNC used its knowledge to develop, implement and 'guide' SGD programs on a global scale.

[46] While STNC may be commended for responding quickly and efficiently to this situation, and though the need for sanitary napkins and toilet facilities may seem to be an expressed need by the girls, I contend that this philanthropic act merely reinforces unequal One-Third World/ Two-Thirds World power relations, and does little to actually question and uncover the underlying causes/ mechanisms as to why this particular region in the East African country lacks public sanitation spaces (and hygiene products) for women and girls in the first place.

[47] These observations are limited due to my inability to interview the girls, and wider community members, who were to benefit from the construction of this public sanitation facility built by STNC.

[48] To make sense of these relations, I draw on Foucault's (1979, p. 27-28) now eminent contention that power produces knowledge: "There is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations. … It is not the activity of the subject of knowledge that produces a corpus of knowledge, useful or resistance to power, but power-knowledge, the processes and struggles that traverse it and of which it is made up, that determines the forms and possible domains of knowledge."

[49] Note that this subtitle is adapted from Syed & Ali's (2011) article, "The White woman's burden: From colonial *civilization* to Third World *development*."

[50] Employee engagement programs are initiatives which promote intellectual and emotional commitment to the work, mandate and vision of a given company/ organization. According to Harter et al. (2002), employee engagement may involve increasing the ownership of employees over particular aspects of a company to build a strong commitment to its future success.

[51] One employee, who worked in the regional headquarters for STNC's Africa office, identified as a black South African. Biographical information was not collected from interviewees,

although during some interviews, participants did refer to their race and/ or ethnicity. Thus, when making comments about the "White women's burden," I may be dangerously perpetuating social constructions of race by assuming that it is an observable biological characteristic. However, Syed and Ali (2011, p. 351) argue that "several women of colour, instructed in or influenced by the dominant Western feminist discourse, may be as whitely as their white colleagues." I intend to reflect on these racialized tensions further in Chapter Seven.

[52] There is a great deal of literature that discusses the links between sport and the "civilizing process" in Sub-Saharan Africa (e.g., see MacAloon, 2006).

[53] I have used a pseudonyms to protect the identity of George, and his partner Katie, co-founders of SNGO.

[54] It is imperative to qualify that I am *not arguing* that all successful NGOs engaged in sport for development are positioned as such due to their "White" founders.

[55] Hart (2004).

[56] As this research did not explore the role of the Ugandan state in this specific SGD intervention, it is difficult to be certain of, or make claims about, its dysfunction. However, based on interviews with SNGO staff, document analysis, and a literature review on the current political-economic climate in Uganda as presented in Chapter Four, I am putting forth this argument.

[57] Of course, these reactions and comments need to be contextualized by the fact that a white, middle-class, Western woman was conducting these interviews, and this likely impacted their responses to how they ultimately felt about their encounters with donors (see Chapter Four for more on my interviews with the young martial arts trainers).

[58] At the same time, it should also be noted that my research involved similar "evaluative" techniques, and as such I am also implied in these systems of evaluation.

[59] Of course, as I mentioned earlier, this may have been due to the perception of the young trainers/ SNGO staff whose program I was there to "evaluate," although I pointed out in Chapter Four that this misunderstanding was eventually clarified (from my perspective). However, there is no way to know exactly how SNGO and the young martial arts trainers perceived my position as a researcher. To understanding this would involve a separate study.

[60] Forde's (2008) research also highlights these issues, but the SGD program she founded and studied is intentionally designed to address sexual and gender-based violence through sport.

[61] However, a limitation of this research was that the boys and men weren't interviewed. I highlight this limitation, and other limits of this research, in the latter half of this chapter.

[62] Note that this is not the same as arguing that SGD "perpetuates" domestic and global structures of inequality.

[63] Kidd, 2011.