

“Some take advantage and touch when the bus goes like this. I wanted to teach them that it was a sexual harassment”

The Working Elements of Moving the Goalposts: Football, Peer Education and Leadership in Kenyan Girls

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Date: 23-06-2014



Abstract

Given the resources (economic, human, social, political) applied to SfD programs, it is important to understand the objects and impacts of sport and development. Moving the Goalposts (MTG) in Kenya is one of these SfD organizations. The general aim of this research was to explore which elements of Moving the Goalposts (MTG) contribute to leadership development in Kenyan girls, with a specific focus on football and peer education. In-depth interviews, participant questionnaires, digital story scripts and a participant observation were used from 88 participants conduct the research. On a participant level, the working elements in the program were the various program (development) opportunities, selection, supportive environment and moments of reflection. On the organizational level, active spread of information in community, level based trainings, co-facilitator, monthly meetings, monitoring and evaluation and a supportive organization ethos were contributive elements in the implementation of MTG. This study suggests to use sport as a 'tool' for development, while maintaining close relationship with the community to reach a girls' leadership potential.

Keywords: gender inequality, Moving the Goalposts, football, peer education, leadership Kenyan girls

Abstract

Wegens de (economische, menselijke, sociale, politieke) middelen die zijn toegewijd aan *Sport for Development* (SfD) organisaties is het van belang om de onderwerpen en impact te begrijpen van sport en ontwikkeling. Moving the Goalposts (MTG) in Kenia is een van deze SfD organisaties. Het doel van dit onderzoek was om inzicht te verkrijgen in welke elementen van Moving the Goalposts (MTG) bijdragen aan leiderschapsontwikkeling in Keniaanse meisjes, in het specifiek gericht op voetbal en *peer education*. Diepte-interviews, vragenlijsten, scripts en observaties van 88 deelnemers zijn gebruikt om dit doel te bereiken. Vanuit de participanten waren de verschillende programma en ontwikkelingsmogelijkheden, selectie, ondersteunende omgeving en reflectiemomenten werkzaam. Op organisatorisch niveau (implementatie) werd het actief verspreiden van informatie binnen de gemeenschap, trainingen op maat, co-facilitator, maandelijkse bijeenkomsten, monitoren en evalueren en steun binnen de organisatie gezien als bevorderend. Vanuit de studie wordt aanbevolen om sport te gebruiken als 'middel' voor ontwikkelen en tegelijk dichte relaties te onderhouden met de gemeenschap om op deze manier het leiderschapspotentieel van meisjes te bereiken.

Keywords: genderongelijkheid, Moving the Goalposts, voetbal, peer education, leiderschap Keniaanse meisjes

The working elements of Moving the Goalposts: Football, peer education and leadership in Kenyan girls

The third Millennium Development Goal (MDG) is ‘‘To promote gender equality and empower women’’ (United Nations, 2005). In a broad sense, gender inequality involves the denial of opportunities and equal rights on the basis of gender (Kiriti & Tisdell, 2003). To achieve global gender equity, the United Nations, UNESCO and national governing bodies advocated for one human right, the use of sport. This resulted in educational sport for development (SfD) programs for women around the world. Given the resources (economic, human, social, political) applied to these programs, it is important to understand the objects and impacts of women’s SfD programs (Hancock, Lyras, & Ha, 2013). Therefore, this study is focused on one of these SfD organizations: Moving the Goalposts (MTG) in Kenya. The general research aim is to examine which elements within MTG contribute to leadership in Kenyan girls, with a specific focus on football and peer education.

Gender inequality

In developing countries, girls and women have limited access to education, work and health, relative to boys and men. Generally this is named gender inequality (Klasen, 2000). ‘Gender’ refers to the shared expectations and norms within a society about appropriate male and female behavior, characteristics and roles (Gupta, 2000). Several economic, cultural and social factors (e.g., norms and stereotypes of gender roles) directly or indirectly impact government policy and initiatives on education, as well as career support and advice given to females (Logan & Beokubetts, 1996). It has been evidenced that cultural traditions may limit a girls’ access to sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) (Kiriti & Tisdell, 2003; UNDP, 1995). SRHR refers to equal opportunities, rights and conditions of people to practice safe sexual health behavior and to be able to decide over their own bodies without coercion, violence or discrimination (UNFPA, 2014). Furthermore, research has found low participation of women in decision-making on national institutional level, community level, household and individual level in Africa (Kiriti & Tisdell, 2003). Not only is gender inequality manifested in economic and material wealth, but also in a girl and women’s lack of agency, defined as the power and freedom to decide how to live their own lives (Bandura, 2000).

Sport as a tool for development

An upcoming strategy to empower girls and young women and work towards gender equity is through the use of sports (Hancock, Lyras, & Ha, 2013). Research has evidenced

that sports involvement is related to positive youth development, e.g., self-efficacy, more intimate and supportive peer relationships, enhanced social skills and greater academic achievement (Larson, 2000). Other outcomes are the development of life skills, self-confidence, leadership development, increased understanding of social issues and community building (Coalter, 2010; SDP IWG, 2007). Specifically in girls, research has shown that sport reduces stress and anxiety and provides opportunities for peer-to-peer social interaction beyond family networks (Brady, 1998; Meyer, 2005; United Nations, 2003). Through sport, girls have the chance to develop leadership and negotiation skills, and to serve their peers as leaders (Meyer, 2005; United Nations, 2003). Within sport, accomplishment on performance as well as verbal persuasion from important others can provide the individual with information regarding the potential for success in a given domain. In addition, significant others (parents, peers, coaches) may convince individuals through positive feedback that they can and will cope successfully with life's challenges (Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, & Pastorelli, 1996).

On the other hand, sport can also lead to negative outcomes, such as injuries and depression or anger after losing (Berger, 1996). In developing countries, there can be conflicting cultural beliefs that make it more difficult to reach desired outcomes. Sport can be oppressive for women and girls, because of the social norms of traditionally masculine or feminine activities (Garrett, 2004). Even if girls break through social conventions and choose to play a typically male-dominated sport (football), a problematic disjunction between sport and femininity may remain, because of the contrary feminine characteristics (e.g., aggression and strength) in sport (Paechter, 2003). The social norms, gendered expectations and power struggles can also work against their full and unrestrained involvement (Clark, Sheryl, & Paechter, 2007).

Peer education

One of the most widely used strategies to reduce problems related to SRHR, such as HIV, is peer education. Peer education typically involves training and supporting members of a given group to realize change in knowledge, attitudes, beliefs and behavior among these members (Dennis, 2003; Turner & Shepherd, 1999). The health-related information and support in the development of life skills is given by other young people (peer educators) from similar age (Cornisih & Campbell, 2009). Peer education is based on the rationale that peers have a strong influence on individual behavior (Population Council, 2000). Peer educators (as members of the target group) are assumed to have a level of trust and comfort with their peers that allows for more open discussions of sensitive topics (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002).

According to Piagetian theory, peer education brings social and cognitive benefits in peers. When peers disagree with one another, they become aware of other viewpoints, learn to examine their own perception and reassess its validity. To justify their point of view they learn that they must communicate it thoroughly to others. This in turn forces them to work out their understanding of the issue at hand, so that they are able to express their views clearly and convincingly (Murray, 1974; Perret-Clermont, 1980; Strauss, 1972). Besides individual benefits, peer education can also create change in communities or society through modifying norms and stimulating collective action that contributes to changes in policies and programs (Horizons, 1999).

Peer education is a core pillar of HIV prevention efforts globally, but despite the popularity and some successes (Ngugi, Wilson, Sebstad, Plummer, & Moses, 1996), its results have been ambiguous and sometimes even disappointing (Harden, Oakley, & Oliver, 2001). Peer education may empower both the educator (Milburn, 1995; Strange, Forrest, & Oakley, 2002) and the target group by the creation of a sense of solidarity and collective action (Campbell & Mzaidume, 2001; Population Council, 2001), however this is not always the case. Empowerment is a gradual process and develops when peer educators are gradually given increased responsibility. Empowerment involves enabling young people to show their capability, but this may take place in a world which is unjust. As Lynch puts it: “Although we would strongly argue that young people should be encouraged and assisted to take control in decisions that affect their immediate environment, they simultaneously have to be prepared to consider the power and responsibility of others. There will always be situations where their own power is not as great as someone else’s” (Lynch, 1990).

Moving the Goalposts Kilifi and Women Win

This study focuses on a girls’ SfD project named Moving the Goalposts (MTG). MTG is located in the coastal province of Kenya, Kilifi and uses football as the core sport to empower girls (Woodcock, Cronin, & Forde, 2012). Women Win is the overarching organization of SfD programs related to girls empowerment and one of them is MTG. Through its SfD partnerships they are able to identify best practices, create and spread gender sensitive sport guidelines and curricula and develop sustainable organizations (Women Win, 2014a).

In Kilifi, poverty, gender inequality and problems related to SRHR are highly visible. Research has found that 68.5 percent of its population lives below the poverty line, which means that they have less than one dollar a day to survive (UNDP, 2010). Gender inequality is a massive problem: Kilifi district has one of the lowest gender development index scores in

the country (Forde & Taylor, 2007). Adolescent girls have limited access to sexual and reproductive health information and services, which exposes them to the risks of early pregnancy, early motherhood or unsafe and illegal abortion, HIV and sexually transmitted infections (STI), early school drop-out and gender-based violence (GBV) (Woodcock et al., 2012).

MTG (Kilifi) uses football combined with peer-led health education to develop leadership in adolescent girls. Leadership is defined by MTG as a girls' ability to use available resources, exercise rights, take control and be an agent of change over her own life and her community. Its mission is 'to strengthen the voice, impact and influence of girls and young women by providing opportunities for them to play football, take on leadership roles, learn about their rights and how to claim those rights, with a core focus on sexual and reproductive health and choice' (MTG, 2011-2015). Currently more than 5000 girls, in the ages 9-25, participate in the program and almost 1/5 of them practice a leadership role. The leadership roles include football coaches, peer educators, referees, first aiders, field committees, monitor and evaluation (M&E) volunteers and training of trainers (ToT). The program consists of weekly football trainings and matches, peer education sessions (immediately after the trainings) and community activities, such as parents' trainings, tournaments and other community events to raise awareness about the program and girls' rights. All the sessions and activities are organized and led by participants who are appointed by its team members for a leadership role (Van Dam, 2014).

The definition of leadership in MTG is obtained from Women Win, but will not be used in this study (MTG, 2013). To gain a deeper understanding of 'leadership', it must be placed in its (cultural) context. Rost (1991) has evidenced that 'Leadership is an influence relationship among leaders and followers who intend real changes that reflect their mutual purposes and common mission'. This implies that influence within this leadership culture flows in all directions, not only top down. Followers are considered as active participants and also engage in leadership. The only difference is that leaders exert more influence than followers (Block, 2002). In MTG, the mutual purpose is to develop leadership in girls. In this study *leadership* will therefore be defined through the shared vision of participants and staff members in MTG, namely 'someone who is able to communicate, provide support, take risk (action) and is open-minded'.

Prior research on MTG found several benefits in girls, e.g., an increased knowledge on SRHR, improved attitude, behavior change, development of life skills (teamwork, leadership, organization, confidence and self-esteem) (McKenzie, Forde, & Theobald, 2006;

Mtsami, 2007). Also, a growing support of the community in Kilifi towards sports was found (proud parents, more people watch matches) (Forde & Kendall-Taylor, 2007). Mtsami also found that some teachers doubted the effectiveness of the program on health education, because they noticed that participants became pregnant. Although prior studies found several benefits in girls, it is not clear under which conditions the desired results and especially leadership (the main purpose of MTG) are achieved.

Research aims

The general aim of this research is to explore which elements of Moving the Goalposts (MTG) contribute to leadership development in Kenyan girls, with a specific focus on football and peer education. 'Working elements' implies the design, content and the processes related to this program. Throughout the research, an exploration was held on both, the factors which contribute as well as limit the development of girls, because both insights can contribute in making the program more evidence-based. Evidence-based practice can improve the quality and cost-effectiveness of programs (Hausman, 2002). Furthermore, it can be questioned if it is ethical to let participants attend a program of which the effectiveness is unknown (Veerman, Janssen, & Delicat, 2005).

Prior to this research, a document analysis was performed to generate insight in the MTG and its potential effectiveness. This document analysis is only presented in the internship report (Be, 2014), because it will take away the main focus of this study, which is to uncover the actual methods and processes that currently take place, through the voice of participants and staff members of MTG. This grassroots' approach can contribute to the sustainability of a program (Fraser, Dougill, Mabee, Reed, & McAlpine, 2005). The results of the document analysis are brought forward in the discussion.

This study has two levels, a participant (first part) and organizational level (second part). The first part is to generate insight in the working elements of MTG from a participants' perspective. These participants either newly enrolled and attended MTG for one year, attended the program for several years and practice several leadership roles (e.g., coaches, peer educators or field leaders) or attended the program, practiced several leadership roles and became staff members within MTG (ex-participants). This part consists of two research aims.

The first aim is to explore to what extent and how the participants perceive their leadership change and change in practice. As previously described, leadership was measured through a common vision and defined as someone who is able to communicate, provide support, take risk and is open-minded. By asking participants and ex-participants who

practice(d) various leadership roles about their experiences it can be indicated how they made sense of their situation. "Sensemaking involves the ongoing retrospective development of plausible images that rationalize what people are doing" (Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005). Research has found that sport gives the opportunity to develop leadership and negotiation skills in girls (Meyer, 2005). These leadership development opportunities can also be seen from the program in MTG. It has also been evidenced that peer education can lead to behavior change (Dennis, 2003). Previous research on the program of MTG has indeed found an increase in leadership in girls (McKenzie et al., 2006). Therefore it is expected that participants perceive a leadership change during the program.

The second aim is to identify which elements within MTG contribute to leadership development. A determinant analysis was performed to generate ideas on how to adequately influence leadership behavior (Baar et al., 2007), hence find out which determinants contribute to leadership behavior. Participation was seen as a necessary condition for leadership development, because taking part in (educational) sport is necessary to achieve desired outcomes (Mahoney & Statin, 2000). This determinant analysis can generate ideas on how to adequately influence (leadership) behavior (Baar et al., 2007). The determinant analysis was performed through the Attitude-Social influence-self-Efficacy (ASE)-model (Figure 1), because of the high scientific recognition (de Vries, Dijkstra, & Kuhlman, 1988). This model is based on social psychological theories and models of behavior which explain how behavior is best predicted by a persons' intention. However, the actual performance of leadership behavior not only depends on the intention, but also on the (knowledge of) skills of a person (e.g., ability to collaborate) and barriers (e.g., community judgments on leadership behavior) (Brug et al., 2008). Behavior intention consists of three cognitive variables, namely attitude, social influence and self-efficacy (de Vries, Dijkstra, & Kuhlman, 1988). Attitude is the judgment of a person towards the behavior, outcome expectancies, attribution, knowledge regarding behavior and habits (e.g., attitude towards leadership) (Ajzen, 2001). Social influence (S) consists of subjective norms, social support/pressure and modeling (e.g., perceived support of coach) (Brug et al., 2008). Self-efficacy means the expectations of people on their ability to perform a certain type of behavior, such as leadership (Bandura, 1986). It is important to explore why some participants practice leadership behavior and which intentions they have for practicing that behavior. If leadership is perceived as 'good', then how come that some teenage participants still get pregnant? (Mtsami, 2007). Having the intention, knowledge and skills on how to prevent pregnancy does not mean that they can actually perform this behavior. There are other factors, barriers,

which can interfere with this behavior, such as poverty or rape. It is important that the approach of MTG is adequately adjusted to personal and environmental factors that contribute to leadership in girls. The more specific the behavioral determinants are formulated, the better this behavior, such as program attendance and leadership behavior can be predicted. Poverty and gender inequality are severe problems in Kilifi and male-dominated sport sometimes conflict with social norms on gender (Woodcock et al., 2012). Based on these studies, it is expected that participants would face barriers within their community. However, it is also expected that participants would have a high intention (positive attitude, high social influence, high self-efficacy, skills) for participation and leadership behavior. The expected working element in MTG is the high perceived support.

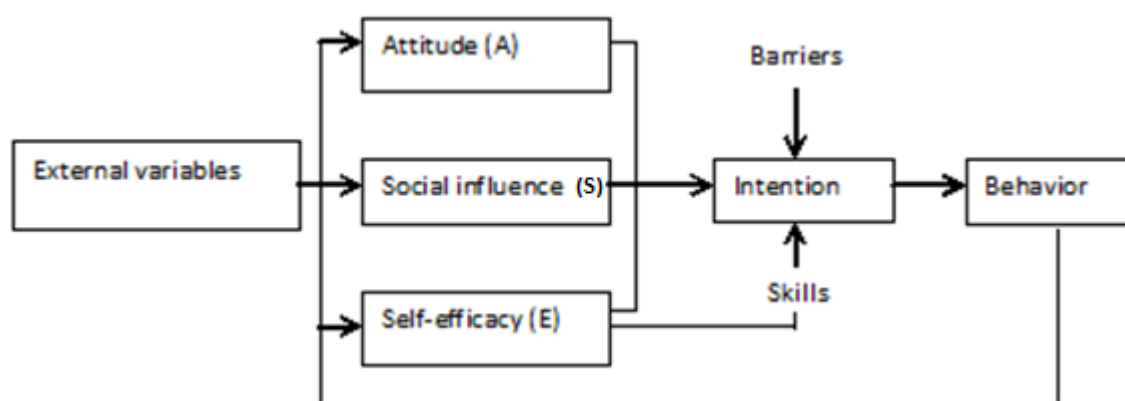


Figure 1. ASE-model which relate various determinants to behavior.

The second part of this study is to generate insight in the implementation of MTG (organizational level). Therefore, the third aim is to identify the ‘working elements’ within the implementation of MTG. When the implementation of a program is performed well, the effectiveness can become twofold (Durlak & DuPre, 2008). Research has found that an effective intervention does not have to be performed exactly as intended, but its ‘working elements’ should be recognized and put into practice (Blase & Fixen, 2013). Various determinants and activities for an effective implementation process were identified in four phases of an implementation (Novins et al., 2013):

The first phase is the distribution phase and includes the spread of and familiarity with the program (MTG). When the source of information is perceived as reliable by the target group, it increases the chance that the information will be adopted. Besides the source, also the content is an essential element and must include information on specific elements in the intervention which is in the users interest (Barwick et al., 2005). An important risk factor is

the 'unknown future' of the intervention, so an accurate description should be given on the (future) benefits of the program (Rogers, 1995). Furthermore, face to face spread of information is found to be effective method to engage and activate the target group (Barwick et al., 2005).

In the second phase (adoption), professionals develop a positive attitude towards the intervention and eventually decide to use it. The attitude of professionals is mainly formed through the perceived social norm, if and to what extent use of the intervention is accepted within and outside the organization (Overstreet, Cegielski, & Hall, 2013). Professionals are more likely to adopt an intervention which does not entail complicated processes and where chances are offered to practice (on a small scale) and others who are already use the intervention can be observed. This gives them sufficient time to adapt the intervention to their own work approach (Berwick, 2003; Van Yperen, 2003). Good guidance in getting to know the intervention is also important for professionals. These factors contribute to the acceptance and use of the intervention (Aarons, Hurlburt, & Horwitz., 2011).

The third phase is the implementation phase, in which professionals carry out the intervention. An implementation plan, which includes a clear program procedure and specifications on nature, order, frequency, duration, intensity and responsibilities, are recognized to be important. Users and target group should be involved in the design of the program, so that their interests and capacities are reflected in the program (Baar et al., 2007). This plan should also include an 'adaption process', in which professionals have the chance to adapt the intervention to their work approach (Colby et al., 2013). Trainings are found to be most effective, especially when it consists of different forms (educative, interactive) and if there is attention for the working elements within the implementation (Kendall, Stipani & Cummings, 2012). Besides training, also continuous intervision on the implementation is found to be an effective approach. In this way problems related to the implementation can be discussed and solved (Novins et al., 2013; Packard, 2013).

The fourth phase is the assurance phase and includes the development of a sustainable intervention. Regular monitoring of the progress of the intervention and structural support through intervisions are found to be effective (Novins et al., 2013). It is important to create an organizational culture in which the use of the intervention is supported (e.g., sufficient budget, capacity) and strong leadership is provided. Furthermore, research showed that meetings with all stakeholders to exchange information and discuss barriers and solutions contribute to the effectiveness. Involvement and motivation to carry out the intervention as intended can in this way be encouraged (Saldana & Chamberlain, 2012).

It is expected that the program is not exactly carried out as intended, because of the challenging environment in Kilifi (e.g., poverty, gender-inequality) and vulnerable target group which might result in unplanned interferences during the implementation (UNDP, 2010). However, it is also expected that working elements in MTG are identified and put in practice, because of the practice based approach, growing community support and positive outcomes in girls of MTG (Forde & Kendall-Taylor, 2007; McKenzie et al, 2006).

Method

Research design

For this study, a qualitative design with its explorative nature was used. Qualitative research is obtaining rich and detailed descriptions and interpretations of the nature and characteristics of contexts, situations, interactions and persons (Baar, 2002). A qualitative and open approach was the main focus and most meaningful for answering the research question. This was done through ‘sensemaking’ of participants, how participants perceive and experience their situation and act according to their point of view (Baarda et al., 2005). However, complementary to the qualitative methods, also quantitative methods were used. This research strategy is called ‘triangulation’ or ‘the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon’ (Denzin, 1978). The combination of several methods contribute in creating a more complete and comprehensive picture of the situation (Baarda et al., 2005).

Participants

In total 88 (ex)-participants and staff members of MTG took part in this study and were selected through convenience sampling. Two groups can be identified. Group 1 included 81 participants, aged 10-20 (average age 14), who joined MTG since February 2013. Group 2 included 6 (ex)-participants, aged 20-28, who practice(d) various leadership roles (e.g., coach, peer educator or field leader). Four of them became a staff member (ex-participants) in MTG. The (ex)-participants who practiced various leadership roles will be named ‘leaders’. All leaders entered the program as a participant without leadership role. The last respondent is a staff member (M&E coordinator) of MTG who is not an ex-participant. Group 2, the leaders, were the key informants and chosen because of their advanced leadership development, high level in English and representativeness of the participants in MTG. The leaders and staff members can also reflect on the experiences of other participants in the program, because of their close relationships with them. This contributed to the internal generalizability, their narratives and stories could also be applied to other situations with similar characteristics (Baarda et al., 2005).

Instruments

In-depth interviews. The main instrument in this study was the semi-structured *in-depth interview*. This qualitative research technique is used for exploring complex issues and phenomena (Boeije, 2010). For the interviews topics (with several questions) were created through the document analysis, literature and data of the participant questionnaire and adjusted to the three aims. Four topics: (1) background information (e.g., role MTG, community description); (2) respondents' experiences with the implementation of MTG (e.g., information, enrollment, responsibilities, program improvements); (3) respondents' perceived leadership change (e.g., description characteristics of leadership, examples change leadership skills, behavior, knowledge); (4) the contributions and limitations in the program to this leadership change (e.g., experiences during football, peer education). The use of these topics allows for comparison and through interview probes (additional questions) respondents have the chance to tell their full stories. Through letting respondents tell their story, the subjectivity of the researcher will be reduced (Boeije, 't Hart, & Hox, 2009). The leaders who did not come to the Netherlands received the same semi-structured interview questions via e-mail (instead of Skype), because of the limited internet connection. This gave them the chance to reflect on the questions. These respondents were contacted again when their answers were not clear or complete.

Participant questionnaire. The *participant questionnaire* (developed by Women Win in collaboration with International Center for Research on Women, 2012) was also used in this research. This questionnaire encompasses a framework of BACKS-indicators: Behavior, Attitude, Condition, Knowledge and Status (Knight, 2002). The available base (Feb/March 2013)- and midline (Oct/Nov 2013) data were used to answer the first two aims, because it provides insight in the perceived changes of participants' who attended the program for one year. This questionnaire consisted of 51 items and four parts: Background information, Leadership, Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights, Gender Based Violence and Economic Empowerment. Within the questionnaire, six questions related to leadership and SRHR were identified. In this study, relevant items on 'leadership and knowledge about SRHR' were used and combined with other findings. Most knowledge questions, e.g., 'I know how to prevent pregnancy', were answered *yes/no* or *true/false*. Four point scale questions (*strongly disagree, disagree, agree and strongly agree*) were used for the majority of attitude questions, e.g., 'I am a leader'.

Direct observation. During the Leadership camp, which consisted of a Digital Storytelling (DST) workshop and Mentorship week, three MTG leaders were observed

through free, direct *observation*. A free observation was chosen, because of the limited prior knowledge of leadership behavior. This observation was used to support answering the first research aim, because it provides information about their leadership behavior in practice. Daily field notes were made about what happened during the day. Field notes means that a concrete description is given of what is seen. This observation contributed to a holistic approach of this research, the participants' behavior can be seen in their (natural) contextual environment (Baarda et al., 2005).

Scripts Digital Story. The leaders in this study created a digital story during a Leadership Camp in 2013 and 2014 in the Netherlands. During this camp they went through the process of (1) writing their *script*, (2) gathering visuals (pictures, drawings), (3) integrating sounds (background music or sounds). The scripts in which they described the most important experiences and turning point(s) in life were used. This data was used to support the first two research aims, the leadership change and determinants for this change. It was also linked to the data retrieved from the in-depth interviews, because the same respondents were used.

Procedure

The available participant base- and midline data was gathered by M&E volunteers in MTG. An informed consent process was done with parents of all respondents younger than 18. The M&E volunteers gave clear instructions and assisted the participants through this questionnaire, so that the questions were understood by all participants (Women Win, 2013). In March 2014, three MTG leaders came to Amsterdam for a two-week leadership camp facilitated by Women Win. During this period I was appointed as their 'house mom'. This implied that I stayed with them in an apartment, together with seven other leaders from Sub Saharan Africa and Asia. During these weeks guiding, bonding and (fun) activities stood central and the observation and in-depth interviews were carried out. The observation was done through making daily (evening) notes about what happened during the day, specified with place, date, situation and time. After one week the in-depth interviews were carried out and recorded with a laptop, as well as with a phone. In the introduction of the interview attention was paid to ethics, namely their anonymity, confidentiality and voluntarily participation in the interview. Furthermore the same introduction and topic list was used for every participant to increase the internal validity and reliability of the data (Boeijs, 2010). During the interview notes were made of what was told, so that the speaker felt taken seriously. In April 2014, during the Women Win impact workshop, an expert interview was held with one of the staff members from MTG to gain more insight in the implementation.

This was done during a social gathering in a café. Specific and general questions were created through analyzing the in-depth interviews and document analysis on the program of MTG. The questions and answers were written down immediately after the conversation. To validate this, the answers were checked by the staff member (who was contacted via e-mail) and additional questions were answered.

Data-analysis

The participant questionnaire was analyzed using SPSS to perform statistical tests. The data was entered into Salesforce by staff members of MTG. For scale questions, the respondent had to choose one of the categories (*strongly disagree*, *disagree*, *agree* and *strongly agree*) for each statement. To compare results in an accessible way, the scores of -100, -33, +33 and +100 were given, respectively to these categories (figure 2). The averages could then be calculated. If the average for a certain question was for example +40, it meant that most girls agreed on the statement. Results for scale questions were presented in Salesforce, displaying the average scores for base- and endlines in tables. The average scores between base- and endline were compared with a Wilcoxon Signed Rank test to see if the difference was statistically significant. When the *p*-value was lower than .05, the difference was considered statistically significant (Woolson, 2007). Furthermore, the results of *yes/no* and *true/false* questions were presented with tables and charts in Salesforce, which showed the percentages of right and wrong answers. For each question, the number of right answers in baseline and endline were compared. The McNemar test was done to test if the change was significant. When the *p*-value was lower than .05, the difference was considered statistically significant. In this analysis only questions related to change in leadership and knowledge of SRHR were used.

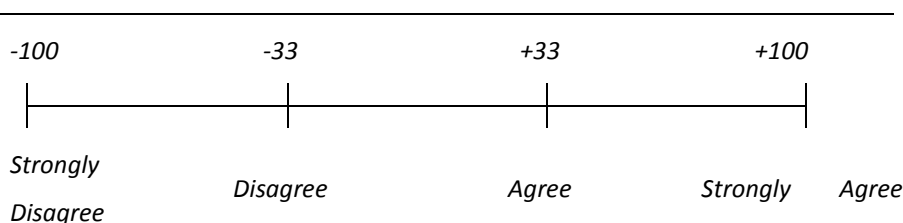


Figure 2. Scale categories and scores.

The in-depth interviews as well as the scripts were analyzed through the analytical methods of Baar (2002) and Baarda et al. (2001). The goal of this qualitative analysis was to structure and reduce the gathered data meaningfully (Baarda et al., 2001). Three phases were identified in this analysis: encode/labeling (open), define (categorizing and reducing the

amount of labels) and integration of core labels. The following steps were undertaken: labelling the fragments, reducing and relating labels, encrypting on content grouping labels on content, dividing the labels into dimensions and finally defining the categories. This method works systematically through the data by using inductive coding techniques (labels) and in this way explorative categories were generated with regard to the research aims of the study. To contribute to the internal validity of the research, the labels were created through maintaining the original words of the participants as much as possible. Each label was coded so that other researchers could control and gain access to the content of interview where the label was derived from. This contributed to the reliability of the research (Baar, 2002).

The observation was analyzed by reading the notes and selecting relevant notes about leadership behavior which were complementary or contradictory to other findings. Thoughtful reflection on the observation in relation to the study was performed (Baarda et al., 2005).

Results

In this section, the main findings per research aim will be discussed. The first aim was to identify the perceived leadership change and change in practice. The second aim was an exploration on the elements which might have contributed to this leadership development. In the third aim, the working elements in the implementation were identified. All categories per research aim which were constructed from the analysis have been italicized. The quotations from the interviews are between quotation marks. Although the stories of the leaders (anonymous names) stood central role in this study (qualitative), several other forms, including quantitative data were used and combined with these findings.

Perceived leadership change and practice

Leadership. The leadership framework was constructed through the leaders' common vision on qualities of a good leader. Although each leader had her own perception of a good leader, four main qualities can be identified, namely *Communication Skills*, *Support*, *Taking Risk (action)*, *Open-Minded (flexible and adaptable)*. *Communication Skills* includes someone who has the confidence to express her opinion, talk to a person or group and is influential. Within *Support*, the leaders agreed on the importance to be a good listener, have empathy, ready to help, be responsible and honest. For *Taking Risk (action)*, a leader must have confidence, courage, take initiative, be a role model and a motivator/influential. *Open-Minded* is to respect values of others, be willing to accept feedback, be flexible, creative (to overcome challenges) and adaptable. Furthermore one leader marked the importance of

having ‘simplicity in the way they do things’. A precondition to practice leadership behavior is having knowledge about their rights and behavior.

Perceived change of knowledge about rights and behavior. From the narratives it became evident that each leader perceived a *change in knowledge* on their *rights*. However, the most important change of each leader on Child Rights, Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR) or rights related to Gender Based Violence (GBV) was different. An *increase* was found in the *knowledge* for basic *Child Rights*. Hashiki stated that the most important learning was the right on education, she did not know this right existed. Zawadi mentioned that the most important learning was the rights to express herself. One of the staff members, Najma, perceived this change in other girls and told that ‘‘due to the knowledge, confidence and courage girls began speaking to their parents freely when they want something.’’ When looking to *SRHR*, the leaders mentioned that their *knowledge* in the prevention of pregnancy and HIV *increased*. The results from the participant questionnaire supported this statement. Before the program 23% of the participants answered that they knew how to prevent pregnancy. After one year, this increased to 60%. This change was statistically significant ($N=26; p<.05$). From the participants who knew how to prevent, 87% gave a correct pregnancy prevention method example before the program and 100% after the program. Najma learned to make incisive decisions on reproductive health and rights. This is supported by Durah ‘‘before I joined I could not talk about issues regarding ‘‘boyfriends’’ or ‘‘sex’’ most of the things regarding to SRHR. After the sessions and interactions I could at least talk and contribute during discussions in the field and outside the field.’’ Zawadi is able to tell her friends to be assertive when they are being seduced, ‘‘If you say no, you should mean no and if you say yes, you should mean yes.’’ Furthermore an *increase* in *knowledge* on *GBV* was mentioned. At first, Farashuu had no idea that touching your skin could be a violence, but now has received information from the sessions. Zawadi acknowledged the big development in rights and violations of women’s’ rights and how to handle when a violence occurs. She also wanted to teach others about the violation of rights: ‘‘Some take advantage and touch when the bus goes like this, I wanted to teach them that it was a sexual harassment.’’ One of the staff members, Najma, noticed that girls began reporting cases of abuse to the field leaders for support, because they were informed during the peer sessions and knowledgeable.

Perceived change of leadership skills and practice. All leaders described their perceived *change in leadership skills* and also provided examples of their own leadership behavior. This is in line with the results of the participant questionnaire. Before the program

56% of the participants perceived themselves as a leader and after one year this increased to 78%. However, this change is not statistically significant ($Z=-.235$; $p>.05$). Perceived change and examples of behavior will be placed in the context of the leadership framework, as described previously:

Communication Skills. In general, all leaders perceived a change in their *confidence* and *communication skills*. Ainra used to be shy and not able to speak in public. She never believed to become a leader. When Hashiki talked about her personal changes, she said that she is now confident and can stand and say something in front of people. Also Najma mentioned that she is now good in *communication*. Farashuu illustrates her turning point: "At first I felt that I was not perfect, but I gave myself courage that, 'why when I am conducting peer education, I can stand in front of people, why not here?' And that was my first time, I stand in front of people, I talked, it was public speech about agriculture, I talked." The confidence to speak up in front of a group of people was observed during the mentorship week in Amsterdam, where Hashiki, Farashuu and Zawadi presented their digital stories. One by one, they took a step forward and started to speak calmly and confident. Even though parents argue that football is for boys, Hashiki is now able to tell them "Let your girls play football, it is for everyone! Girls can train for something and help her friends, because of football." Zawadi also described how she influenced her parents through observing their behavior and communicating to them what she learned during peer education. When there was a problem her father always addressed the problem, but mother talked much and father remained silent. She said to her mother "it's not good for you to talk much, when we are in, because it's not a sign of respect" and told father, "you are not supposed to be quiet, you have to talk, you negotiate and come up with a solution." Father really changed, mother accepted the feedback and she never heard those quarrels again. These *communication skills* were also noticed during the leadership camp. Hashiki, Farashuu and Zawadi always came when they had general questions or wanted to tell something about their life back home. When we were in the public library in Amsterdam, Hashiki told about the difference between her library "very small and many books they don't have".

Support. Some leaders learned that *teamwork* is about *supporting others*. Najma is now able to listen to other players without interruption and *help* them. Farashuu described how she provided *support* to another: "my teammate said 'yesterday we didn't eat anything so we just sleep, we were hungry', so I had some coins, so I just give her to go and buy potatoes, so that she can play well, so I'm just supporting her." During the leadership camp Farashuu showed her support to Zawadi through her honesty. When someone said that it was

Farashuu's turn to do a Skypecall, she said that it was Zawadi's turn, although she wanted to call. Zawadi *supports* other girls in the program by creating a new form of answering their questions, namely through a newsletter 'Tunaweza' and health corner. This form of *support* is also *transferred* to *outside* of the *program*. Hashiki supports her sister, because "she depends on me" and sends the allowances she receives from MTG to her. Her sister is the lastborn in her family and in this way a sense of *responsibility* for her sister became clear from her story "my job is tell my sister to follow me, I have to tell my sister: 'You have to brave!'" This sister was also highlighted in her digital story, where Hashiki told that she studied at Olympic high school and was not just playing football, but captain of the team. In the digital story of Zawadi was brought forward that she is using her skills to empower other girls and people in the community.

Taking Risk (action). Most leaders mentioned that they developed *confidence* and *courage* throughout the program and some stated to be a good *role model* now. Ainra described her change through the risks she took in MTG "I used to shake a lot when presenting in meetings or conferences but through being given opportunities now and then to do it I now enjoy doing presentation." At a certain point Naima able to make decisions on behalf of her team. She represented her team during the field committee meetings. In Farashuu's digital story, she emphasized her "leadership moment", after being asked to train a boys team in the village. She also described the challenges, because "At first the boys could not accept me as their coach, because I was a girl." After a few weeks they accepted her and "Now!! They are waiting for me in the field before I go." Hashiki also *coached* a *boys team*. Through MTG, Zawadi received her driving license. This was described in her digital story as an achievement "that still amazes people" from her village.

Open-minded. The leaders mentioned a change in their *openness to other perspectives*. Hashiki described that after she was being appointed as a coach, her mind started to "think bigger". When she was just in football she thought "'ahh we are losing every day, why are we losing?' I am just crying". Now she realized that it is normal "You can lose and you can win." Also Durah described that her opinion changed. At first she felt wrong with her peers when they discussed abortion, friendship and relationship, because her religious values were strongly against abortion and any discussion around sexual intercourse. After some time her opinion changed and now she realizes that "It is important to have different opinions and respect other opinions. Environment influences how we act, behave and how we think." Naima described that she became more flexible and is able to work in different interventions, groups and with different issues. All leaders mentioned that they

learned to *accept feedback*. This was also noticed during the Digital Storytelling workshop. When Hashiki, Farashuu and Zawadi worked on their scripts in the late evening they asked me to read them and provide feedback. Hashiki and Farashuu thought about the feedback, accepted it and changed their scripts. Hashiki showed that she is able to change her opinion and able to forgive ‘when sister come to me and says ‘oke I have done wrong, so forgive me’ I forgive her’.

‘What works’ for leadership development

Attitude towards program and leadership behavior. All leaders showed a positive *attitude* towards the program, which was associated with *football or other opportunities*. Some leaders already had a positive attitude towards football, others gained a positive attitude because of other activities within football ‘after every practice, everybody is given a chance to express her feelings. What she felt during practice, what she saw during practice’ (Farashuu). A positive attitude was also found towards the perceived benefits ‘football can help somebody to develop, when you play in the field you will communicate with people. If you communicate you can overcome many things’ (Farashuu). Hashiki mentioned that the team she coaches come to the field, because they want to become a great footballer, depend on themselves or want to become something more. This positive attitude of Farashuu and Hashiki was also observed when they played with the balls in the gym of the Nike office during free time. The joy and fun with each other were clearly visible and both participants laughed after doing some tricks with the balls. Activeness, which means attending practices, peer education sessions and activities (award scheme) is encouraged in the program and the leaders showed a *positive attitude* towards this *activeness*. Only if you are active in the program, you receive an award (allowance, leadership role, job opportunity). According to Hashiki, players are coming to the football field, because they want to become active. This is also in line with the participant questionnaire results. Before the program, 96% agreed with the statement ‘I can succeed if I practice hard’ and after the program all participants agreed. This change is not significant ($Z=-.626; p>.05$). Although this activeness and reward might be perceived as a motivation factor, there are other girls ‘they just go home, not attending the peer education sessions’ (Zawadi). One of the *rewards* of being active is that they can appear in the newsletter ‘Tunaweza’. Zawadi explained that a lot of girls are in this way encouraged to be in the sessions, because they all want to be in the Tunaweza. Sometimes girls cry when they don’t appear in the Tunaweza. ‘Then we talk to them, like, not everyone will be in the Tunaweza. If you become the best, best player, or best peer educator or you are extra active then you’ll be in the Tunaweza, so they are struggling to be active’ (Zawadi).

Regarding the *attitude* towards *leadership behavior* (most results have been described in the previous section), Hashiki said that when you don't communicate, you can injure yourself or someone else. Furthermore, Farashuu told that she has never 'enough knowledge', it is an endless learning and Ainra now enjoys doing presentations.

Social influence. All leaders mentioned that *team members, coaches, peers, peer educators* and *staff supported* them, but also gave examples of *negative experiences* which might have *limited* their *development*. Some leaders clearly described the *encouragements* they received during football 'I used to miss the ball when kicking it and feel so embarrassed and discouraged but my team members used to encourage me to go on which made me learn very fast and play it very well' (Ainra). Durah described that she developed friendships and relationship during the football sessions. This is also in line with the results on the questionnaire. Before the program 95% perceived that their friends trusted them. After the program, this increased to 99%. This change is not statistically significant ($Z=.521; p>.05$). On the other hand, when asking about the experiences which might have limited their development, they often pointed out experiences with other players or peers, most often in the form of *discouragement*. 'They said I can't be part of the team since I was not a good player. They wanted somebody who had good football skills and would boost their team.' (Durah) When Ainra used to miss the ball a lot, other players laughed at her. Experiences with coaches were mainly positive. They *helped and inspired*. Farashuu told about her coach 'She is good, because she is given chances to everyone to express her feelings. Not just her keeping telling us something, but she is given us chance. She always gives feedback to us.' Zawadi described a different experience with her coach 'I was fat, so when I get a ball, the coach was always shouting, shouting at me (soft voice). 'You have to be fast, you have to be fast, Zawadi! Be fast!' So she acted mean.' She realized that this coach was not good, because even though she talked about the importance of good communication skills, she did not communicate well herself. She felt like 'why me and the other girls?' Contrary, from a staff members point of view, she told that it was sometimes even needed to *push some players* to participate in the field activities. In peer education, Durah perceived support from her peers when she told about the problems during menses, because they shared experiences on how they coped, as some had similar problems. Contrary in peer education 'some grouped as friends or clever' (Najma). This peer facilitator reduced the problem through organizing different sitting arrangements. None of the leaders perceived problems with their peer educators and Hashiki perceived the peer educator as her friend. They mentioned that peer educators give a *chance to speak* or say something. When they ask questions you *have to*

answer and this helped them in gaining *confidence* to speak. Ainra gives an overall view and mentioned that ‘‘The feedback was very supporting as I used to get the positive feedback first then followed by the areas to improve. It’s because of the constructive feedback I used to get which built me up to be the good leader I am today.’’

Self-efficacy. Regarding the program, some girls perceived a low efficacy in football, because they lost most matches. Others perceived a high efficacy, like Farashuu who thought she could become a national football player, because other girls were in the same level. Najma mentioned that only some girls participated in the peer education sessions, because they perceived themselves as clever. When viewing the self-efficacy of leadership behavior, all leaders talked about their leadership roles, mainly as *coach*, *peer educator* and *field leader* and their *selection by members* for this leadership role. ‘‘I can facilitate in front of a group of people. Yeah. And I can coach the boys team also!’’ (Hashiki) Farashuu mentioned that it was because of her activeness that she was selected and Ainra told that it was because of her potential and confidence during the peer sessions. After staff selected Hashiki as a coach, her dream came true. A turning point was described by Farashuu ‘‘I was selected as a field leader, then that was the time I stand in front of people and started to speak.’’ Zawadi told she was being noticed by another organization (Plan International), who asked her to facilitate to teachers and students in that organization. ‘‘He recommended me that I facilitated well and he will use My report, to convince the owners for him to start the program. The peer education program. I thought like I’m a.. a leader.’’ The *selection by other members or staff* is often described as an experience which has led a *positive* consequence. The adverse side is that being *not selected* ultimately brought *negative experiences*. When asking the leaders about experiences which might have limited their development, being *not selected* or *not given a chance* to proceed to another level is brought forward. When Hashiki was not selected, she was *discouraged* by her friends, got angry and went home. When Zawadi missed three job opportunities, she had no hope. When she told other participants that she had applied, they laughed at her and said ‘‘you will apply many of those, but they select those ones’’. When Farashuu was trained for a certain position and supposed to change to another level, this position was given to another person and ‘‘they did not explain why’’.

Perceived skills. Regarding the program, Hashiki mentioned that coaching was easy, because ‘‘many is football skills and I already knew how to play.’’ She learned more techniques, such as dribbling, passing and that you have to communicate. In her eyes, being a referee was also easy, because she knew the rules of the game. Furthermore, in her digital story she described that a principal spotted her ‘‘control of the ball and ability to see the

whole field.” The consequence of this was that she received a scholarship and became the first in her family (out of 22, because her father married three wives), who attended secondary school. When Naima was a peer facilitator, she saw that only a few participated in the session, because they were clever. This was stopped by giving every participant an *opportunity to participate*. Considering the *perceived leadership skills*, all leaders were able to mention their own leadership skills (which was mainly described in the previous section on change leadership skills). Durah also mentioned her time management skills “I always arrived at the field early, most of the players could find me there not just waiting for them, but doing something.” This is also in line with the participant questionnaire. Before the program 48% of the participants perceived to have unique skills and talents that others do not have and after 69% of the participants perceived this. This change is not statistically significant ($Z=-.882; p>.05$).

Context barriers. The leaders mentioned that they come from a poor area and that girls often get *pregnant* early because of *poverty*. Poverty can be seen from the example of Farashuu who mentioned that her team member did not eat before training. “Some don’t have a shilling to buy bread. You ask for men who is rich or a boyfriend who has money” (Zawadi). She told that some drop-out of the program, because of getting pregnant. Remarkably, results from the questionnaire showed that 40% of the participants did not know how to prevent pregnancy after having been in the program for one year. These findings show that both a lack of knowledge in prevention and poverty can lead to pregnancy. These pregnancies have led to the withdrawal of the program in Farashuu’s village, because the community judged MTG. A *lack of cooperation from community* was brought forward by all leaders. In their culture it is a taboo when a girl speaks out for her rights, Najma told. After knowing her rights, she used to speak up when she was offended, but “the community termed me arrogant and disrespectful.” This is in line with the results of the questionnaire. At the start of the program 58% of the participants perceived that their community was interested in what they had to say and after a year this increased to 68%, but this is not significant ($Z=-.372; p>.05$). According to the leaders, parents do not allow a girl to participate in sports activities, because it is not a game for girls. A girl *can’t become married*, will get *pregnant*, because of *exposure* (wearing shorts), becomes *arrogant* or needs to *contribute to the family* (after turning 18). Durah further stated that the culture does not favor “exposing” women and girls. Even when girls are in the program, “parents sometimes forbid permission to come to the field” (Hashiki). Hashiki explained that this problem was

solved when they talked to parents. Najma mentioned ‘‘my parents changed their attitude when they discovered that I gained some income.’’

The ‘working elements’ in the implementation

Phase 1 – Distribution of MTG. The leaders mentioned that the first information about MTG was either spread through a *friend, relative or (staff) member from MTG*, who organized an event or football tournament in their schools. Information through members from the program was supported by a staff member: ‘‘The chief and other leaders communicate with the community, discuss the problems girls are facing and see if MTG is a possible solution. Our colleagues live and work in the community and always try to explain what MTG is doing. We work with local leaders, other organizations, schools, government agencies etc.’’ (M&E coordinator). When Durah visited an event, she saw the girls playing, was curious and approached the team manager who gave instructions to the girls. She remembered that the team manager was friendly to her and explained how she could join. The next day she picked her up and they went to the field together. Farashuu joined after her friends told about MTG and Ainra mentioned that a friend approached her, to get information on how she could join. Noticeably, when the leaders talk about the first information about MTG, they all refer to *football information*. Nothing is mentioned about the peer education sessions.

Phase 2 – Adoption of intervention. The first *reactions* after hearing information about the program were *contradictory*. Zawadi told that she ignored her sister who always encouraged her to join the program, because she benefited from it. ‘‘I didn’t know even how to kick a ball, so I was just like, I’ll waste a lot of time.’’ (Zawadi) The leaders described the attitude from the community towards this program as *wasting time*. ‘‘My sisters were even laughing at me as if I have lost direction, I am wasting my time there and I am avoiding to do work at home.’’ (Durah) Noticeably, the girls did *not* always receive *complete information* about the program. When MTG organized a tournament in Ainra’s high school, she thought that MTG was only for the best football players. She said ‘‘I thought MTG has a class who dealt with best football players and not any other girl.’’ On the other side, Haskiki mentioned after she heard about MTG ‘‘I think that my dream will come true, because I love playing football.’’ In her digital story she told that her mother had to grab her off the field. Noticeably, the leaders who had a negative attitude on football gave a negative reaction at first, but after receiving more information on the program, they developed a *positive attitude*, because of the recognition of *other program opportunities*. Zawadi expected to receive a scholarship, because her parents had no money to continue paying for her education. The

leaders who already had a positive attitude and were *interested in football* also expected the program to help them become a player on *national level*. “Girls can develop themselves in their own pace, can stay in the program for a long period and practice different leadership roles. Not everyone has to stand in front of a group (e.g., first aiders)” (M&E coordinator). All leaders described that they *received trainings* to become a coach or peer educator and that the received training *depends on your level*. They further stated that a chance is given during *trainings* to *practice* to facilitate, practice to organize events and practice through training team members. “When we were training, we were given a topic to facilitate in front of people, so for me it has helped me to practice.” (Farashuu)

Phase 3 – Implementation. All leaders who are or have been a coach and/or peer educator mentioned that they knew their responsibility for their role. They were told their *responsibility during training*, for example submit monthly reports, attend monthly meetings, conduct sessions and attend feedback meetings. Najma mentioned that there is a formalized curriculum which guides the peer educators and coaches. This curriculum is made by staff and according to Farashuu the coaches and peer educators are not involved, although she does think this would be better. The leaders mentioned that you can *make sessions personal* by using your creativity, but according to Hashiki it is necessary to inform the organization. Zawadi, the peer educator trainer also referred to the factbook, with all the peer education topics for a year, but mentioned “I give the methods of how she will conduct the session. Yeah and the breeze she will use, instead of just lecturing or taking the book, reading.” She argues that training them is easy, because she has been a peer educator herself and therefore has “all the knowledge and methodology”. The leaders also stated that the sessions were organized by coaches, peer educators and staff. Zawadi (staff member) described that she is responsible for monitoring the conducted sessions, gather data (attendance, categories), provide materials, food and evaluate. Also Hashiki (coach) mentioned that the supervisor is responsible for transport, lunch and materials. Regarding the materials, “some fields have goals, others don’t. The quality of the fields range from good to very bad (holes, slope). There is always a shortage on first-aid material, not every referee has a whistle, creative girls use the shell of a pen. They don’t have watches and it is therefore hard to estimate when’ time is over’.”(M&E coordinator). She also mentioned that the use of local materials is stimulated (e.g., slippers as goalposts, stones), so that sessions will not be canceled, because of the materials. Regarding the sessions, the leaders mentioned that they are *paired*, receive a *handout*, *discuss* and *facilitate*. For the facilitation they use an *action plan*, in which they write down the activities, materials and what they want to improve. After conducting, your

co-facilitator or assistant coach evaluates. According to them, they provided a lot of *support*, because problems could be discussed. Noticeably, both coaches and peer educators mentioned that they had only *little confidence* to conduct the sessions, when they just entered their leadership role. Ainra described that her colleague was not confident to facilitate. Therefore, she coached and planned the sessions together, so that she eventually could facilitate herself. This is supported by the M&E coordinator, who also noticed that some girls are not confident enough to facilitate. Although the leaders mentioned that they had little confidence to conduct the sessions at the beginning, all perceived an increase during the program.

Phase 4 – Assurance. All leaders received *constructive feedback* from staff and volunteers. However, when Durah received *negative feedback* about that her sessions were irrelevant and should not be conducted ‘I was heartbroken, since the person didn’t even help me build the session.’ It is important to create a climate, where girls try, encourage each other, do not laugh at each other, but provide support (M&E coordinator). Although the leaders mentioned to receive feedback from both staff and volunteers, it is not possible to monitor all the leaders, because the fields are not close to the office (M&E coordinator). It was also pointed out that most staff members are ex-participants and therefore good in bringing out the message of MTG. Ainra described that MTG gave her ‘the opportunity to practice in safe space, build confidence, information, communication through a supportive process.’ The challenges which were mentioned were costs (transportation, food), transportation (distance, rain season) ‘There, the matatu (bus) has to wait till it’s full, then you delay’ (Zawadi) and drop-out, due to different expectations or community attitudes. Girls drop out, because ‘Some girls do not have control over their own lives, are disappointed in the program, because they expect quick advantage financially.’ (M&E coordinator). One of the barriers which was described before was poverty. It is recognized by Hashiki that MTG provided lunch and money is provided to travel to the fields. *Challenges* within the organization were work pressure, which sometimes limited the realization of new ideas and staff members without former professional education can sometimes be a limitation for the development of the organization.

Discussion

The general aim of this study was to explore which elements in Moving the Goalposts contribute to leadership development in Kenyan girls, with a special focus on football and peer educations. This research has tried to uncover the actual methods and processes that are currently taking place in the program through the voice of participants and staff members.

The first aim of this study was to identify to what extent and how participants perceived their leadership change and change in practice. From a shared point of view, a good leader was defined as someone who is able to communicate, provide support, take risk (action) and is open-minded. The expectation that all leaders would perceive a leadership change within themselves was confirmed. However, the most important change differed for each leader and was related to their own capacities and interests due to prior experiences, leadership potential. Both a change in knowledge about rights and leadership skills was found and remarkably, these capacities were also transferred outside the program. The peer education sessions raised awareness about the violation of their rights and helped to develop the behavior needed to protect these rights. Awareness is the first step in the process of change (Kloek, Van Lenthe, Van Nierop, Schrijvers, & Mackenbach, 2006). Through the increased knowledge participants started to report more cases of abuse to their field leaders. Change in knowledge, attitudes, beliefs and behavior among members through peer education was also found by previous research (Dennis, 2003). It is assumed that an increase in social capital will have a positive impact on social issues, such as gender relations and HIV (Van Eekeren, Ter Horst, & Fictorie, 2013). The leaders provided examples which showed that the acquired information during peer education was also spread to the community. Several forms of 'right behavior' or violations were also taught to friends and parents and in most cases they accepted this feedback. Furthermore the developed leadership skills (e.g., confidence, public speech) were also practiced in the community. Not only a transfer of leadership skills to the community, but also a break through the stereotypical gender norms and a change in community attitudes became evident. It was told that the community is still amazed about a woman with a driving license. The girls who are coaching boys clearly described the change in the boys' attitude, whereas at the beginning they did not accept a girls' coach, but now they are waiting in the field before she goes. SfD projects do not only create awareness about different gendered norms, but also try to challenge these standards (Van Eekeren et al., 2013). However, these illustrations are the leadership changes of the leaders who already 'made it' in MTG. The next section will also uncover the challenges for this development.

The second aim was to identify which elements contributed to leadership development, with a special focus on football and peer education. A high intention (positive attitude, high self-efficacy, skills and social support) was expected, as well as context barriers. It was also expected that a high perceived social support was the main working element. These expectations were partly confirmed and need further explanation. All participants had a positive attitude towards the various program opportunities. This is a

working element, because the participants who did not have a positive attitude towards football decided to participate because of other development opportunities (personal development, independency). These opportunities are obtained through both active participation and selection by other members. This selection was often brought forward by the participants and related to their personal (leadership) development and achievements, so therefore it is another working element. Within sport, accomplishment on performance as well as verbal persuasion from important others can provide the individual with information regarding the potential for success in a given domain (Bandura et al., 1996). Also, the support from coaches, peer educators and peers within the program contributed to their development. Sport provides opportunities for peer-to-peer social interaction and supportive peer relationships (Brady, 1998; Larson, 2000). The supportive environment in the sessions, where coaches and peer educators helped and inspired was further described. Both within the football and peer education sessions, the participants mentioned the importance of having ‘moments’, where everyone is given a chance to reflect and express their feelings. The ability of a coach to communicate on an equal level was recognized as important. Besides a trainer, a coach also needs to be a coach in life skills. Good coaches become mentors of participants (Van Eekeren et al., 2013). Specifically in peer education, some participants recognized the importance of asking question on which you have to answer, because this helped them in gaining confidence. Although the above elements were positive, it is also important to recognize the challenges within the program and community which limit or even hinder leadership development. In the program, a ‘competitive’ ethos is also recognized. When a coach is more focused on the technical football skills and push participants (with low perceived football skills), this is perceived as having a negative influence. To gain a better understanding, more research is needed, especially if and to what extent other girls experience this as well. Furthermore, the program opportunities reinforce the competitive ethos between participants to a certain extent. After (telling about) the registration for a program opportunity, participants are often discouraged by peers and not being selected raised anger and hopelessness. Sometimes participants’ were excluded to join a football team, because they were not good enough. Prior studies also supported the negative aspects within sport which are related to this competitive element, namely social exclusion of (team) members and depression or anger due to a losing game (Berger, 1996). Brady (2005) related sport participation to a ‘safe space’ (neutral platform for dialogue and interaction), which is crucial for overall health and development. It is important to gain more understanding on how a coach or peer educator can best handle in these situations and create this safe space. Further

research on this is needed. Participation in sports activities was often limited, because of gendered norms about girls' behavior and cultural traditions (barriers). Football was associated with arrogance, exposure and a non-girl game. For some it is their task to earn an income for the family. Even when girls participated in the program, there was no guarantee that parents allowed them to go to the field or that the community allowed them to practice their leadership behavior. Participation in football reveals an array of social norms, gendered expectations and power struggles that can also work against full and unrestrained involvement (Clark et al., 2007).

The third aim was to identify the working elements within the implementation of MTG. It was expected that the program was not exactly carried out as intended, but the working elements were recognized and put in practice. This expectation was partly confirmed and needs more explanation. The first working element is the face to face spread (via friend, relative or MTG member) of the information (MTG) to the target group. Staff members live in the community and always spread information through discussing the problems of that area to find out if the program can be a possible solution. This face to face approach increases the credibility of the program and contributes to the effectiveness (Barwick et al., 2005). The rapid growth of participants in MTG supports this working element. Also the content of the program is important in the distribution of MTG. Noticeably, the spread of information was mainly about football and sometimes wrong information was received. This is an important finding, because not all the participants had a positive attitude towards football. It is important to give complete information about the program, including the peer education sessions, so that a larger audience is reached. More research is suggested. Benefits of the program must be accurately described and in the users interest (Barwick et al., 2005; Rogers, 1995). The responsibilities and tasks from coaches and peer educators seemed to be clear from the trainings. Level based trainings are given, in which chances are given to practice. Experienced peer educators train other peer educators and from their perspective, it is easy, because they have the methodology, knowledge and experience. This contributed to the implementation (Kendall et al., 2012). Within these trainings the 'adaption process' of the formalized curriculum to personalized sessions is emphasized by all leaders. This finding confirms the expectation that the sessions are not exactly carried out as intended. Although the sessions of these leaders were monitored by a staff member or co-facilitator, the coordinator mentioned that it is not possible to attend sessions of all leaders, because of the long distances between the office and fields. More research is suggested to find out to what extent the leaders are monitored and evaluated, because this is found to be an effective

activity for the assurance of implementation (Novings et al., 2013). Coaches and peer educators recognized the benefits and support of having a co-facilitator. Furthermore, monthly meetings are organized for all leaders where they can discuss barriers and solutions with each other. This form of collaboration is another working element as it involves and motivates leaders to carry out the intervention as intended (Saldana & Chamberlain, 2012). Notably, most staff members have been ex-participants of the program. This contributed to the support in the organization with strong leadership and is found to be another working element (Daamen, 2013). The use of local materials (stones, slippers) is encouraged, so that sessions will not be canceled, due to a shortage of materials. Although several positive factors in the implementation were identified, there are also factors which limit the implementation process. MTG is located in Kilifi, one of the poorest areas of Kenya and with one of the highest gender inequality rate (UNDP, 2010; Forde & Taylor, 2007). The challenging factors in the program which were mentioned were closely related to the barriers within the community. Although the program works closely with the community and takes into account these barriers, the high work pressure sometimes limit the fulfillment of these ideas. Staff members also suggested that lawyers should be hired, because of the increased abuse reports. More research is needed to find out if and how these problems (violations of rights) are solved. It would be contradictory if a program working on empowerment and gender equality would not handle the reported problems well.

The general aim of this research was to explore which elements of Moving the Goalposts contribute to leadership development in girls, with a specific focus on football and peer education. Several working elements were found in the design, content and processes of MTG. The various development opportunities and selection for this, creating moments in sessions to reflect, listen and speak, coaches and peer educators who communicate well and give chances to everyone, a safe and supportive environment contributed to the participants' leadership development. Within the implementation, active spread and collaboration with the community, level based trainings with a focus on the personalization of sessions and chances to practice, continuous monitoring and evaluation and a supportive organization ethos were found to be contributive elements in MTG.

A few methodological limitations were recognized in this study. The in-depth interviews were retrospective and participants had to describe experiences which happened in the past. This might have led to bias or interpretations of their experiences. It is questionable whether the participants could accurately describe their leadership development and

processes related to this development (Van Yperen & Veerman, 2008). However, reflection on their experiences and development is a central part of MTG, especially with these leaders.

The leaders in this study have been in the program for a different amount of years and practiced different leadership roles. However, all have been a football coach, peer educator or both. The different leadership roles and participation were not taken into account, because of the small selected group. It is important that future study will focus on a larger group and take into account these differences.

The last limitation is that most results from the participant questionnaire, which was filled in by participants who attended the program for one year, were not statistically significant. There were no in-depth interviews held with the participants who filled in this questionnaire, because of language and internet barriers and therefore difficulties to reach this target group from the Netherlands. Internet barriers were also faced with the leaders who were contacted via e-mail. Some only had access to internet in the office of MTG. However, the non-significant changes suggest that future research must focus on this target group to explore the underlying causes of why these changes were not significant. However, in this research these findings were used to have an idea on the relative changes of participants' perspectives on various statements.

Implications

A few recommendations can be suggested from this research. The first recommendation is that football coaches and peer educators will be trained in coping with a diverse group. The girls who attend this program vary widely in their football skills and their attitudes towards football. It is important to recognize this difference and know how to interact with such a diverse group. A special focus must be put on the girls who do not perceive their football skills as good, because for them it is important to first develop a sense of trust and confidence in a safe space (Brady, 2005). It is likely that in some cases girls do not develop their football skills to a large extent. In the application form of MTG, a specific question can be asked about their perceived football skills, so that coaches can gain insight in these individual competencies and interact with them, depending on their level. A clear distinction must be made between the development of football and using football as a tool for development. In this case, the aim of MTG is using football as a tool to empower girls. In SfD, 'sport' is understood to include physical activities that go beyond competitive sports (Van Eekeren et al., 2013). Football coaches must also be coaches in life skills and a mentor for the participants (Van Eekeren et al., 2013). Emphasizing this in the football trainings curriculum can be helpful to realize this.

For peer educators, it is equally important to know how to cope with a diverse group and not getting distracted when some girls within a group dominate and recognize themselves as clever. In the trainings for coaches and peer educators it must be emphasized that equal chances must be given to everyone, as well as having moments within the sessions in which communication takes place on an equal level with the educators.

It is important to explicitly describe practiced based programs, because of the long development process and high costs attached to programs (Baar, Wubbels, & Vermande, 2007). Through previous analysis was discovered that different aspects of the program are described in different documents. It is important to make a comprehensive overview of the implementation of the program, including a clear operational definition of leadership and measurement tools based on evidence. Grant providers want high credibility of a program intervention (Van Yperen & Veerman).

When MTG is introduced, it is important that accurate and complete information about the program is received by the target group (Daamen, 2013). It is recommended that more attention is paid to introducing the different components and development opportunities within the program, so that MTG is not only associated with football. Although staff members are aware of introducing the different facets of the program to the community, it is questionable whether the participants of the program itself know how to provide complete information to others. In the (peer education) sessions, a special focus can be put on how to spread relevant information about MTG.

Sport as a tool for a girls' leadership development is an effective approach when the diversity and potential of the target group is taken into account and a close relationship is maintained with the community. Sport must not be seen as the main component, but rather as a method to provide a safe, supportive environment as a starting point for girl empowerment. A safe environment and various development pathways within a sports program can lead to fulfilling a girls' leadership potential and modify gendered norms in developing countries.

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