

“They bloom like flowers...”
Indian girls' leadership development
through sports

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Abstract

This study investigates Indian girls' leadership development within a sports based empowerment programme. It reveals and analyses some common factors which play a role in their leadership development. It appears that girls' attitude, social environment and level of self-efficacy happen to play an inhibiting as well as enabling role in attaining empowerment and the courage to exhibit leadership skills. Particularly the social environment seems to have a major influence on girls' development, since it also influences girls' attitude and level of self-efficacy. This study emphasizes the importance of involving the social environment in programmes which might not be embraced in every cultural setting, such as sport based empowerment programmes for girls.

Keywords: leadership, sport, feminism, empowerment, girls' development

Samenvatting

Deze studie tracht de leiderschapontwikkeling van meisjes in India te beschrijven, die betrokken zijn bij een programma dat meisjes *empowered* door middel van sport. Hierbij worden de belangrijkste factoren die al dan niet bijdragen aan deze ontwikkeling naar voren gebracht. Uit deze studie blijkt dat de attitude van de meisjes, hun sociale omgeving en hun niveau van eigen effectiviteit zowel een bevorderende als ook een remmende functie hebben binnen hun leiderschapontwikkeling. Met name de sociale omgeving blijkt een belangrijke rol te vervullen, aangezien hun attitude en eigen effectiviteit ook door de medemensen beïnvloed wordt. Deze studie benadrukt het belang van de actieve betrokkenheid van de sociale omgeving bij programma's die wellicht niet in elke culturele setting gewenst zijn, zoals *empowerment* programma's die gebaseerd zijn op sport en zich richten op vrouwen en meisjes.

Sleutelwoorden: leiderschap, sport, feminisme, empowerment, ontwikkeling van meisjes

“They bloom like flowers...” - Indian girls' leadership development through sports

On December 16th Jyoti Singh Pandey, a 23-year old woman from Delhi, was raped in a bus by six men. She was beaten so severely, that she died in hospital as a consequence of the violence inflicted upon her (Wagner, 2013). Sexual harassment and rape are no incidents for many women in India, but this incident had a huge impact on the country's perspective on women. Never before have female and male citizens of the country demanded so actively social change. People have reported that the attitude towards women is slowly changing and also the attitude of women themselves is changing: *“Indeed, a new generation of urban women will not tolerate sexual harassment and is speaking up with a new-found confidence. They want to lead their lives without constant worry about predatory males. They want to be able to use public spaces and feel safe. They want respect and equality”* (Dhillon, 2014). Due to this incident the country is struggling between old traditions and values and new ones (Van der Hoek, 2014, expert interview, 6.03.2014). This is an interesting and possibly very fruitful time for Indian women and girls to stand up for their rights and demand equal rights. This study will investigate the emancipation of young girls who participate in a sports programme that puts special emphasis on girls' leadership development.

The differential treatment of men and women is not only common in India, many women in the Global South are struggling with gender inequality which complicates their lives and reduces their future perspectives (Van Oudenhoven & Wazir, 2006). Often times, women and girls have fewer chances to access education, health care and paid employment (Klasen, 2000). This has led to a stronger awareness of female emancipation and the importance of gender equality. Many non-governmental organisations (NGO's) seek to improve the situation of adolescent girls and young women in developing countries by empowering them. One new and innovative way to empower them is by providing life skill lessons (such as hygiene, health, social issues and economic issues) and complementing these with sport sessions (Kay, 2009).

This research is performed on behalf of Women Win (WW), which is an organisation that focuses on the empowerment of adolescent girls and young women through sports. WW has collaborated with 48 programme partners in 29 different countries over the past six years in order to advance women's rights and achieve gender equality. One of their programme partners is the Naz Foundation Trust in India. The GOAL programme implemented by the Naz Foundation is an example of life skills lessons which are complemented with sport sessions. A major aim of this project is to teach young girls leadership skills through sports in

order to empower them and facilitate the way to a better position in society (Women Win, 2013a).

The main focus of this study will be on girls' leadership skills development, written from a feminist perspective. This implies that gender relations will be critically analysed. Specifically any forms of power and dominance which discriminate and declassify women will be subjected to criticism (Becker-Schmidt & Knapp, 2001). Approaching leadership from a feminist perspective means that the form of leadership that will be examined does not equal the stereotypical male-based leadership in which aggressiveness, out-spoken behaviour and a take-charge attitude are prevailing. In this study, leadership is more about developing social and communication skills, being able to cooperate with others and at the same time nurture others and fostering interpersonal and inter-group relationships. By challenging the dominant perception, promoting this kind of leadership seeks to advance feminist goals (Hoyt & Kennedy, 2008).

The general objective of this study is to research the factors which play a role in the development of leadership skills within a sports-oriented programme. This will provide a better understanding about the factors that either inhibit or enable sound leadership development and generally which factors are related to leadership development. By filtering and analysing the important indicators that play a role, it can provide a view about factors that need to be reinforced and which ones need to be addressed in order to facilitate girls' leadership development. The empowerment of young women, which plays a crucial role in the development of leadership (Baric, 2013) is largely path-dependent and has to be adjusted to the context. The nature of the underlying constraints and injustices girls have to face, influences the level of empowerment they can attain (Kabeer, 2011). By unravelling what the young women experience in their social environment and how they perceive leadership and empowerment, the intervention can be curtailed to the specific needs, abilities and circumstances of the girls.

The research will focus on the GOAL programmes in Mumbai and Delhi. The cities will not be compared strictly, but any social or cultural difference between the two cities will be noted since the influence of the social environment plays an important role within this study. The social environment plays a crucial role in "shaping norms, enforcing patterns of social control, providing or not providing environmental opportunities to engage in particular behaviours, reducing or producing stress, and placing constraints on individual choices" (Institute of Medicine, 2003, cited in Haughton McNeill, Kreuter, & Subramanian, 2006).

In the next sections, the context in which this research takes place will be further illustrated. Thereafter, different theories concerning behavioural influences, gender, sports, empowerment, social capital and leadership and the methods will be elaborated before the results will be presented.

The context of Delhi and Mumbai

Mumbai and Delhi have two different backgrounds which contributes to the fact that the cities happen to have different socio-cultural backgrounds. Mumbai has been traditionally an industrial city and a trading centre. Delhi, on the other hand, is India's capital and the governmental heart of the country. Due to this background, people in Delhi are generally more cosmopolitan and status plays a more important role. In Mumbai people are generally less modern and put less emphasis on status (Gupta, expert interview, 4.02.2014; Van der Hoek, expert interview, 6.04.2014).

Both cities are struggling with large social contrasts. These contrasts are being reinforced by the focus on economic liberalism which has paid little attention to the voice of the poor and underprivileged which has occasionally led to social tension (Gandy, 2008; Pacione, 2006; Ahmad, Balaban, Doll, & Dreyfus, 2013).

Mumbai is generally known to be one of the safest cities for women in the country. This is largely due to the fact that travelling for women is quite safe, due to separate compartments for women in the local train and the densely populated streets that lead to higher social control (Gupta, expert interview, 4.02.2014). It is important to note that the fact that although Mumbai is known to be one of the safest cities for women in India does not mean that male harassment towards women is uncommon (Gupta, expert interview, 4.02.2014; Phadke, 2005). This is maybe due to the fact that inequitable gender norms are still common in Mumbai, especially amongst men, lower educated people and Moslims (Kostick, Schensul, Singh Pelto, & Saggurti, 2011). In Delhi traditional gender norms are also still widely accepted which apply particularly to females (Das, Das, & Das, 2012). Due to the differential treatment of men and women, programmes like GOAL are needed to ensure equal gender treatment. In the next section the Naz Foundation and the GOAL programme will be introduced.

The Naz Foundation Trust and the GOAL programme

The Naz Foundation is an NGO based in Delhi which aims to address issues concerning HIV/AIDS and sexual health in the local communities. They make use of a holistic approach which means that there are several projects within the foundation with different focuses and strategies (Women Win, 2013). Available projects are, for example,

projects concerning homo- en transsexual individuals, home-based care for HIV/Aids patients, peer education, HIV positive orphans and community involvement (Naz Foundation, 2013a).

The project that will be examined within this research is called "GOAL - Reaching new heights". This project is aimed at improving and transforming the lives of underprivileged young girls by letting them play netball and teaching them life skills. The central goal is the empowerment and the social inclusion of the young girls. The project is based in Delhi, Mumbai and recently also in Chennai and is meant for disadvantaged girls between 12 and 19 (Naz Foundation, 2013b).

Within in a period of nine months girls get involved in different activities that focus on four specific core areas. The first area is called "Be Yourself". This area is concerned about the self-confidence and communication skills of the girls. The second area is called "Be Healthy" and intends to cover general health, reproductive health and hygiene. The third area, "Be empowered", educates girls about their rights and raises understanding of how to get access to resources and institutions. The last area, "Be money savvy", covers topics that are related to economic empowerment (Goal Programme, 2013a).

The next sections will give a brief overview of the relevant theories in order to give a better understanding of the theoretical framework in which this research takes place.

Leadership skills, empowerment and the social environment

As mentioned earlier, leadership is traditionally connected to men where "command and control" play a pivotal role. In this study young girls are regarded as leaders if they exhibit the following characteristics: confidence, assertion/uses her voice, action/decision making, organization and vision and ability to motivate others (Baric, 2013). This implies that a leader is aware of her goals, abilities and opinions; that she uses her voice to share her thoughts and ideas; that she makes decisions that are beneficial for herself and for others; that she is able to organize herself and her actions in order to realise and accomplish a goal; that she has a clear vision and that she is able to inspire and motivate others and bring people together to accomplish a goal (Baric, 2013). Generally speaking, girls with leadership skills are keen learners who believe that their actions can make a difference in the world and who are able to bring about a positive change individually as well as with others (Baric, 2013).

Developing leadership skills can be a difficult task, especially for young girls. Traditionally, females are perceived to have other qualities, such as being affectionate, helpful and nurturant, which are characteristics that primarily describe a concern with the welfare of others. Males, on the other hand, are perceived as being assertive, controlling and confident.

These characteristics are linked much stronger to leadership skills, which make it generally easier for people to accept men as leaders and not women (Eagly & Karau, 2002). This can be explained by the role congruity theory, which states that groups will be positively valued when its characteristics are in line with the groups' typical social roles. Hence, women expressing male characteristics are often devalued within their societies (Diekmann & Goodfried, 2006) and are not perceived as being eligible candidates for fulfilling roles which are linked to men, such as leadership. Generally speaking, male qualities are perceived as being required in order to succeed as a leader (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Garcia-Retomero & López-Zafra, 2006). This can make girls very insecure of their qualities and uncomfortable to express their opinion and raise their voice. Due to societal factors girls feel inhibited to demonstrate behaviour that is linked to leadership. Therefore, the way female leaders are viewed within society plays a crucial role whether or not girls dare to express leadership behaviour. Empowerment is one way to make girls feel more comfortable with their leadership identity (Hoyt & Kennedy, 2008). Hence, empowerment plays a crucial role in the development of leadership skills.

Empowerment is often defined as the ability of a person to make important decisions in their lives which they could not make before. This implies that the person must have been disempowered in first place (Mosedale, 2005). Furthermore, people need to be aware of the fact that they are being oppressed. Women need to be aware of their subordination as well as the causes for this subordination (Kabeer, 2005; Mosedale, 2005). In order to achieve this realization women need to be aware of their legal rights and their sexuality (Mosedale, 2005). Besides that, they also have to believe in their own capacities to transform their lives and improve it. Therefore a certain level of self-confidence and self-esteem is required (Stromquist, 1995; cited in Mosedale, 2005).

Empowerment for women can be achieved, for example, by offering them easier access to education and paid work (Kabeer, 2005) or by letting them participate in projects that aim to empower girls via sports and life skill sessions (Kay, 2009). These life skills are of crucial importance, since the empowerment of women starts with the cognitive understanding of their situation and of their possibilities, as stated earlier.

Obviously, girls also benefit from doing sport in itself. These benefits are not only on the physical level, but also on the social and personal level. On the personal level girls gain knowledge, since they are taught about their rights and they receive life skill training. Besides that girls feel more confident and develop their self-esteem. Eventually, many girls feel more empowered due to the fact that they do sport (Kay, 2009). The skills girls learn on the

individual level ameliorate their social skills and facilitate their contact to their social environment. Girls are less afraid to share their feelings and needs and find better ways to communicate (Kay, 2009) which potentially has a positive impact on community level.

In this study, empowerment will be regarded as a process which is a precondition for the development of leadership skills (Baric, 2013). Empowered individuals will eventually be more likely to exhibit change-oriented leadership, since they will not be waiting passively for the environment to provide directions, but they will actively shape and influence their environment (Spreitzer, Janasz, & Quinn, 1999). Therefore, girls first have to gain empowerment which will enable them to exhibit leadership skills. Eventually, developing true empowerment is only possible if girls do not merely gain individual change by becoming active agents of their own lives. It is equally important to bring about changes in structures and relations (Baric, 2013). In order to achieve change in structures women have to defy traditional social orders in different domains of their lives (such as laws, kinship structures, routines etc.) which prevent them from taking the decisions they want to. Next to that women also have to realise change in relations by forming new relations with social actors in order to be active agents of change and generate change in structures (Baric, 2013). Generally, the process of developing empowerment cannot be regarded as an individual choice or an individual journey, it also depends largely on the context and the perception of the individual. Especially the social context, the relationships women have, seems to play an important role in shaping women's empowerment. This is due to the fact that female empowerment is not particularly embraced in several cultures, and women want to avoid being socially excluded. In many cases this leads to 'negotiations', in the sense that women choose to conform to certain rules in order to be less stigmatised (Cornwall & Edwards, 2010).

As can be concluded, various aspects have an impact on the development of leadership skills. Due to the social norms, girls' attitude towards themselves and others are of importance. If girls negatively attribute leadership skills to women, because they think these skills rather apply to males, the chance diminishes that they will exhibit that behaviour. This is also the case if girls expect the outcomes to be negative (e.g. social exclusion). Obviously, the social environment plays a crucial role and therefore has to be taken into account. The perceived social influence does not only have an impact on the intention, but can also form barriers. Eventually, the empowerment of girls as well as the actual training of leadership skills play a role in the level of awareness and their perceived self-efficacy. All these components combined are aspects that are of crucial importance within the "ASE-model"

which is the reason why this model will be used in this study to explain girls' leadership behaviour. The model will be explained in the next section.

The ASE-model

The ASE-model (see Figure 1) is a model that attempts to explain and predict behaviour. This model has been largely used to predict and explain risk behaviour and has been often used for health-related behaviour. The ASE-model explains behavioural change as a combination of intentions, barriers and skills. Intentions are formed by attitudes, social influence and self-efficacy. However, merely the intention will not lead to a specific behaviour, but depends on the skills a person possesses and the perceived barriers (De Vries, Dijkstra, & Kuhlmann, 1988).

The first factor that forms the intention, attitude, generally determines how a person judges about some specific behaviour. The way someone judges about this behaviour is closely linked to the knowledge someone has about it and the expectations a person has towards the outcomes. Furthermore, what the person considers being advantages and disadvantages of a specific behaviour, the belief attribution and the habits of a person are important components which influence one's attitude (Ajzen, 2001). In this sense, awareness is an important component of attitude, since the awareness about a certain topic influences the beliefs someone holds and therefore influences the persons' judgement towards the topic (Priluck & Till, 2004). Next to awareness, knowledge also plays an important role in the formation of perceptions and beliefs and therefore affects the choices people make (Wilcock, Pun, Khanona, & Aung, 2004). The second factor, social influence, consists of social norms, modelling, perception of behaviour of others, social support and social pressure. The third factor, the self-efficacy, consists of the beliefs people have about their own abilities to perform a specific behaviour. Generally, a high self-efficacy leads to better performance (Lechner & De Vries, 1995). These three factors determine a persons' intention, but whether he will actually change his behaviour is determined by barriers (e.g. from the environment) and the skills (De Vries et al., 1988).

Leadership is also a kind of behaviour which can be explained by this model. It has been chosen because it includes aspects which are of specific importance for this study. Not only does it measure attitudes and cost-benefits considerations which obviously play a role, it also takes into account the role of the environment and the level of self-confidence and self-esteem. These aspects are very important for girls who live in a collectivistic environment, where the social environment plays a crucial role and for girls who at the same time are

enrolled in a program that aims to empower them and therefore aim to increase their self-confidence and self-efficacy.

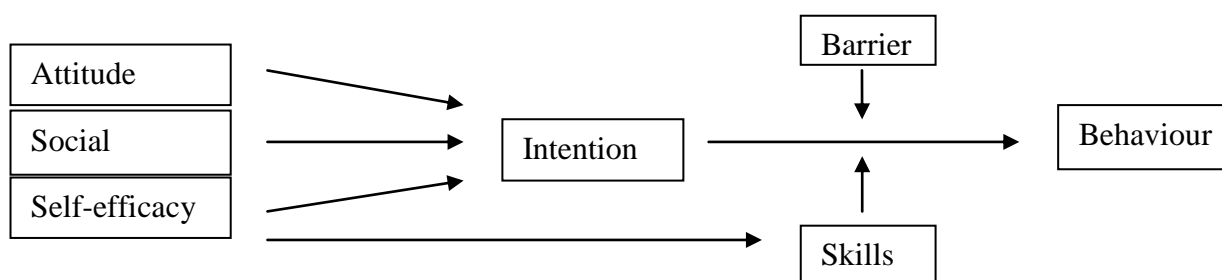


Figure 1. ASE-model (De Vries, Dijkstra & Kuhlmann, 1988)

Since the social environment plays an important role in this study some special attention will be paid to the mechanisms of how it can influence a person's behaviour and general state of mind. It plays a very important role in the well-being and achievements of a person and at the same time can also be a major barrier. People who are better socially connected often display better results on a physical, emotional, social and economic level (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). This might be due to the fact that "social networks foster reciprocity and trust, facilitate communication, amplify reputation and allow dilemmas of collective action to be resolved" (Putnam, 1995a:67; cited in Nicholson & Hoye, 2008).

Social capital is most strongly linked with trust which facilitates cooperation between people. An important indicator of trust is the fact that people have a feeling of belonging within their social environment and that they are willing to have social contact with people from other groups. People who lack this kind of trust can feel excluded or even intimidated by their social environment. For many, this can be a barrier to achieve their goals. Furthermore, people benefit from the support they receive from their social environment which also facilitates the achievement of goals (Van Iersel, Rombouts, & Cozijnsen, 2011). One important aspect, which is often excluded from the social capital literature, is respect. This is a crucial factor which actually precedes trust (Szreter, 2002), feeling of belonging and social support. It can be regarded as the basis of mutually beneficial social relationships and is therefore included in this study as an important indicator of social capital.

Particularly team sports are suitable to obtain social capital since teammates have to collaborate extensively with each other and they share many common experiences. A successful team requires players that respect each other and cooperate with each other (Walseth, 2008). Participation in team sports can enhance girls' social ties not merely by providing social contact but it also helps building of character through social interactions (Elias, 1971; cited in Seippel, 2006). However, it is important to note that sports do not only

generate benefits, but can also fuel negative outcomes, such as social exclusion and unequal power relations. Whether sports bring about positive or negative outcomes to people depends largely on the perception of the individual, as well as the conditions in which the individual plays sports (Bailey, 2005; Spaaij, 2009). Therefore, it is of great importance to offer a safe and positive environment where girls can develop their skills, such as leadership (Coalter, 2010).

Assuming girls are in such a positive environment, Women Win (WW) has created a theory of change in which the environment also plays an important role. WW's theory of change is derived from Van Linden and Fertman (1998) who state that youth leadership occurs in three stages: awareness, interaction and mastery (cited in Fertman & Van Linden, 1999). According to WW, girls first have to be aware of their leadership skills and have to develop their skills and knowledge (referred to as "Prepare"). After that, girls have to strengthen their skills in interaction with others (referred to as "Practice"). When girls have developed sufficient self-esteem and skills, they have the ability to influence and motivate others with their actions (referred to as "Play") (Women Win, 2013b). This theory of change highlights, just like the ASE-model, the influence of awareness, knowledge, self-efficacy and the social environment on the behaviour. Therefore, these aspects are playing an important role in this study.

Research proposition

As mentioned above, the main goal of this study is to get insights into the development of leadership skills of the girls enrolled in the GOAL-programme as well as the so-called GOAL Champions who are their coaches and former participants. Therefore, the leading question will be: *How does the leadership development of GOAL participants and GOAL Champions in Mumbai and Delhi occur?*

Since this question will be answered by analysing the girls' situation according to the ASE-model (De Vries et al., 1988) the sub-questions will evolve around the main aspects of the model (attitude, social influence, self-efficacy, barriers and behaviour). Five research questions will be posed in order to get a comprehensive idea of which aspects influence the leadership development, to what extent they influence it and how it is influenced. It is assumed that the different settings in which girls are active (during the game, within the project and in the community) are very different from each other. Therefore, attention will be paid to these different settings and the interactions that take place within these different settings. The following research questions will be posed to give an answer to the leading question:

- 1.) What is girls' attitude towards leadership skills and empowerment?
- 2.) How are girls influenced by their environment in exhibiting leadership and empowered behaviour?
- 3.) To what extent do girls believe in their own abilities of being a leader and an empowered female?
- 4.) What kind of barriers do girls encounter in the development of their leadership skills and their empowerment?
- 5.) To what extent do girls actually exhibit leadership skills and empowered behaviour?

The first research question will try to determine the attitude girls have about several factors that play a role in the development of leadership skills. Primarily, girls' attitude towards leadership and empowerment will be examined. Therefore, girls' awareness about their position in society and their awareness of being oppressed will be determined (Kabeer, 2005; Mosedale, 2005; Priluck & Till, 2004). Do girls feel there is a need to change their situations? Or do they consider their situation to be normal? How much do girls actually know about their rights (Wilcock et al., 2004)? It is not only important to know whether girls are knowledgeable and aware of their situation, but also how they judge about it (Azjen, 2001). Girls that have a positive attitude towards male dominance and female subordination are probably less inclined to develop leadership skills. Next to that, girls' desire to bring changes in structures and relations plays a critical role (Baric, 2013), since it indicates to what extent girls would like to exhibit empowered behaviour. A girl who has a positive attitude towards women who earn their own money indicates a certain level of empowerment, because it indicates that girls desire changes in structures. Obviously, girls' attitude towards the exhibition of leadership skills, such as listed by Baric (2013), will be examined. Questions like "Do girls feel it is appropriate if girls are self-confident?" or "Do girls think they should use their voice?" are of crucial importance to get an answer to this question.

The second research question will try to give an insight into the perceived social influence. To what extent do girls perceive their environment to have an influence on their leadership development? Do girls feel supported by their social environment? Do they feel respected? Do they feel they have people in their surrounding they can trust? These aspects of social capital play a role in their feeling of belonging, which has an impact on their behaviour (Nicholson & Hoyer, 2008; Van Iersel et al., 2011; Szreter, 2002). Girls who believe to have a positive social environment are probably more inclined to display the behaviour they wish to, whereas girls who feel less comfortable in their environment are less inclined to do so. Next

to the aspects of social capital also the social norms, the girls' perception of the behaviour of others, the role of modelling and the perceived social pressure contribute largely to the social influence on people's behaviour (Lechner & De Vries, 1995).

The third research question will try to measure the girls' level of self-efficacy. In other words, this part will be measuring girls' belief in their own abilities. It appears that girls who believe in their own abilities to show certain behaviour, are more likely to intend to show this behaviour (Lechner & De Vries, 1995). Do girls think they are able to speak up and use their voice? Do they feel self-confident? Do they think they can inspire other people? And do they believe they can bring about changes in structures and relations with others? Girls' perception of their skills is closely linked to their actual skills. Their skills in turn have a more direct link to the actual behaviour. Since it will not be possible to have an objective view on the girls' skills, this study will only focus on girls' perceived self-efficacy.

The same partly applies to the barriers that girls perceive. The perceived barriers will constitute the fourth research questions. This question will partly overlap with the perception of the social influence. In order to distinguish these two sub-questions, only the events that actually took place will be counted as a barrier. Furthermore, the barriers are not only referring to social barriers, but also political, religious, economical constraints will be taken into account. Important is not only to find out what barriers girls are dealing with, but also how they deal with these barriers. What barriers keep them from exhibiting certain behaviour? Which ones not? How can this be explained?

Obviously, all these factors influence to what extent the girls will actually develop and exhibit leadership skills. Therefore, the last research question will be examining girls' leadership behaviour. Again, it is problematic to objectively assess girls' behaviour as being leaders since a lot of the information depends on the perception of the girls themselves. Generally, what will be counted as part of this research question will be the examples in which girls show that they have developed leadership skills. Do they give examples in which they show that they make well considered decisions or possess good organisational skills? Do they have a clear vision which they actively share with others? Do they take action not only in order to improve their own lives but also the lives of others?

In this research question, attention will also be paid to the process of empowerment and the behaviour girls exhibit due to the fact that they feel more comfortable challenging structures and changing existing relations (Baric, 2013). Do girls exhibit behaviour that is not in accordance with the social norms? Do they form coalitions and relationships with others in order to alter structures and be agents of change? Besides that, the extent to which girls seem

to take control over their own life will be seen as an important indicator for the level of empowerment. Since empowerment is considered an important precondition for leadership skills (Baric, 2013), it is important to get an idea of the level of empowerment girls exhibit and to what extent girls' empowerment seems to influence the development of leadership skills. All together, the answer on these questions provides a deeper understanding of how the development of leadership takes place for the girls who are enrolled in the GOAL-project of the Naz Foundation.

Method

Research design

This study relies on qualitative as well as quantitative data and is therefore using a mixed-method design. The quantitative data originates from the GOAL participants, the qualitative data from GOAL Champions, former GOAL participants and staff members. The quantitative data consists of the results of baseline and endline of the same questionnaire given to girls within the period of the ten months programme. By comparing the results from these two questionnaires, it is possible to see the change that girls go through within the time they spent in the programme. This kind of analyses is referred to as a base-endline analysis. The quantitative data in the questionnaire also enables finding meaningful and significant links which the girls themselves are possibly unaware about. Besides that, quantitative research gives an indication of the significance of the change that has been found. Like this it is possible to distinguish coincidences from meaningful changes. This data is regarded as additional data which complements the more in-depth qualitative data since it is regarded as a confirmation of the results that have been found in the qualitative analysis. This data is of crucial importance since it allows posing probing questions which are left unanswered in the questionnaire. Except for that it also allows girls to mention what they personally perceive to be important and best reflects their perceptions. It takes into account the aspects that respondents perceive to be important which ensures that no important factors are being left out. By using this strategy every aspect can be taken into consideration and can be placed in the right context (Bryman, 2008). The qualitative data has been derived through different instruments, which will be explained in the section "Measures". By using different methods and instruments the findings could be triangulated and cross-checked which contributes to the reliability of the research (Bryman, 2008).

Participants

The target group are the girls that are enrolled in the GOAL-project of the Naz Foundation in Delhi and Mumbai. The girls who filled in the questionnaires are first-time

participants of the GOAL programme between the ages of 12 and 19. In total the questionnaires of 300 girls have been used of which 190 are from Delhi and 110 from Mumbai. These girls all go to school of which secondary school is the highest level they have attained. One of the participants is married and none of them has children.

The seven respondents that have been interviewed have various backgrounds. One of them is a former GOAL participant, others are GOAL Champions (coaches who used to be GOAL participants) and even staff members have been included. They have been included in this research for two reasons. First of all, the staff members have a good impression of the leadership development of girls since they have gathered a lot of different experiences with the girls. Besides that, the staff members were easier to approach since they were either attending workshop in Amsterdam or because they had access to internet. Furthermore, the staff members have a higher English proficiency compared to the regular GOAL participants and GOAL Champions.

Measures

Interviews. Interviews have been the main instrument for obtaining qualitative data. The questions for former GOAL (Champion) participants differed to the questions for the staff members. The participants were asked questions (1) concerning the GOAL programme, (2) leadership in general and their personal leadership, (3) their social environment, (4) the perceived barriers and (5) how they think about their leadership development and their participation in the GOAL programme in retrospective. Through this interview their knowledge, attitude, influence from and relationship with their social environment, their level of self-efficacy, their barriers and their actual leadership behaviour have been identified. These interviews are very much focussed on girls' own perception of their leadership development and therefore have a more reflective nature. The interviews of the staff, on the other hand, focus much more on the way they perceive the leadership development and behaviour of the girls in the programme and provide a rather external view. These questions evolved much more directly to the sub questions: (1) girls' attitude, (2) social influence, (3) self-efficacy, (4) barriers and (5) actual leadership behaviour. Due to lack of time and unreliability of the internet connection for a Skype call, some interviews have been filled out online. Eventually, four respondents were interviewed face-to-face. Next to that, three interviews have been filled out online.

In order to enhance the reliability of the interviews, each respondent has been briefed shortly on the purpose of the study, the reason why she is being interviewed and why it is important for her to tell everything she personally believes to be important. Next to that, the

interviews were recorded and transcribed. During the interviews the researcher also briefly summarized what has been told in order to make sure that the information has been understood correctly.

Most Significant Change Story. In order to obtain more qualitative rich and open-ended data the Most Significant Change Stories (MSCS) have been used. This is a tool which does not merely measure the impact that sports have on participants but actually reveals *how* these changes occur. Since girls are open to give any kind of answer that they perceive as being significant, the MSC tool gives diverse reasons for change.

The girls are asked to write down a story “that illustrates the most significant change in skills to facilitate and connect life skills with sports after [their] participation in the project”. They are also asked how they came to join the project, what significance the story has to them and how the project and its staff contributed to this. They are also asked to give a headline which summarizes their story. Generally, girls can write down any kind of change, but for this study special attention has been paid to the change in their feelings of empowerment and their leadership skills. It has been evaluated which roles attitudes, social influence, self-efficacy and barriers play in the development of these behaviours. Two most significant change stories have been used.

Digital Story Telling (DST). Some participants took part in the Digital Story Telling Project which is comparable to the MSCS, but then in a digital version. Within this project, the young girls tell their story in the form of a short video which they create during a workshop which lasts for five days. These videos are also used as a source of qualitative data, since girls reveal in these stories aspects of sports and their own development and skills which they perceive as being particularly important. One DST has been used and it has been analysed similar to the way the MSCS's have been analysed.

Questionnaire. As part of the quantitative data, questionnaires have been analysed. The questions are related to girls' motivation to participate, their knowledge about health and wellbeing, about their community, about issues in society and about the activities the girls have participated in during the project. The questionnaire has been made by Women Win in collaboration with its partners and was subsequently assessed by the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW). Since the questionnaire was not specifically designed for this research, only twenty-two out of the approximately sixty questions have been selected. These questions provide valuable insights into the five aspects mentioned in the ASE-model. Questions which measure girls' attitude are for example: “A woman has the right to say no if someone tries to touch her or have sex with her when she doesn't want them to” or “Women

should be able to earn their own money". The social influence can be measured by following questions: "I have a local female role model in my life" or "My community is interested in what I have to say". The level of self-efficacy can be measured by analysing questions like "I have unique skills and talents that others don't have" and "I can succeed if I practice hard". Girls' behaviour will be measured by analysing questions like "I can stand up for myself and disagree with my friends" and the statement "I am a leader". This statement implies that they exhibit behaviour which in their understanding requires possessing leadership skills. All questions are statements where the girls can either "Agree", "Strongly Agree", "Disagree" or "Strongly Disagree". No questions specifically measure girls' skills or barriers which could hamper their leadership development. These aspects will be mainly investigated qualitatively. The questionnaire has been validated by running a reliability analysis on twenty-one of the questions that have been selected for this research. The questions have a Cronbach's α of 0.756 which makes the questionnaire valid. This measure has been made only with the questions from the baseline to make sure that the different scorings from the base- and endline do not skew the correlations between the questions. There is only one question which has not been included because it is a dichotomous question in which girls are asked whether they have had a leadership position in the past 6 months (Yes/No).

Procedure

Two respondents were interviewed while they were in the Netherlands during a DST workshop. The interviews were held in a separate room. One of the interviews was held in the presence of another researcher. Before starting the interviews, the girls were asked for their permission to record it. After that, the researcher introduced herself and told what the purpose of the interview is and why the participants' view on this topic is relevant. Furthermore, the researcher made it clear that all answers were right and that the respondents are not obliged to give an answer to every question. The girls were also informed about the fact that their identities will remain anonymous and their names will be changed in the study (note: the names in the Results section are fictitious names). Then the girls got a short overview over the questions before the interview started. During the interview the questions from the guideline were asked and any relevant statements from the respondents were further probed on. At the end of the interview the respondents were asked whether they had anything to add. Afterwards, they were thanked for their participation and they were informed that they could always contact the researcher in case they wanted to add something or had doubts about anything.

Two other respondents were also interviewed while they were in Amsterdam for a workshop. It was not possible to interview them separately, due to lack of time and lack of space. They have been interviewed in their hotel room. The procedure of the interview was identical to the procedure of the first two interviews.

The online interviews have been sent to staff members who had been searching for suitable candidates who could fill in the questionnaire. Within the questionnaire the general information was included.

Unfortunately, the author of the study was not present during the gathering of the additional data, but they were all gathered more or less in the same way. Guidelines have been written about the best possible way how to gather the data. In the case of the questionnaire the procedure has been relatively simple. Girls have been asked for their consent and their honesty on the answers. They also got an explanation on the aim of filling in the forms. The girls had the possibility to ask questions to the facilitator that was available in case some questions were unclear. Before each section there is a short explanation and instruction on how to answer the questions. At the end girls are thanked for their time and participation.

The researcher obtained the information from the questionnaires by entering a system called "Salesforce" which is a system WW uses in order to manage and analyse important data in an organized way. As a programme partner, the Naz Foundation has access to this system and can enter the obtained data into it. The MSC's have also been obtained via Salesforce.

As mentioned before, the DST videos were produced during a workshop which lasted for five days. During this workshop the girls did not only learn how to deal with the technological side of making a video, but they were also supervised on how to tell their story.

Data analysis

The quantitative data in this research has been analysed with the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The answers from the baseline and endline questionnaires have been exported from Salesforce into Excel. In Excel the answers have been transformed from "Strongly Disagree", "Disagree", "Agree" and "Strongly Agree" into numbers from 0-3 since it is only possible to work with numbers in SPSS. The answers with a negative statement have been reversed in order to prevent wrong correlations. One question (Did you have a leadership position in the last 6 months?) has been coded with 1 (Yes) and 2 (No). The sites from Delhi have been coded with 1 and the ones from Mumbai have been coded with 2. This coded excel file has been exported to SPSS.

First of all, the assumptions have been tested. These have been violated. Therefore, only non-parametric tests have been used subsequently. The first test that has been used is the Wilcoxon Signed Ranks test. This test has been used to compare two sets of scores from the same participants (Field, 2009) in order to check whether the scores from the base- and endline significantly differ from each other. A significant increase or decrease in a score would indicate that girls either improved their leadership skills or that their leadership skills have not changed significantly in the meanwhile. This could mean that girls either already had sufficient leadership skills at the time the girls had to fill in the baseline questionnaire or that their leadership skills did not improve markedly. The only nominal question has been tested separately with the McNemar's test. This is a non-parametric test which is used for two related dichotomous variable (Field, 2009). In this study an effect size of ± 0.1 represents a small effect, ± 0.3 is a medium effect and ± 0.5 is a large effect (Field, 2009).

Next to statistically comparing the means of the base and end line, these means have been compared between the cities Mumbai and Delhi. These have been compared using the Mann-Whitney test, since this a non-parametric test which can be used for independent samples (Field, 2009). By finding out whether there is a statistical difference in the mean of a specific question, one might suggest that the difference in this score is not due to chance and that there is really a difference in the scoring of girls from Mumbai and from Delhi. The reasons for those differences will be explained by the qualitative data.

The qualitative data has been systematically analysed by labelling the fragments of the MSCSs, DST's and the interviews. This has been done by selecting fragments that are relevant to the question being asked (in this case the sub-question). These fragments have been given labels, which reflect a certain characteristic which gives an answer to the question. These labels are relatively short and correspond more or less to the original words spoken by the respondents. After having created labels, the related labels have been encrypted according to their content. The labels that have been grouped together were divided into dimensions and were finally defined into categories (Baar, 2002). In order to make this analysis valid, the researcher ensures that the labels, dimensions and categories correlate as close as possible with the original statements of the respondent. In order to make the analysis reliable, the author describes the procedure of the gathering and analysis of the data very detailed. Besides that, the author gives a clear description of what role she has played during the research.

Results

In this section the main results are being presented and discussed. In order to show the results, the categories which have been developed throughout the analysis are used. They have

been italicized and some categories are illustrated with quotes from the respondents. Whenever applicable, the qualitative data will be complemented with the results of the corresponding quantitative data.

Prepare

Awareness. Empowerment and obtaining leadership skills are not necessarily the main reasons for girls to get involved in the GOAL programme. Most of the girls actually start with the programme because they want to play sports. This desire is often triggered by the fact that they see other girls from the programme playing sports. They get *inspired by seeing these other girls* and they start to be curious and realize that sports can actually be something that girls can do. So, in first place girls are purely attracted to playing sports, they are unaware of what the aim of the GOAL programme is.

For this reason girls are slowly being introduced to the life skills session via fun games and activities to first of all get to know themselves better. Many girls are *not particularly aware of their unique personalities and their bodies*. In the course of the life skills sessions, they learn things they were previously completely unaware about, like the reproductive area, menstruation and HIV/AIDS. As described by a staff member Asmita, the emerging awareness about their bodies is quite difficult for them:

“And they just, when we are talking about menstruation, they feel like vomiting. “How can? How can?” They not accept that this things in my body. And they not accept things like...I can't see my vagina. They think like that. “How can? This is bad, this is dirty!” They are not accepting.”

The fact that girls have difficulties accepting these things is culturally ingrained. The same can be said about the acceptance of their own rights. To a certain extent they are aware of their subordinate position in society and they accepted it as a given. According to Zahra , staff member, *girls know but they do not use their rights* and she explains this as follows:

“Actually, in the community, basically girls are like...Everyone knows their rights, everyone knows everything, but on book or if they listen from someone else. But how to use? And “Is it for us or not?” This is the main problem and it's like, how can I explain? It's like, girls are...I mean, if she born as a girl, she is stereo kind of mind in the community. Like if she's girl, she will be do like this. She will be like this. And if

he's boy then he's like this. So, girls, accept themselves, like: "We should be like this, because my mum is doing this, my grandmother is doing this...."

As the programme proceeds, the girls slowly start to get more *aware of their rights*. This awareness is raised during the life skill sessions, particularly the sessions in which girls acquire *knowledge about sexual reproductive health and rights (SRHR)*. Girls know this topic only as a cultural taboo and are very surprised to see that discussing this topic is being encouraged. When they realize that those topics are discussable some of them are curious to get more information and are eager to learn more.

The fact that cultural taboos are openly being discussed might be one of the reasons why the girls, after initially feeling very awkward, start to gain *more confidence* after the first encounters with their bodies, as staff member Divya describes:

"When we do the body image activity and when we do "touch your eyes, touch your nose" and when we say "touch your breasts" and everybody will be: "What?!" And our coaches does that and they don't touch their breasts, they will feel it is someone else's. So, it actually have a great impact. It's only half an hour activity, but it has an impact on girls. And I felt that impact. Because when I joined the programme, when I did this activity first time, I was like: "I never thought about my body in this way." I was not very conscious, but I never thought about. But the experience of doing that activity makes you feel more confident. "This is me, I am. And I need to accept the way I look." I mean, why should you feel uncomfortable when you have breasts? It's ok."

Objection social environment. It has already been mentioned that girls have difficulties participating in the GOAL programme, because it offers aspects which are unacceptable for girls due to societal norms. This also becomes evident in the DST from Jayanti's, who used to be a GOAL participant and is as a community sports coach now:

"My father said: "NO! Sports is totally time wasting, not for career." My community said: "For girls, sports playing is very bad." In my community, after you've done 12th you get married. Girls are for making children and housework only. I felt very hurt. My society and my family did not support me because I am a girl."

Generally, families are not very willing to cooperate in the sense that they oftentimes *refuse to allow* their daughters to participate. Communities at the same time are also *not very supportive* by bullying families whose girls attend the GOAL programme. The reason for this behaviour is rooted in the cultural mentality, in social rules which everyone feels obliged to follow which makes it *difficult to break that mentality*.

In Indian culture girls' main tasks are, as Jayanti states, working in the household and making children. Therefore, *sports is not for girls*. Due to this mentality, people also *do not have strong belief in the capabilities* of the girls when it comes to sports and leadership, which can have a very demoralizing effect. However, this is not the only reason why families and communities object to girl participating in the programme. For them it is important that girls *obey to authorities*, otherwise the families fear that the girls will hurt the *pride of the family*. Therefore, they are *fearing girls' empowerment*, as Divya states:

“It will empower them, they will speak for themselves, they know more things...it's kind of, if you are more aware, you will exercise your rights and they don't want to get aware only, so they can exercise their rights...”

Many families are afraid that this empowerment will lead their daughters to get involved with boys or to break other cultural rules. This mindset is particularly strong for girls, as India is mainly a *male-dominated society*. Oftentimes this mindset is due to the fact that parents have a low education level and their own awareness level is relatively low. This *lack of knowledge* oftentimes makes it difficult for them to accept new things. How girls' participation affects their environments' awareness level and what the consequences are will be discussed later on.

It has to be said that this mindset is especially strong in Delhi. Divya, who is a staff member in Mumbai explains that gender discrimination is less strict in her area. People are more *open-minded* and women are more likely to work and make their own living. Thane, which is a region near to Mumbai, on the other hand is more similar to Delhi, as people there are more conservative and *more patriarchal*. Unfortunately, the data from Mumbai and Thane have been put together within the system which makes it difficult to separate the results from the three cities. Yet, it still becomes obvious from the results of the base- and endline that girls in Delhi generally have to struggle more for the recognition of their communities.

When looking at the statement “People respect me as boys” (Figure 2), it can be seen that at the baseline 7% of the girls in Mumbai disagree with this statement, opposed to 4% at

the endline. For girls in Delhi the numbers look different. At the baseline 36% of the girls disagree, opposed to 23% at the endline. The difference between the means of the baseline are significant, $z=-5.197$, $p=0.00$, $r=0.30$. This also applies to the difference between the means of the endline, $z=-7.461$, $p=0.00$, $r=0.43$.

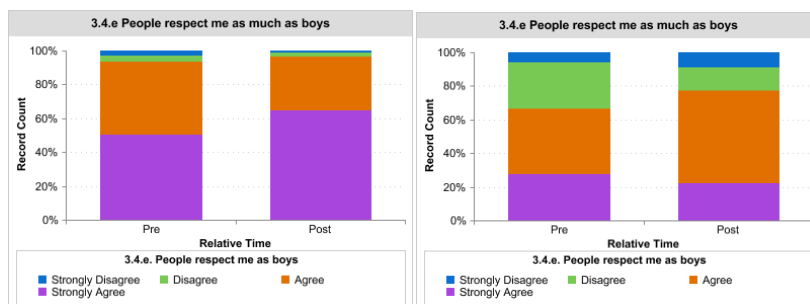


Figure 2. People respect me as boys, left: Mumbai, right: Delhi (Salesforce, 2014)

Similar numbers can be seen when girls were asked whether their communities are interested in what they have to say (Figure 3). At the baseline 23% of the girls from Mumbai disagree, whereas 5% disagree at the endline. In Delhi, however, 40% disagreed at the baseline and 15% disagreed at the end of the programme. The difference in the means are also significant at the baseline ($z=-3.018$, $p=0.03$, $r=0.17$) and the endline ($z=-4.297$, $p=0.00$, $r=-0.25$).

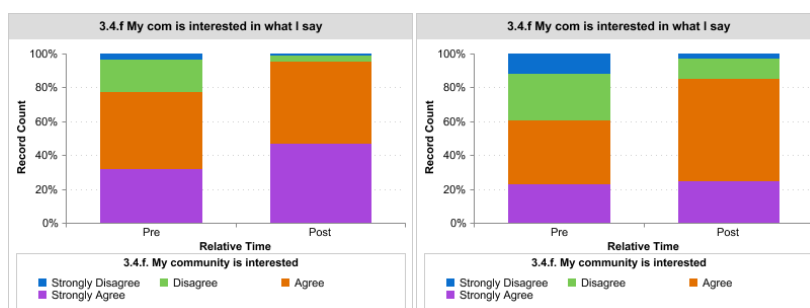


Figure 3. My community is interested, left: Mumbai, right: Delhi (Salesforce, 2014)

From these data it is obvious that girls in Delhi feel *less respected* and are *suffering more from gender inequality* than girls in Mumbai. But at the same time it can be seen that girls in Delhi make more of a change than girls in Mumbai. How these results can be explained will be elaborated later on in this study.

However, the families and communities are not the only people with whom the girls interact socially. Since they are part of the GOAL programme they also socialize with people from the Naz Foundation and with peers within in the programme. Girls start to learn within the Naz Foundation that speaking up and standing up for yourself is actually a good thing to do, as Asmita tells:

“And second is, if we say wrong and they know their rights well and they know what is the good and what is the bad. If we say: “It’s ok to go there”...They raise their voice. “No, Dee-dee, I don’t want to go”. Like, second in that (inaudible) sometimes the coach touch, but some girls say: “Dee-dee, I don’t like someone to touch me.” And we say: “Good that you say.” Because our rule is, we can’t touch our girls, no.”

Because of this *encouragement* and girls’ growing awareness, they slowly start to also *stand up for* which will be elaborated on in the next section.

Emerging empowerment. The girls are becoming increasingly *more aware of their situation* and more *confident* which inspires them to bring about change in their lives. This supports the fact that girls’ empowerment is a precondition to leadership behaviour. By getting to know their rights, girls slowly start to *defy* the wishes of their families which is mostly seen in the fact that girls continue playing netball, despite the objection of their social environment. This behaviour has sometimes led to even more negative reactions from the social environment. It is important to note that some girls are so intimidated by the reaction of their environment that they give up on the programme. However, this study only focuses on the girls that manage to stay within the programme, so the next sections will give an overview of girls’ development after they have overcome the first barriers.

Practice

Learning new skills. As mentioned before, girls are initially not very confident. Girls often times had a low level of self-efficacy and were particularly very shy when starting the programme. They have been socialized with the idea that sports is not for women and that women are mainly good for the household and bearing children. Girls had internalized this mentality which could explain why girls had not been searching for their qualities and why they preferred to keep to the background. It seems as if they consider it to be inappropriate to search for their unique qualities and to speak up. In the course of the programme they start to be encouraged to exhibit those skills and that behaviour which actually facilitates to accept it.

Due to the fact that they are more aware of themselves, they slowly start to show *more confidence* in their abilities. For most of the girls the first barrier is to overcome their *shyness*. Within the Naz Foundation they are encouraged to let go of their shyness, but it is also an important factor of the netball game. Girls have to shout at each other in order to get the ball and once in a while they have to be team captain which means that they get a certain responsibility. In this sense, the self-confidence and self-awareness which girls acquire during the life skills are consolidated via the netball sessions. Due to the fact that girls are more

aware of their own bodies, they feel less inhibited to jump and run around. This in turn makes the girls *improve their skills* in netball.

By trying new things, getting new *responsibilities* and allowing themselves to do certain things, the girls start achieving things. These achievements make girls start to notice their capacities which in turn enhances their feeling of self-confidence. According to Divya sports can have this kind of effect on the girls:

“Sports is very important for us. Because when they play, they feel very confident. When a girl scores a goal, there is a different smile on her face. The way she feels. She did something...”.

She continues explaining the importance of self-confidence for girls' leadership development:

“I feel the module, the way it is structured, the girls first talk about themselves and the second thing is, they feel confident about their bodies. That plays a very important role in developing a leadership skill, because girls are not even confident about their own selves. Because they are not treated as, at that respect, so then when they come the first two months the focus is, I believe, “respect yourself”, your body, respect your name. Talking loudly. You are something. “I am Divya. Ok, I will tell that way.” So, that has an impact and once they are very confident about their body and themselves, they accept the way they look like, it could worse kind of a thing. Then other things automatically come, because you are much more confident about yourself. So, automatically it's kind of developing a leadership.”

The fact that the girls' level of self-efficacy has been enhanced throughout the programme is also reflected in the statistics. Girls were asked at the base- and endline whether they thought they had unique skills (Figure 4). In the beginning 51% of the girls would disagree, this number decreased to 27% of the girls. The difference between these two means is statistically significant, $z = -6.417$, $p = 0.00$, $r = -0.37$.

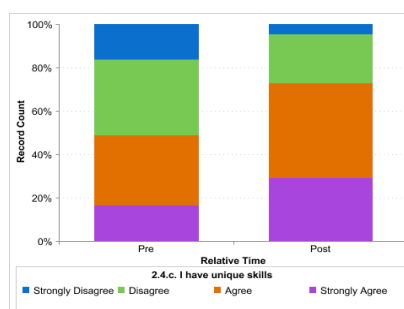


Figure 4. I have unique skills (Salesforce, 2014)

There is also a change to be seen for the question whether the girls believe to know what they are good at (Figure 5). Before the programme 25% indicated not to know their qualities, compared to 9% at the endline. This change is also statistically significant, $z=5.86p, p=0.00, r=-0.38$.

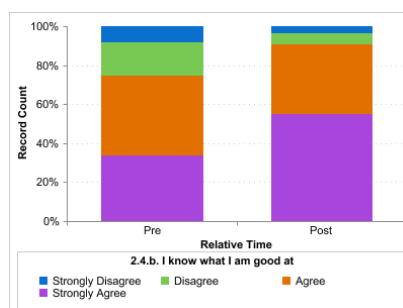


Figure 5. I know what I am good at (Salesforce, 2014)

So, it is quite clear that girls are gradually gaining *more belief* in their qualities. Due to the fact that girls start to realise that they have skills and qualities which they were not aware about before, they also adjust their perception of leadership, which will be discussed in the next section.

Perception leadership. Prior to the programme girls had a very masculine and political view towards leadership. Throughout the programme the girls start to be more *aware of leadership* and they start to have a more inclusive view of it. Girls start to realise that leadership is something they can actually exercise, mostly because they get leadership roles within the game and also within the organisation. During the game girls get functions such as team captains and obviously girls have to learn how to work in a team. Furthermore, girls also get opportunities to grow within the organisation, for example by becoming GOAL Champion or community sports coach which even intensifies their feeling of leadership.

By exercising this leadership behaviour, girls do not only start to notice that they can also be leaders, but their perception of what leadership entails also changes. Girls do not view leadership purely from a masculine, political and leading point of view, but they attach many more features to it, such as *helping others, communicating* in a peaceful manner, *taking care*

of others, team work, being confident, standing up for oneself etc. So, on one hand girls' perception of leadership is focussing more on treating other people right, as well as treating themselves right. In the next section will be shown how girls' own leadership perception is consolidated, how they exhibit their leadership skills in their own communities and what kind of reactions they receive.

Play

Leadership. After girls realise their own potentials and their own possibilities, they start to see themselves as actual leaders and empowered women. The staff members report that girls feel secure enough to start exhibiting leadership skills outside of the Naz Foundation, for example in their families and communities. For girls this is the hardest step to take, since they know that their families are not very supportive of them being "leaders". The first step girls take is sharing their knowledge with people in their environment, as Divya states:

"And actually girls who get information on menstruation, how it happens, they share with their sisters actually. And earlier it never used to happen that people are talking, or families are talking about menstruation very openly. But the girls now are sharing with their mothers, with sisters, with their neighbourhood...their peers and the neighbours."

They hope other girls might also get the knowledge to protect themselves and to know their rights which will transform their lives as well. Next to sharing knowledge, girls are also very eager to share their *vision* and to *motivate other girls*. Some girls even want to teach the GOAL programme by themselves in communities where it is not active yet or independently start to give netball sessions to other girls. The girls are so engaged with the programme that they want to share the knowledge and experience with others.

The engagement of the girls inspires others. Gradually, the GOAL participants start to become *role models* for other girls. This does not necessarily always happen in the direct way, in which the girls teach others about their rights and share their knowledge. It can also happen the indirect way, in which other girls watch their behaviour which inspires them to do the same. Asmita gives an example of how this can happen:

"You're using your role model and she is believing in herself. And those examples for others. They also try to believe in themselves. I can what she do. (...) I think other girls

using other techniques. And if they are successful, other girls copying them. It's like connecting each other. If someone takes lead and build confidence and lead, then the girls also follow them.”

Except from sharing knowledge and motivating others, it has become clear throughout the data collection that *helping others* and *taking care* of others is a very important aspect of leadership for the girls. The girls generally help their families, friends and people in the community by giving them advice and helping with practicalities. The girls are oftentimes more advanced in knowing how to fill in voting cards, bank statements, how to apply for college, how to pay the bills etc.

The girls start to see themselves as actual leaders and refer to themselves as *good leaders*. This can also be seen back in the questionnaires and the difference between the base- and endline. Generally, girls are significantly more positive towards the statement “I am a leader” towards the endline, $z=-4.181$, $p=0.00$, $r= -0.24$. Furthermore, a significantly larger amount of girls says to have had a leadership position within the last six months, $z=-3.491$, $p=0.00$, $r=0.20$. Obviously, the effect sizes are rather low, which might be attributed to the fact that the girls' scores were very different in Delhi and in Mumbai. As has been stated before, the social environment in Delhi is more strict and narrow-minded towards female leadership. This has made the girls leadership development in Delhi quite difficult. This is reflected in the numbers which were acquired via the questionnaires. Figure 6 below shows that at the baseline 77% of girls in Delhi disagreed with the statement that they are leaders, opposed to 21% of the girls in Mumbai. The difference between these two means is significant, $z=-8.799$, $p=0.00$, $r=-0.51$.

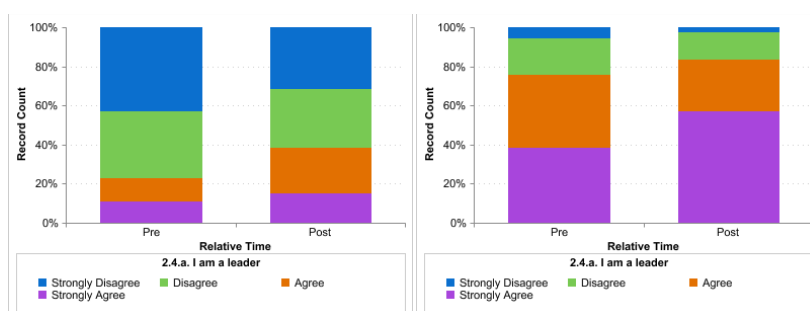


Figure 6. I am a leader, left: Delhi; right: Mumbai (Salesforce, 2014)

According to Divya and Zahra, girls' leadership in Delhi may seem less developed, but the number of girls that actually changes is bigger. In Delhi the number of girls believing themselves to be leaders is still lower, but in the course of the programme their belief of being a leader has changed more markedly, compared to the girls in Mumbai. Only a small

percentage of 4% of the girls in Mumbai have a more positive image of themselves as leaders after the programme, whereas in Delhi this is a percentage of 15%. This is due to Delhi's culture, which is explained by Divya:

“Delhi culture is very political and there people are thriving to have power in their hands, that's their mentality. So, when you see that's in the girls also. It's social dominance kind of things. If you get the power, you would like to exercise that.”

The situation of the girls in Mumbai, on the other hand, is explained by Divya as follows:

“And Mumbai culture is not that political also. People are in to their work and they do whatever they do. It's that way. So, when it comes to exercising leadership it's very much basic for our girls, like going to a bank and helping their friends out there and leading your team, becoming a captain. So, those kind of thing. But, families won't stop them, they appreciate their daughter does that, but they don't want to make any investment from their side actually. Because they don't have time and they are struggle to live for their life. Like, earning money, to survive their family. So, they won't make any difference, they won't invest, but if their girls are doing they are very happy and they will appreciate that.”

Obviously, girls gradually start to get more at ease exhibiting leadership skills and they start to see themselves as actual leaders. This makes the step easier for them to slowly involve their social environments and to start being a leader within their communities. Naturally, the girls' behaviour does not go unnoticed and has an effect on the social environment. How they react to girls' persistent leadership behaviour and growing empowerment will be described in the next section.

Approval social environment. As mentioned earlier, the social environment is initially not very enchanted by the girls' choice to participate in the GOAL programme and the subsequent change in their behaviour. This attitude mostly changes in the course of the programme. Families and communities increasingly get *more convinced of the beneficial effects* of the GOAL programme on the girls, as could already been seen from the change in the dashboards in Figure 2 and 3. The increase of girls' attitude towards the statement “People respect me as boys” was not significant though, $z=-1.662$, $p=0.097$. As can be seen from the

dashboards, girls already had a considerably positive attitude towards this statement, especially the girls from Mumbai. Their attitude towards the statement "My community is interested in what I have to say" increased significantly, $z=-5.786$, $p=0.00$, $r=-0.33$.

In most cases this change in opinion occurs from the moment the girls start to show results and *achievements*, such as being selected for league matches, being able to make *travels* to others states or overseas, bringing home trophies and prizes etc. Next to that, the people also start to realise that it is important for the girls to *learn new things* and that they *do not need to fear* the girls' newly acquired skills and knowledge. Generally, they witness the girls growing and *developing personally* into a direction that is not as intimidating as they had initially expected. Zahra describes how the communities change as follows:

"Because one of our site, XXX, there we have three or four year, so it's like there in this community, parents saw so many children to grow up and become a role model. And there it's like Jayanti (inaudible), someone is flying Mumbai, someone is going Chennai. So, it's ok. They feel like: "Ok, girls are improving. They take opportunity. They are going to job for bank." So, gradually they are changing their mind."

As can be sensed from the previous quote, do communities not only approve of girls' participation in sport and exhibition of leadership skills, eventually the girls even serve as role models. As could already be seen from the graphs in figures 2 and 3 girls believe their environments to be more positive towards them towards the end of the programme. Girls especially feel more *respected* and are more under the impression that people are *listening to them* and that their environment is even *proud* of them.

The acceptance of the girls by their families and communities is of crucial importance. As can be seen from theoretical framework, real empowerment is about being able to free oneself, but getting a stronger connection to the social environment at the same time (Baric, 2013). In the next section will be described how the girls' empowerment is characterized and how they have combined their own independence and new views on social norms with their social relationships.

Empowerment. Actually, girls' empowered behaviour in terms of influencing and challenging their societies, bringing about changes in relations and feeling independent can mainly be seen in the course of the programme and at the end of the programme which indicates that some parts of empowerment are being consolidated with the development of leadership skills. This could be due to the fact that the skills are intertwined.

Girls' independence for example can only be achieved when girls have enough *confidence* and courage. Generally, girls' independence is characterized by the fact that they *make decisions for their own lives*, whether they are with or against the stream and they can do certain things *independently* without needing the help of others. They are determined to work hard and to take initiative in order to reach these goals. Probably one of the most important things is that girls learnt to be persistent and to never give up on the goals they have set in their minds. Girls are *determined* to make their lives better and that they also deserve that. Generally, they have high aspirations which are combined with leadership, education and better interaction with others.

The fact that girls believe more in their ability to influence their own future can also be seen from the questionnaire. Girls' attitude to the statement "I can influence my own future" (Figure 7) is significantly more positive at the end of the programme, $z=-4.623$, $p=0.00$, $r=0.27$. The number of girls disagreeing with the statement dropped from 23% to 12%.

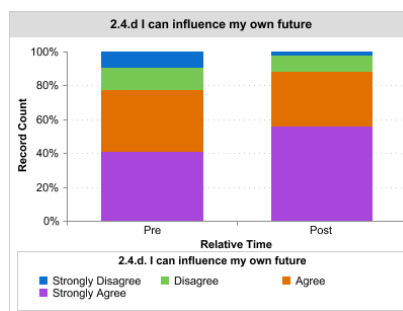


Figure 7. I can influence my own future (Salesforce, 2014)

The same can be said about the girls' believe that they can achieve things in life, as long as they are willing to work hard and do not give up. This can be seen from the more significantly positive attitude towards the statement "I can succeed if I practice hard" (Figure 8), $z=-6.065$, $p=0.00$, $r=-0.35$. The number of girls disagreeing with this statement was already quite low (15%), but it dropped further to 5% by the end of the programme.

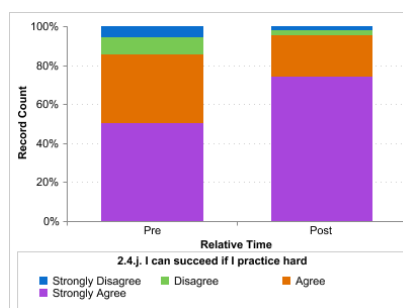


Figure 8. I can succeed if I practice hard (Salesforce, 2014)

As can be seen throughout this study, girls are gradually more open to challenge societal structures. They are increasingly less concerned about exhibiting behaviour which is

not in line with their female roles. This can be confirmed by the changing attitude girls have towards several statements in the questionnaire. The attitude towards the statement “Man should have the final decision in home” (Figure 9) is significantly less positive at the endline, $z=-8.063$, $p=0.00$, $r=-0.47$. The percentage of girls agreeing with this statement dropped from 46% at the baseline to 17% at the endline. The girls are more positive towards the statement that women should be able to earn their own money (Figure 10), $z=-7.143$, $p=0.00$, $r=-0.41$. In the beginning 15% of the girls did not agree with the statement, compared to 5% at the endline. There is one statement towards which girls did not have a significantly more positive attitude at the end of the programme, which is “Sometimes women need to tolerate violence to keep the family together” (Figure 11). At the baseline 79% of the girls agree with this statement, at the endline the percentage is at 64%.

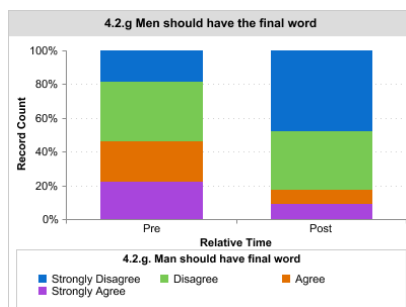


Figure 9. Man should have the final word (Salesforce, 2014)

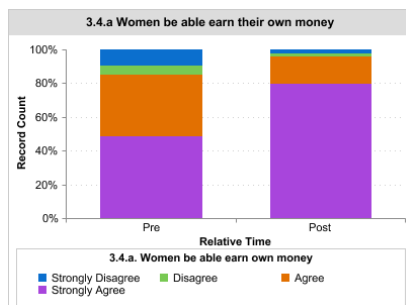


Figure 10. Women should be able to earn own money (Salesforce, 2014)

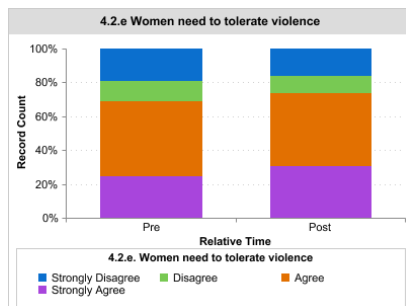


Figure 11. Women sometimes need to tolerate violence to keep the family together (Salesforce, 2014)

Why girls did not significantly change their attitude towards this statement is unclear, but it is clear that girls prefer to have harmonious relationships with their environment and are aiming at constructive *communication*, as can be seen from Asmita's quote:

"Yes, it's good. You understand how to say no and how you are facing to people, but you can't use a bad tone. You need to maintain the relationship whichever you have before. You speak in friendly, in lovely language. I have these, I have these. You are clear that you don't want to do this, this time. But you use your brain how you are face to people." She used actually and after that we don't have any message: "Garima did wrong" or "Garima is using bad tone with us".

Zahra gives an example of how girls stand up for themselves in a positive way:

"It's like before three years, it was like if we are going there and playing, boys always come and teasing and coming they will play together with us and intentionally even. So, to disturb us. Like: "Why are you taking our ground? It's our ground!" But it's now in these days, it's twice a week, when we enter in the ground they automatically come outside. And if they will not then girls will be go there and we always talk politely. It's like: "Please, go outside. This is our time to play." And we take local police help also on that. And police always near to our ground. So: "Ok, you are not going? I will go call police." And they will go and ask: "Please sir, can you help us?" They are talking about themselves. So, it's leadership. This is a change."

From this quote it is clear that girls have established different relationships with the people in their surroundings, not only with their male peers, but also with authorities, such as the police.

Discussion

The aim of this study was to gain insight into the development of the leadership of the GOAL participants. Any factor that played a role in this development has been taken into account, especially the enabling and inhibiting factors.

From this study it becomes apparent that girls go through a gradual development and that the attitude, social environment, perceived self-efficacy and barriers play an important role. The girls go through the phases of "prepare", "practice" and "play" in which the different factors contribute differently to their leadership development. It becomes clear that

girls first need to get to know themselves and their societies by creating awareness. This awareness makes girls feel more comfortable to do certain things, such as playing, jumping and screaming. While they are “practicing” this behaviour, they start to develop certain skills, which raises their level of self-efficacy. They start to feel increasingly confident which in turn makes it easier for them to exhibit their leadership behaviour in their own communities and start to “play”.

This study shows that the ASE model is applicable to girls' leadership development (De Vries et al., 1988). Girls' attitude plays a very important role in their enrolment to the program since many of them are interested in playing sports. Obviously, receiving the right knowledge (Wilcock et al., 2004) and their level of awareness (Priluck & Till, 2004) are crucial in the formation of their attitude and perception. This awareness is at the same time crucial to girls' empowerment (Kabeer, 2005) since it does not only influence their attitude, but it also makes girls aware of their subordination and their rights (Mosedale, 2005). This study also shows that in girls' empowerment is indeed a crucial precondition to girls' exhibition of leadership skills (Baric, 2013) since they need to be confident and aware enough to make the decision to challenge the wishes of their social environment.

The influence of the girls social environment is undoubtedly very important (Institute of Medicine, 2003; cited in Haughton et al., 2006), especially in the context of these girls. The social environment can have a negative as well as a positive effect on the girls and trust, respect and support play a very important role (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008; Van Iersel et al., 2011; Szreter, 2002). The negative reaction the GOAL participants receive is indeed very much determined by culture and the fact that people do not think that sports is for girls which confirms the role congruity theory. In the girls' societies women are not eligible sports people or leaders and women should be rather occupying themselves with other tasks (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Diekman & Goodfried, 2006; Garcia-Retomero & López-Zafra, 2006).

However, there are other reasons why the social environment is not in favour of girls engaging in sports and exhibiting leadership skills. Oftentimes, they fear girls' empowerment and the fact that they will make unwise decisions. In fact girls do challenge their social norms (Baric, 2013) already by simple actions, such as continuing playing sports, discussing culturally sensitive topics such as SRHR and making independent decisions. At the same time they learn to challenge the norms in a peaceful and harmonious way which has led to changes in the girls' relations (Baric, 2013). Girls appear to be even better integrated after the programme, receiving more support, trust and especially more respect from their social environments. Obviously, the girls have formed new relationships and positively transformed

old ones (Baric, 2013). It seems the girls indeed learnt new skills in the programme that facilitated their contact with their social environment which made them less afraid and has led them to be better communicators (Kay, 2009). Finding better ways to communicate and earning respect from their communities has contributed to the impact of the programme on community level. Girls are increasingly being perceived as influential role models which is an important aspect of changing other people's behaviour (Lechner & De Vries, 1995).

The girls did not only change the relationship with people in their surroundings, but also with themselves. Initially, the girls had little belief in themselves and accepted their subordinate position in society as a given, probably due to the input they got from the cultural norms (Hoyt & Kennedy, 2008). Girls' level of self-efficacy and self-confidence grew significantly throughout the programme which has been of crucial importance to the girls. Obviously, the achievements girls had gained during the games have enhanced their self-esteem (Kay, 2009). First of all, it has helped girls to have sufficient belief in their own capacities to transform their own lives and that of others which is a major sign of empowerment (Stromquist, 1995; cited in Mosedale, 2005). Secondly, the feeling of empowerment that girls have acquired from their self-confidence has made them feel secure enough to exhibit their leadership (Hoyt & Kennedy, 2008). The skills that the girls eventually exhibit and what they perceive to be leadership skills are indeed rather feminist, such as helping others, constructive communication, team work etc. (Hoyt & Kennedy, 2008).

It can be concluded that girls' leadership development is influenced by their attitude, their social environments, their level of self-efficacy and the barriers they encounter. The barriers are a combination of girls' own attitude and awareness, their social environment and their level of self-efficacy. Interestingly enough, these are exactly the factors that enable girls to development their leadership skills, if they are positively tuned.

Ideally, most of the information should have been derived from the participants themselves, which turned out to be difficult, mostly due to the girls' low level of English. Therefore, most of the interviews have been conducted with staff members which turned out to be an advantage to some extent, since they could give an impression of how girls' leadership development generally occurs. This makes it more legitimate to generalize the findings to other girls which are involved in the GOAL programme. Besides that, it is also sometimes difficult for people to judge their own position and their own behaviour. To some extent outsiders can sometimes analyze other people's behaviour more accurately.

In most cases, the respondents' level of English was limited. This is also the reason why the title of this study is not found as a quote ("They bloom like flowers..."). The

respondent had difficulties uttering the exact words and therefore showed in gestures what she was trying to say. Nevertheless, the “quote” was chosen as the title due to its applicability to girls' leadership development. The limited level of English also sometimes led to situations in which the respondents did not understand the questions. This happened with the questions in the questionnaire as well as with the probing questions. Therefore, not all the information that has been asked for is represented in the data. Generally, the data from the MSCS's, DST's and from the questionnaire are lacking some information since they have not been designed for this research. Only the information that was relevant for this research has been used.

The same technique has been used for the complementary data from different countries. The amount of interviews in this study was rather limited, due to the reasons mentioned above. In order to cover up for this shortcoming, the data has been complemented by gathering data from girls from different countries. Only the statements that were in line with the data from the girls in India have been used. So, in that sense the data was primarily used to give more support to the data from Indian girls. The other girls have not been interviewed, but their Most Significant Change Stories and their Digital Stories have been used in order to reach a certain amount of theoretical saturation. A total of twelve MSCS's have been used of respondents from Kenya, Uganda and Bangladesh. Four DST's have been used of respondents from Cambodia and Kenya.

Implications. Despite the downsides to this study, it still gives a helpful description of girls' leadership development and the important factors which either inhibit or facilitate girls' leadership development. As could be seen, the social environment plays a very big role, both in inhibiting as well as enabling girls' leadership development. The Naz Foundation is aware of this fact and tries to involve the social environment as much as possible by talking to parents and communities in regular meetings and inviting them to public events and campaigns. Furthermore, parents have been asked to fill in a questionnaire in order to estimate their attitude towards female leadership. Parents will also receive an endline questionnaire which will reveal the impact of girls' participation on their communities. Consolidating the involvement of the social environment into the programme is very important for the girls so they do not end up in an uncomfortable position which leads them to make “negotiations” (Cornwall & Edwards, 2010). Ideally, the girls are in an environment that is safe enough to make any decisions they personally feel to be appropriate. The environment within the organisation should be safe as well. This allows the girls to increase their self-confidence and facilitates their way to empowerment.

Another important factor which is addressed by the Naz Foundation, is girls' perception of their own selves and the fact that they have to get to know themselves. This aspect is of tremendous importance for girls, not only for them to be more at peace with their own personalities and capabilities, but also to be able to relate better with the people in their environment. Again, the environment plays an important role in this aspect, since girls' perception of their own selves is greatly influenced by the cultural norms.

Generally, this study might provide WW with new insights into the importance and role of the social environment in the leadership development of the girls. To a certain extent WW is already creating programmes in order to create an enabling environment, but this research highlights the specific issues girls are facing in their communities and provides some new theoretical information.

Follow-up research is recommended. Specifically a research including participant observation might yield more insights into the girls' leadership development. This will enhance the understanding of the specific context in which the girls are and will also lead to more accurate information on girls' behaviour. This in-depth understanding could be even more increased by performing a longitudinal research.

One important aspect that might get more attention is the process in which the social environment is going through. By getting more knowledge about the initial constraints and the reasons why people changed or did not change their mind, it might be easier to constructively involve the families and communities which will eventually facilitate girls' leadership development.

As mentioned, some girls quit the programme, mostly due to pressure from the social environment. However, it is not clear whether this is the only reason why girls decide to give up. It might be interesting to do research on the drop outs and their motivation to leave. This might shed some light on other important factors which inhibit girls' participation in the programme.

This research mainly focuses on girls that have completed the programme and are still involved in the programme, either as a GOAL Champion or as a community sports coach. However, the girls that are selected to get these positions are only five percent of the girls and they are the ones with the best outcomes. A follow-up research on girls who have completed the programme and are not involved with the organisation anymore, might yield some insights into the true impact of the programme on girls subsequent lives. This might also provide some information on the effectiveness of a ten months programme. Maybe it appears that girls need to be engaged in the programme for a longer period of time in order to really have an impact

on their own lives and their communities. Generally, regular assessments of the girls' current situation and their specific contexts are recommended in order to identify any new struggles or issues that girls are experiencing.

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