The Goal Programme: A Critical Feminist Analysis

To what extent do girl-centred sport for development programmes impact participants' awareness of gender-based violence?

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1.0 Introduction

"What is the value of education which does not inculcate passion and fearlessness for setting right what is wrong?"

- Kiran Bedi¹, Indian tennis champion

In recent years, there has been a dramatic rise in the number of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's) dedicated to sport for development and peace (SDP) initiatives, with the number of registered organisations increasing from 150 in 2008, to 917 in 2018 (Suzuki, Naofumi 2018)². This increase can partially be attributed to the United Nations Millennium Development Goals³ of 2000 and the Sustainable Development Goals⁴ of 2015; both of which have helped to institutionalize and broaden SDP initiatives. It is worth noting however, that the use of sport to achieve development goals is not a new phenomenon, with the United Nations and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) having used sport to accomplish development objectives from the early 1920's (Chawanksy, Megan et al., 2017). Regardless of their origins, it cannot be denied that SDP initiatives have thrived over the last decade, with a growing recognition about the potential of sport to fuel change and drive development prompting increased involvement from various bodies including; nation states, international organisations, corporations and private sector companies. As part of this rapid sectorial growth, there has been a corresponding increase in the number of initiatives with a particular focus on targeting girls and young women, with sport often being used as a key method within these interventions to help

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¹ Kiran Bedi was an Indian national tennis champion. After retiring from the sport, she became the first woman to join the Indian Police Service.

² Every effort has been made throughout this thesis to use female academics and scholars. I strongly agree with Sara Ahmed when she refers to feminism as a building project, stating "if our texts are worlds, they need to be made out of feminist materials" (2017:14)

³ The Millennium Development Goals are a set of 8 goals, established by the United Nations, with clear measurable targets and deadlines aimed at improving the lives of the world's poorest people and eradicating poverty. The target date for these goals to be met was 2015. More information can be found at: https://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/

⁴ Similar to the Millennium Development Goals, the Sustainable Development Goals are a set of 17 goals aimed at addressing global challenges by 2030. More information can be found at: https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/development-agenda/

accomplish gender-specific development goals. As Karen Petry and Friederike Kroner state;

"Physical activity promotes the physical and emotional well-being of women and girls. Because of the physical nature of sport, it can also be used to address gender-sensitive issues such as sexual and reproductive health. The knowledge imparted gives women and girls more control over their bodies and lives" (2018: 258).

By combining a variety of different sports with life skill sessions that focus on sexual and reproductive health and rights, education and economic independence, these girl-centred SDP programmes aim to enhance the status of adolescent girls and young women (AGYW) and promote empowerment. But can these programmes also address gender-based violence?

The United Nations describes violence against women as: "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual, or mental harm in suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life" (UN, 1993). Gender-based violence (GBV) is a global issue with over 1/3 of women worldwide (35%) having experienced either physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence or non-partner violence in their lifetime (World Health Organisation, 2013). Although GBV clearly does not solely concern women, with men and boys also at risk from violence, the issue disproportionately affects women and girls, so much so that the World Health Organisation has described the situation as a "global health problem of epidemic proportions" (WHO, 2013). Additionally, it is often adolescent girls who are affected by specific types of GBV such as forced and early marriage, sex trafficking, female genital mutilation and other damaging practices (Claudia García Moreno et al., 2015). Gender inequality, patriarchal norms and rigid concepts of gender are the primary causes of this violence, factors which also contribute towards the acceptability of violence against women, with GBV being arguably the most socially tolerated human rights violation of our time (United Nations Population Fund).

It is here that girl-centred SDP programmes have the potential to transform the situation. As Women Win⁵, a Dutch based sports for development NGO state:

"Physically when girls play, they become stronger and healthier. They develop a greater sense of ownership and understanding of their bodies. [...] The success a girl experiences on the sport field translates into her belief in herself off the sport field. The physical and emotional strength sport offers can be a positive force in reducing a girl's risk of experiencing GBV."

(Why Sport and Play, Women Win).

Whilst such sentiments would seem inherently valid, as evidenced by the ever increasing endorsement of SDP programmes, there remains a lack of academic evaluation in respect of their effectiveness, with SDP programmes receiving little attention from both development and gender studies scholars (Megan Chawansky, Lyndsay Hayhurst, Mary McDonald and Cathy van Ingen, 2017).

This thesis aims to bridge the divide between academic theory and practice, specifically analysing the impact of girl-centred SDP programmes in addressing GBV. Whilst there are a myriad SDP initiatives focusing on girls and women, the Goal Programme, Girl Determined, This Girl Can and Girl Move to name but a few; I will focus my examination on the Goal programme⁶. Created by Standard Chartered Bank, the Goal programme is designed to empower adolescent girls living in underserved communities. The programme is split in to four modules, with each module addressing four crucial life skills (*Intro to Goal*, Standard Chartered). Women Win is currently implementing the Goal programme, in collaboration with local partners, in more than 25 countries worldwide.

This thesis will begin by briefly outlining my own politics of location, before outlining the key players in respect of this research; The Naz

⁵ Women Win is the global leader in girls and women's empowerment through sport. http://www.womenwin.org/homepage

⁶ I will discuss this programme in greater depth later in my thesis. For more general information about the programme, please see: http://www.goalprogramme.org.

Foundation, Women Win and Standard Chartered Bank. Following this I will provide a general overview of sport for development, before more closely analysing programmes that specifically focus on gender and the inclusion of girls into sport. Within this section, I will carry out a literature review, in which I will examine analyses and critiques of girl-centred SDP initiatives through a critical feminist lens. I will then present my theoretical framework, a feminist pedagogical approach, which I have used in my analysis to fully evaluate how the Goal programme impacts participants. Next, I will briefly present Women Win, before introducing the implementing partner organisation upon whose programmes I will be basing my analysis; The Naz Foundation Trust. I will then discuss the methodology of this thesis, before presenting my analysis. Finally, I will conclude my thesis, offering suggestions and recommendations for further research within the field.

When conducting initial research for this thesis, it became clear that the majority of academic articles that did exist focused on programmes implemented in Africa (Forde 2008, Meier and Saavedra 2009, Hayhurst 2013, Jeanes and Magee 2014). In order to widen the academic scope of SDP research, I elected to focus on programmes implemented in Asia and more specifically in India. By examining Goal in India, I hope to provide deeper insights into the impact of the programme in addressing participants' awareness of GBV, as well as providing a contextually specific evaluation of the programme.

For this analysis I will take a dual approach. First, using quantitative data collected through Salesforce, Women Win's data collection platform, I will present an analysis of the responses of programme participants to the base and endline questionnaires. After this I will place the participants at the centre of my analysis, taking a qualitative approach to examine sixteen *Most Significant Change* case studies written by the participants themselves. Throughout this I will use a feminist pedagogical framework in order to attempt to explain how this programme has impacted participants' awareness of GBV.

This paper does not aim to evaluate the Goal programme in general but rather seeks to examine the specific impact the programme has on participants' awareness of GBV within a specific context. By carrying out a more focused examination into girl-centred programmes, I will provide valuable insights into how initiatives might use sport to address GBV. This paper aims to offer useful observations about the Goal programme in India, which could be used to refine and adapt future programmes. The value of this paper comes from incorporating a critically feminist perspective into an evaluation of sports for development initiatives, which as previously mentioned, is a lacuna in academic theory.

2.0 From the UK to Amsterdam to India: My Politics of Location

"Central to my understanding of feminist theorizing is a belief in a politics of location and an epistemology of situated and partial knowledges. This implies that the landscape must always be understood as seen from a non-innocent somewhere and that the author has an obligation to make herself accountable for her location in it"

 Nina Lykke, Feminist Studies: A Guide to Intersectional Theory, Methodology and Writing (2010: 4)

I concur with Lykke and will now therefore clarify my position within this research. As Lykke highlights, there can be no neutral position when conducting research. Donna Haraway (1988) first called out the illusion of the 'god trick' (1988: 581), referring to the idea that the researcher is a contextless knower, detached from the world and its objects of study and therefore able to produce objective knowledge. Haraway further explains that the researcher is never able to produce neutral research as she is always in the middle of the world that she is analysing. Instead, Haraway encourages researchers to continually reflect on their own 'situatedness', through which they will be able obtain partially objective knowledge. Similarly, Sandra Harding urges researchers to work from a position of 'strong objectivity' (1991), acknowledging that researchers' life experiences will always alter the lens through which they view the world.

With this in mind, and adopting an approach suggested by Lykke⁷, I will now outline my location within this research through the use of interview style questions.

Q: What is your academic background?

A: I studied French and Spanish with Translation Studies at Aston University in the UK, and I am currently a Gender Studies Master's degree student at Utrecht University in the Netherlands. Thanks to my languages degree I am a

⁷ Here I take my inspiration from Nina Lykke's creative method of addressing her own politics of location in: Feminist Studies: A Guide to Intersectional Theory, Methodology and Writing (2010).

passionate traveller and am very interested in learning about and experiencing different cultures.

Q: Considering your academic background, why did you decide to write your Master's thesis on sport for development?

A: As part of my Gender Studies degree, I was required to complete an internship. I did this at Women Win, an NGO based in Amsterdam that leverages the power of sport to empower adolescent girls and young women around the world. The intersection between sport, gender and feminism was not one I had considered or explored before, but as a keen runner I was aware of the potential of sport and found myself captivated by the work of Women Win. Clearly from an academic perspective, Women Win has obvious connections to the discipline of international development, however, considering that the heart of their work lies in advocating for the rights of adolescent girls and young women, I find that having a Gender Studies background allows me to offer valuable insights. In full transparency, it is necessary to point out that while writing this thesis I was hired by the organisation to work as a Programme Specialist. As we have already discussed, my location within this organisation will clearly impact the way in which I research this topic. However by acknowledging my 'situatedness' I aim to produce knowledge from a position of 'strong objectivity' and all attempts have been made to uphold a critically feminist perspective for this paper.

Q: Why did you decide to specifically research India?

A: As previously indicated, I have a great appreciation for different cultures and am always keen to explore those where I have a more limited knowledge/understanding. From a practical perspective when initially planning this thesis, I obviously needed to ensure that there was sufficient data available to support a detailed analysis. As a result of its scope and relative longevity the programme implemented by Naz in India had the greatest volume of data available for analysis. Prompted by this I took the opportunity to conduct further research about India and increase my knowledge. I am aware that I have not been subjected to the same 'matrix of oppression' (Patricia Hill Collins, 1990) and therefore do not share the distinctive view

point as the participants within this programme. I am not attempting to speak for these girls but rather I am hoping to use my privileged position as a researcher to further amplify their voices, which I will do so by analysing their own opinions about the programme.

Q: Why did you elect to focus on gender-based violence?

A: During my research phase, as well as learning about India in general, I also wanted to gain a greater understanding of the role and status of women and specifically how gender based violence manifests within Indian society. I discovered that due to a preference for boys, female foeticide is prevalent in India leading to 112 boys being born for every 100 girls (Biswas, Soutik: 2018). This means that 63 million women are statistically 'missing'. Moreover, more than a 1/3 of women aged between 15-49 years of age will experience physical violence at some point. Perhaps most shocking is that, according to a 2016 report published by the Indian National Crime Records Bureau, there were 38,947 reported cases of rape in 2016. This equates to 39 women every hour, with true figures likely to be much higher due to lack of reporting. I chose to specifically research into this field because, as a feminist, it is the topic what makes me the angriest. As Audre Lorde describes: "Every woman has a well-stocked arsenal of anger potentially useful against those oppressions, personal and institutional, that brought that anger into being. Focused with precision it can become a powerful source of energy, serving progress and change" (1981). Within this thesis, I am hoping to use my anger, and focus it on an evaluation of the Goal programme as an intervention against GBV with the hope that future programmes are as impactful as possible for participants in India and elsewhere.

I believe that the answers to these questions have outlined my position within this research and explained how I am situated. In the next section I will provide an overview of sport for development.

3.0 The Key Players

In this section I will provide a brief overview to the 'Key Players' within this thesis, namely; The Naz Foundation Trust, Women Win and Standard Chartered Bank. This information will provide readers with a greater understanding of the context, within which this thesis operates.

3.1 The Naz Foundation Trust

The Naz Foundation Trust (Naz) is an Indian NGO, established by Anjali Gopalan in 1994, with the aim of tackling the discrimination and stigma surrounding HIV as well as supporting those living with the virus ("About", The Naz Foundation, 2019). Naz continues to offer care and support for both adults and children living with HIV/AIDS, as well as advocating for the rights of the LGBTQI community in India. Additionally, Naz also provides health, sexuality and rights services. In 2006, Naz partnered with the Standard Chartered Bank to launch the Goal programme, a programme designed to empower adolescent girls from socially and economically excluded communities ("The Naz Foundation Trust", Women Win, 2019). Since then the programme has developed into the Young People's Initiative (YPI) and provides netball and life-skills sessions to adolescent girls across India, including Delhi, Mumbai and Chennai. The programme is implemented within schools, with sessions taking place twice a week at each site for 10 months. At the conclusion of the programme some of the participants are selected to become Goal Champions and are taught to become Goal trainers themselves. This helps to ensure the sustainability of the programme, as well as further developing the participants' leadership skills ("About", The Naz Foundation Trust, 2019). Since the inception of the programme, Goal has reached over 16,500 adolescent girls (Naz). In 2010, Naz began collaborating with Women Win, working together to focus on best practices in sport for development specifically regarding gender inclusion ("The Naz Foundation", Women Win, 2019).

3.2 Women Win

Established in 2007 and based in Amsterdam, Women Win (WW) is a global leader in girls' empowerment through sport. WW uses the power of play to help adolescent girls and young women (AGYW) to build leadership skills and exercise their rights. By partnering with women's organisations, development organisations, sports bodies, government agencies and the corporate sector, Women Win raises funds for organisations around the world that advocate for girls' rights. To date, Women Win has worked with more than 40 organisations, supporting initiatives in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and North and South America. Women Win specifically uses sport to address three main issues; (1.) gender based violence, (2.) access to sexual health and reproductive rights, and (3.) economic empowerment (*Why Sport and Play*, Women Win).

As previously mentioned, Women Win began collaborating with the Naz Foundation in 2010. The aim of this collaboration was to assist Naz to expand its programmes, develop its partnerships, build a strong organisation and support Naz to become a centre of excellence for girls' sport in South Asia.

3.3 Standard Chartered Bank and The Goal Curriculum

The Goal programme curriculum was created and developed by Standard Chartered Bank in collaboration with the Population Council, and is currently funded solely by Standard Chartered. The programme is aimed at adolescent girls aged between 12 and 18 years of age and is typically 10 months in duration, with weekly sessions offered to participants. The curriculum is an open sourced resource, available through a creative commons licence via Women Win ("The Goal Programme", SCB, 2019). The curriculum is broken down into 4 modules, as follows;

1. 'Be Yourself' – Module 1 addresses communication, self-confidence, gender and gender norms;

- 2. 'Be Healthy' Module 2 discusses health, hygiene, sanitation and reproductive health, specifically menstrual hygiene;
- 3. 'Be Empowered' Module 3 highlights girls' rights, including the right to freedom from violence, as well as discussing how girls can access resources within their community;
- 4. 'Be Money Savvy' Module 4 aims to improve participants financial literacy by using sessions to discuss ways to save, borrow and store money

The curriculum is meant to act as a guide for implementing organisations, which are encouraged to adapt the resource as necessary to the local context as clearly not all sessions will be relevant to all locations.

3.0 Sport for Development - An Overview

In this section, I will provide a brief overview of sport for development, focusing on the sector in general, the geographical distribution of programmes and what is meant by the term 'sport'.

Although the use of sport for development purposes is not a new phenomenon, it is only in the last 20 years that the SDP sector has begun to flourish, gaining increased visibility and establishing itself as "a prominent site of activity within global sport" (Giulianotti, 2018:24). The role of sport in humanitarian and development work can largely be attributed to growing recognition from nation-states, international organisations and NGO's. The United Nations, arguably the most prominent endorser of SDP initiatives, has used sports in development programmes for decades⁸ (*History of Sport and Development*, Sport and Dev.) however recently, its advocacy for sport as a tool of development has accelerated. As United Nations Secretary General, Ban Ki-moon states:

"Sport is increasingly recognized as an important tool in helping the United Nations achieve its objectives, in particular the Millennium Development Goals. By including sport in development and peace programmes in a more systematic way, the United Nations can make full use of this cost-efficient tool to help us create a better world" (Ban Ki-moon, 2005)

It is important to note here, that the UN has acknowledged that sport alone does not have the capacity to achieve all 8 of the Millennium Development Goals, but the organisation has stated that sport can be very effective as part of a "broad and holistic approach" (UN, 2010). The inclusion of sport as an "enabler of sustainable development" (UN, 2015) in the 2015 Sustainable Development Goals⁹ brought about a fundamental shift in how sport was perceived within international development. Sport is now commonly linked to

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⁸ For example the UN International Labour Organisation collaborated with International Olympic Committee as far back 1922.

development areas such as; health promotion and disease prevention, social integration, peace building and conflict resolution, post-disaster relief, economic development and social mobilisation (*About Sport and Development*, Sport and Dev.).

The sport for development sector comprises a wide range of stakeholders including international organisations, governmental bodies, NGO's, multi-national corporations and other non-state actors. Considering the varied nature of the stakeholders invested in SDP and the many diverging interventions using sport as a tool, including health, alleviation of poverty, education and community engagement, it is hardly surprising to note that there exists a debate around whether it is appropriate to consider SDP as a unified sector in its own right. Chawansky states: "the SDP sector is not necessarily cohesive" (2017: 2). Giulianotti concurs, adding that there is too much fragmentation across the sector. He provides, as an example of this sectorial fragmentation, the frequent occurrence of different SDP stakeholders located in the same community but failing to collaborate with each other to address an issue (2018: 29). Additionally, Giulianotti also discusses competition within the sector stating that SDP stakeholders may seek "to protect their turf from potential rivals" (2019: 29) especially in environments where funding is competitive.

As well as the composition of the sector, it is also worth examining the geographical distribution of SDP NGO's, as this will be useful when discussing the post-colonial critique of such programmes later in this thesis. Overall, SDP activities take place in both "the global North and the global South" (Giulianotti, 2018:24). However, although the majority of SDP work is undertaken by NGO's in low to middle income countries, many principal SDP stakeholders and financers are located in the 'One-Third' world. This is supported by a 2018 study conducted by Suzuki, which analysed SDP NGO's and the geographical relationship within the distribution of programmes. The results can be found in the table below:

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¹⁰ Within this thesis I will be using 'One-Third World' and 'Two-Third World', and will only reference the 'Global North/South' when used by other academics. One Third/Two Third ignores geographical binaries and instead focuses on the unequal dynamics related to wealth and privilege. As Mohanty states: "it incorporates an analysis of power and agency that is crucial" (2003: 227)

Region	Count	Percentage
Africa	228	33.2
Europe	182	26.5
Asia	120	17.5
North	90	13.1
America		
Latin America	50	7.3
and the		
Caribbean		
Oceania	16	2.3
Total	686	100

Table 1. Geographical Distribution of SDP programmes (Source: Suzuki database study, 2018:72)

As can be seen from the table, almost one third of the programmes were based in Africa, followed by 182 programmes based in Europe. Together this equates to 60% of SDP NGO's arguably supporting the notion that SDP is a mostly Euro-Africa movement. For the purpose of this thesis, it is interesting to observe that with just 120 SDP NGO's, Asia is vastly underrepresented considering its population size. Suzuki concludes his study by stating that, "the patterns of delivery indicate the 'North-South' setups are very prevalent in the SDP sector" (2018:72). He further adds that there is an inclination for European, North American and Oceanic NGO's to be the providers of SDP, and Africa, Asia and Latin America to be recipients of the SDP programmes. The postcolonial implications of this will be examined later in this thesis.

Finally, it is important to consider what is meant by the term 'sport'. Within SDP programmes, sport is mainly understood to include all physical activities. According to the United Nations Inter-Agency Taskforce on Sport for Development and Peace, sport can be described as; "all forms of physical activity that contribute to physical fitness, mental well-being and social

interaction, including: play; recreation; organized, casual or competitive sport; and indigenous sports or games" (Inter-Agency Taskforce on Sport for Development and Peace, 2005). Fred Coalter further classifies sport-for-development initiatives by examining the emphasis given to sport in achieving certain goals (2007, 2017:298). Coalter's classification is ordered as follows:

- Sport in which the primary focus of programmes is developing participants sporting skills. The implicit assumption that sport has intrinsic developmental properties for participants;
- 2.) **Sport plus** in which sport is used alongside life-skills programmes sport plus life skills;
- 3.) **Plus sport** in which sport is used to attract young people to specific educational and training programmes, the focus of the programme is not solely about the development of sporting skills;

Coalter further argues that there is "a continuum of *sport plus* and *plus sport*" (2017: 298), highlighting that the differences between the two are not always clear. Put simply, *sport plus* programmes can be seen to focus more on increased participation in sport by providing training and equipment. The secondary benefits that result from the programme, such as life skill development and education, are not the purpose of the programme. On the other hand, *plus sport* programmes use sport as a tool for social change and concentrate more on the non-sporting outcomes that result from the programme, as Coalter states: "in such circumstances sport is mostly a vitally important necessary, but not sufficient condition for the achievement of certain outcomes" (2007: 298). Taking this definition into account, the Goal programme can be considered as a *plus sport* initiative given that although sport is an important component of the programme, the overall objective of the curriculum is to develop the life skills of adolescent girls by focusing on four educational modules.

Having;

discussed the most recent developments within the SDP sector,

- further defined what is meant by the term 'sport' in the context of sport for development,
- identified the Goal curriculum as a plus sport programme using Coalter's classifications,
- examined the fragmentation within the sector and
- briefly reviewed the geographical distribution of SDP programmes.

the following section, will investigate the relationship between SDP and gender.

3.1 Sport for Development and Gender

In this section, we will examine the links between sport for development and gender, including the historical ties between sport and activism, establish what is meant by the term 'gender' and examine how SDP can be used for girls' empowerment. Thereafter I will address two critiques of girl-centred SDP programmes, (1) homogenisation within girl-centred SDP, the use of sport and sport for gender equality and, (2) the colonial implications of girl-centred SDP.

Although considered a recent development, the use of sport to achieve gender related development goals is not new. Jaime Schultz for example describes how suffragettes used hiking to as a form of physical activism, "the articulation of physical activity and political activism", to raise awareness of their fight for the vote (2010: 135) Similarly, we should consider the actions of both Katherine Switzer, who became the first woman to 'enter' and successfully finish the Boston Marathon in 1967, at a time when women were banned from running the race, and the victory of tennis player Billie Jean King in the 'Battle of the Sexes' tennis match in 1973, as examples of when sport has been used to advocate for the rights of women.

Petry and Kroner explain that the issue of gender has featured prominently in the history of development, with the first 'women in sport' (WIS) movement emerging in 1990 (2018: 256). The WIS movement did not initially target developing countries and instead primarily focused on sport-related topics. As Marianne Meier argues, the initial WIS meetings had "a rather elitist"

European and North American character" (2005: 7). There are clear parallels here with the feminist movement itself, which has rightly been criticised as representing solely the desires of white, middle-class Western women. Meier further adds that although more and more WIS conferences are taking place in developing countries, there still remains a lack of participation from women at a grassroots level (2005: 7).

It is particularly important to explore here what is meant by the term 'gender' within SDP. Although the emphasis on gender within some SDP programmes seems to suggest the use of sport to address varied gendered issues, the term does in fact seem to be used solely within programmes that target women and girls. For example, SDP programmes will frequently claim to have a gendered focus when they are in fact specifically focussing on increasing women and girls' participation in sport. As Chawansky states:

"Most commonly, the SDP movement frames 'gender' in terms of restrictions and constraints that girls and women have to overcome as opposed to viewing gender as a relational identity and or/in terms of gender roles that impact the lives of both boys and girls". (2011: 121)

Taking this further Lyndsay Hayhurst argues that: "SDP programmes tend to engage with 'sex' and 'gender' in static ways, sometimes overlooking multiple gender roles, dynamics and relations" (2014: 51). This practice of using the term gender to signify women and girls will be useful when considering the use of SDP programmes to promote gender equity.

In recent years there has been a paradigmatic shift from 'gender equity in sport' to 'sport for gender equity' (Petry and Kroner, 2018: 257) and it is arguably due to this shift that we see the rise in girl-centred sports programmes. However, girl-centred sports programmes are not homogenous. As I have outlined, there are many different girl-centred programmes that each aim to address one of the myriad issues facing adolescent girls and young women around the world. Examples include; sexual health and reproductive rights, access to education, economic empowerment and gender-based violence. Petry and Kroner declare that:

"At the individual level, sports education programmes are particularly suitable for enhancing access to education for girls. Furthermore, physical activity promotes the physical and emotional wellbeing of women and girls. Because of the physical nature of sport, it can also be used to address gender-sensitive issues such as sexual and reproductive health. The knowledge imparted gives women and girls more control of their bodies and lives" (2005: 259)

Women Win concurs adding that leveraging the power of sport can help adolescent girls to;

- become physically stronger and healthier, therefore gaining a greater sense of ownership and understanding over their own bodies;
- develop critical skills such as team work, communication, goal setting and resilience;
- gain access to safe spaces to grow and explore;
- connect with peers;
- learn from female role models;
- explore human differences, such as religion, race, class or caste and;
- capture the attention of the community, leading to awareness raising opportunities as well as opportunities to challenge patriarchal social norms.

("Why Sport and Play", Women Win, 2019)

I will now examine critiques of girl-centred SDP programmes.

3.1.1 Critique 1 – Homogenisation, the use of sport and sport for gender equality

One of the central issues with girl-centred sports programmes is that they essentialise adolescent girls to one homogeneous entity, claiming that sport can be used to overcome all issues. This homogenisation fails to take into account the varied lived experiences of adolescent girls and assumes that all young women share and experience the same inequalities that can be then surmounted by sport. As Mary McDonald states: 'Such grand claims about

universal empowerment – a type of 'global sport sisterhood' – ignore the vastly different ways in which sport is organised, experienced, represented and understood across the globe" (2018: 198). This way of thinking mirrors the early feminist calls for a unified 'sisterhood', which presumed commonalities in experience and gender oppression regardless of culture and nation. This position falsely universalised a vision of women as always and everywhere constrained within patriarchal gender relations. Clearly this way of thinking is problematic. To address this issue, girl-centred sport programmes would need to be specifically tailored to the context of the country or region in which they were to be implemented. Unfortunately, the demands for timely intervention, limitations on partner capacity and the requirement for stakeholders (particularly financial) to see evidence of a quick return for their investment may hinder support for programmes requiring significant contextual development.

Another critique of girl-centred sport for development programmes is the use of sport itself. Sport has historically been considered as a male-dominated environment and while sporting events such as the 2016 Olympics¹¹ and more recently the 2019 Women's Football World Cup¹² have generated significant worldwide interest and helped to confront this perception, the traditional association between sport and masculinity cannot be denied. Catherine Campbell et al. argues that:

"it seems paradoxical to deal with the issue of gender in the context of sport since the organisation of sport is informed by hegemonic masculinity, through which the gender divide and the unequal power balance continues to be strengthened" (2009: 323)

Whilst I accept the apparent contradiction of using a traditionally masculine environment as a method to address gender inequality, it is precisely because

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¹¹ The 2016 Rio Olympics had the highest ever number of female competitors at 45%. It is interesting to note that although women compete in every Olympic sport, there are still more men's events (161) compared to women's and mixed (145) (*120 years of struggle*, pri.org) ¹² The 2019 Women's Football World Cup broke women's football viewing records with over 1 billion people viewing across all platforms ("*The Women's World Cup*", The Economist: 2019).

of this paradox that I believe sport is a useful tool. By encouraging the participation of girls and women in this sphere, we are actively challenging the androcentric and patriarchal norms that surround sport, and therefore contributing to the breakdown of these arbitrary boundaries. Meier agrees, stating that: "because of its historical associations with masculinity, sport can additionally challenge traditional gender structures in a society" (2000: 10). It is important to note however, that often women and girls who transgress these masculinist barriers too frequently become "targets of toxic myths, stigmas and harassments¹³" (Jimoh Shehu, 2010: ix). While I would clearly not wish for any girls or women to experience harm of any description whilst participating in sport and believe that girl-centred programmes should vigorously ensure the safety of their participants, I do think that it is necessary for programmes to cross these boundaries in order to subvert societal perceptions.

Girl-centred sports programmes can be additionally critiqued for promising gender equality, while only working with girls. As Martha Brady explains: 'building girls skills and agency will only go so far if girls find themselves living in the same restrictive environments" (2005: 47). Increasing opportunities for girls in sport does not lead to widespread change if societal attitudes remain the same. Chawansky agrees, adding that: "An overemphasis on changing girls without a concomitant effort to address boy's privileged status purports to address only part of the work needed to inspire social change" (2011: 131). While I do agree with Brady and Chawansky that a more inclusive approach that works with both girls and boys has value in driving real social change, there are cultural and pedagogical factors, which mean that this is not always possible, and therefore girl-centred programmes are beneficial.

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¹³ Even while not directly participating in sport, it is noteworthy that studies have shown that women's safety and sporting results are intrinsically linked. A 2018 UK study saw that during the Men's Football World Cup, reported incidents of domestic abuse rose by 38% when England lost and by 26% when England won or drew (*Domestic Abuse Reports Soar*, The Independent).

3.1.2 Critique 2 - Colonial implications of girl-centred SDP

As outlined in the previous section, the geographical distribution of SDP programmes overwhelmingly aligns Europe and North America as providers of SDP with Africa, Asia and Latin America as recipients of such programmes. In this section I will explore the colonial critique of girl-centred sports programmes, reviewing Lyndsay Hayhurst's 'Using Postcolonial Feminism to investigate cultural difference and neoliberalism in sport, gender and development programming in Uganda' (2014).

Hayhurst begins by detailing the increasing use of 'privatised' aid; the involvement of transnational corporations in governing, funding and implementing SDP programmes (2014: 46). With specific reference to this thesis, we can consider the funding of the Goal programme by Standard Chartered Bank as an example of this type of privatised aid. Hayhurst adds further that the increased use of the corporate sector also contributes to the presence of neoliberalism within sport for development. As social responsibilities move away from governments to NGO's, these NGO's engage in market driven practices that establish connections with capitalism and consumerism (2014: 46), arguably leading to a 'top-down' approach within programmes. It is also necessary to consider how sports for development programmes might promote colonialist discourse. Often the content of girlcentred programmes features components that address hygiene and cleanliness. This is the case for the Goal programme that contains a module entitled 'Be Healthy', which addresses both general hygiene and girls' menstrual hygiene. Clearly the concerns here would be that the programmes replicate colonialist rhetoric by presenting the participants standard hygiene practices as culturally backward. Hayhurst agrees stating that: "the idea that girls should want to care for and clean their own bodies because of the solicitude of Westerners, potentially promotes and (re) inscribes a neocolonial logic that upholds Westerners as intelligible when it comes to sanitation, civility and self-respect" (2014: 58). This sense of (neo) colonialism may be reinforced by the prevailing racial differences that often exist between 'white' donors and development workers and the 'BME' local partners and

programme recipients themselves. Additionally, frequent donor visits to established projects, while evidence of continued interest, may also be construed as hegemonic, further adding to this perception. As a solution to this problem, Hayhurst calls for more "collaborative, democratic and legitimate systems of intervention, whereby citizens and NGO's in the 'Two Thirds World are better able to negotiate and communicate directly with donors" (2014: 61). With this in mind, it is fundamental that Women Win continually reflects upon the power dynamics that exist between itself and local implementing partners, such as The Naz Foundation.

4.0 Theoretical Framework: Uncovering Feminist Pedagogy

As I will explain in greater detail in the methodology section, I will be analysing a combination of both quantitative and qualitative data. The former being an analysis of the numerical data collected from the base and end line questionnaires, and the latter representing an analysis of 16 *Most Significant Change* (MSC) case studies from Naz Goal participants. A thorough analysis of both the questionnaires and the MSC's will highlight whether the programme has impacted participants' awareness of GBV. This analysis will not however be able to explain the specific reasons for any changes or, where none has occurred, why this might be the case. In order to provide an answer to the why, it is necessary to use a theoretical framework, through which I will be able to further assess the impact of the Goal programme in addressing GBV and offer greater insights into girl-centred sports programming.

When initially considering frameworks for this thesis, I struggled to locate a suitable theory that I could use alongside the data to deepen my analysis. I started by examining theories discussing methods of gender-based violence prevention, postulating that the Goal programme could be considered as a method of primary intervention as it seeks to prevent violence through educational outreach. I realised however that although I am specifically analysing the impact of the programme on GBV awareness, the reason why such an impact may/may not occur is not necessarily directly connected to the sessions on GBV. Clearly it is not possible to consider all of the factors that could lead to change, especially as there are undoubtedly many external factors to consider such as participation in other programmes, quality of education or a supportive external network. Instead I needed to utilise a framework that could evaluate the programme in general and then make connections between this and the impact on GBV awareness. I therefore started researching educational theories that address methods of delivery and interactive ways of learning and discovered feminist pedagogy.

I first encountered references to feminist pedagogy whilst still looking for theories tackling GBV prevention and chanced upon an article entitled; Using transformative pedagogies for the prevention of gender-based violence (2015), by Ndumiso Daluxilo Ngidi and Relebonhile Moletoane. The article examines gender based violence interventions in South Africa and uses transformative pedagogies to analyse the intervention and its potential role in addressing sexual violence. Ngidi and Moletoane state that; "Both feminist and transformative pedagogies endeavour to create a sense of consciousness where an individual is able to understand their position in the world that undervalues marginalised groups and how individuals can use such knowledge to transform society" (2015: 154). Considering the purpose of the Goal programme is to empower adolescent girls and drive social change through sport, I decided to conduct further research into feminist pedagogy.

4.1 What is Pedagogy? Critical vs. Feminist

The foundation of feminist pedagogy is grounded in critical theories of learning and knowing such as the 1968 work of Paulo Freire, *The Pedagogy* of the Oppressed, which aimed to liberate the oppressed through the use of dialogue, critical thinking and engagement with daily life experiences. Critical pedagogy rejects traditional, hierarchical ways of teaching and encourages students to become co-creators of their own knowledge. The distinguishing difference between critical pedagogies and feminist pedagogies is the emphasis of the latter on using a gendered lens to examine social constructions. This reflects the inclusion of a feminist perspective to many academic disciplines that took place following the second wave feminism. Take for example, feminist philosophy, feminist literary criticism and feminist economics. As Esther Ngan-Ling Chow et al. state: "feminist pedagogy seeks to challenge systems of domination, question social construction of knowledge and power, generate consciousness and critical thinking and to promote social change" (2003:260). By challenging hierarchal techniques and destabilising traditional power relations within the learning environment, feminist pedagogy aims to validate the subjectivities and offer a voice to the most marginalised, build community and respect the varied diversity and personal experience of learners. Additionally, Chow et al. discuss the five central themes that underpin a feminist approach to pedagogy (2003:260);

- 1. an understanding that women are knowers,
- 2. concerns with equality and power between teachers and learners,
- 3. the formation of community within the classroom,
- 4. an emphasis on consciousness raising and diversity; and
- 5. concerns with caring and empowerment.

While the Goal programme does not claim to be a feminist initiative, I would argue that the programme does use a feminist pedagogical approach. Central to the programme is the understanding that adolescent girls have the potential to drive social change. Goal actively advocates for the education of adolescent girls, is concerned not only with equality between teachers and learners but equality in general, utilises sports and play to foster a sense of community within the sessions, encourages discussion and consciousness raising of a variety of topics within the curriculum, and works towards the empowerment of the participants of the programme. As we will see in more detail later, participants within Naz often assume the roles of peer leaders or community sports coaches, providing a real example of the benefits of the programme to future participants and increasing its legitimacy as a vehicle of empowerment.

4.2 DPE Feminist Pedagogy

For the purpose of this thesis I will employ a DPE approach to feminist pedagogy as my theoretical framework. This approach describes how three components; dialogue, participation and experience, can be used to cultivate a feminist pedagogical learning space. By evaluating Goal based on these three components, I will be able to consider how the programme has impacted participants' awareness of GBV.

To facilitate an appreciation of my later analysis I will now provide a brief definition of each of the three elements: -

1.) **Dialogic** – refers to the ways in which students and teachers communicate and interact in the classroom. It is important to note that the dialogic element goes beyond speaking and giving information to others. A central goal is to be

open to multiple viewpoints through communication and change (Chow et al., 2003: 261). The dialogical element concerns helping participants to find their voice through discussions, role plays and scenarios.

- 2.) **Participatory** refers to the students' involvement within the learning process and to the empowerment of both learners and teachers (2003: 262). Interactive learning methods are a distinctive feature of the participatory element and by allowing the students to have a say in what is being taught and how it is taught, a participatory environment leads to collective problem solving and therefore new knowledge production.
- 3.) **Experiential** in this element, participants' life experiences are at the forefront of the learning process. Experiential learning "seeks to bridge the gap between students' life experiences and learning experiences" (2003:263).

Chow et al. state that: "the dialogic, participatory and experiential components are present – to a greater or lesser degree – in all learning environments" (2003:261). The authors go on to add that the presence of each component can be considered as part of a continuum, moving from low to high (2003:261). For example, at the low end of the dialogic scale, students may be given few opportunities to hear others view points and to voice their opinion. Moving towards the high end of the scale, participants are provided with plenty of opportunities to actively engage with discussion topics and share their thoughts and opinions with others.

This framework will allow me to explore where the Goal programme sits on the continuum espoused by Chow et al and how it has impacted participants' awareness of GBV.

5.0 Methodology

In the following section I will discuss the methodological approach of this thesis, explaining why I selected a dual approach using both quantitative and qualitative data. I will describe the methods of data collection and analysis before concluding with an evaluation and justification of the selected methodological approach.

This thesis aims to analyse the impact of girl-centred *plus-sport* programmes on participant awareness of GBV in programmes implemented in India by The Naz Foundation. In order to do this, I will first take a quantitative approach, analysing the data collected from participant base and endline surveys over a two-year period, from 2016 to 2018. This time-span for data collection was selected as it encompasses a significant number of completed programmes as well as providing the most recent data for analysis. By comparing the participants' responses to survey questions carried out before and after they have participated in the programme, I will be able to clearly measure the impact of the plus sport programmes in addressing GBV. The data will also offer the opportunity to explore the causality between participating in the programme and awareness of GBV, supporting an evaluation of the Goal programme. Additionally this approach supports a more representative analysis as all the girls participating in the programme are asked to carry out the survey.

In terms of data collection, this thesis will use the base and endline questionnaires designed by Women Win. Participants complete the questionnaires before and after they have participated in the sports programme. The aim is to measure indicators in participants **B**ehaviour, **A**ttitude, **C**ondition, **K**nowledge and **S**tatus (BACKS) regarding leadership, gender-based violence, sexual and reproductive health, rights and economic empowerment (*Measuring Impact on Girls*, Women Win). The questionnaire consists of five sections detailed as follows¹⁴:

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¹⁴ Full versions of the questionnaire can be found on Women Win's open source platform: http://guides.womenwin.org/ig/programme-design/measuring-impact/promising-practices-or-monitoring-and-evaluating-a-sport-programme

Section 1: Community engagement – in this section the participants are asked whether they have participated in any other projects or activities in the community over the last year that focused on women's rights, healthy lifestyles, money or sports. Additionally, the participants are asked whether in the last year they have visited a bank, written a budget or deposited money.

Section 2: What do you think? – in this section the participants are asked to read short statements and state whether they think these questions are true, false or don't know. Furthermore, the participants are asked to identify how risky a certain activity, such as unprotected sex, is from a choice of no risk, low risk or high risk.

Section 3: How do you feel? – in this section the participants are asked to read various short statements linked to the programme learnings and say how they feel using a Likert scale of strongly disagree, disagree, agree and strongly agree.

Section 4: Community resources – in this section the participants are asked whether they know of spaces in the community where they can access certain services or where they feel safe.

Section 5: Activities – in this final section participants are asked whether they learnt anything new about their health, kinds of violence, saving money and leadership. Additionally, they are asked what they liked or disliked about the programme.

For the purpose of this thesis, I will be exclusively analysing the questions that measure GBV indicators, the majority of these are found in either section two or section three and therefore consist of yes, no, don't know statements or statements using the Likert scale. Women Win uses two versions of the questionnaire; (1) a complete questionnaire and, (2) a shorter version for experienced coaches who have implemented the programmes in the same location for several years. For this thesis, I will be using only the responses

from the complete questionnaires as this provides me with the most directly relevant and the more extensive data in respect of GBV indicators. The surveys were carried out with participant groups of varying sizes. The size of the groups simply depended on the number of participants registered for the programme at the time. The surveys were carried out in either one of two ways; (1) the surveys were self-administered by the participants, or (2) the participants were read the statements by the programme facilitators, who then filled in the survey based on the girls' response.

Before I could begin my data analysis I had to select the raw data that I wished to export and analyse. After identifying implementation in India as my focus, I examined the available data on Salesforce; a data collection platform used by Women Win and their implementing partners and extracted the data pertaining to programmes completed in this country. After this, I checked through all of the entries in order to remove any confounding variables, ¹⁵ therefore ensuring that all responses to the questionnaires at baseline were matched by a response at endline and discounted any data sets where this was not the case. This ensured that I would only be analysing the responses from participants who had completed the programme from start to finish, which is vital when analysing the impact between participation in girl-centred sports programmes and GBV awareness.

To supplement this quantitative approach, I also elected to conduct a qualitative analysis of 16 *Most Significant Change* stories from the participants themselves. *Most Significant Change* (MSC) is a qualitative and participatory monitoring and evaluation technique, which involves the collection of significant change stories from participants within an intervention or programme ("*Most Significant Change*", ODI, 2019). MSC's detail the impact of a certain intervention or programme from the perspective of the participant, or other involved stakeholders such as coaches, mentors etc. ("*Measuring Impact on Girls*", Women Win, 2019). MSC's are a simple method of assessing the impact of a programme from a qualitative perspective, with participants/stakeholders typically answering the question; *what has been the*

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 $^{^{15}}$ A confounding variable refers to any variable whose presence affects the variables being studies, therefore affecting the results.

most significant change for you since you started the programme? Given the simplicity of the methodology, it is a useful tool for measuring impact across different cultures and delivers a rich picture of what is happening, especially as the methodology is participatory, requiring participants to review potential stories and discuss which of these they wish to share. In this way, the MSC method actively encourages dialogue.

In using this approach, I was aware of some of the limitations associated with this methodology, especially the possibility of partner organisations wishing to present an overly positive representation of the successes within their respective programmes. As we have already seen, the rise of "privatised aid" has led to an increase in the number of private sector companies funding SDP programmes, such as Standard Chartered Bank who fund the Goal programme. Each quarter, all Goal implementing partners, such as Naz have to submit an update report, including an MSC, to Standard Chartered. Clearly, the bank is keen to ensure that the money it is investing in these programmes is having an impact within local communities. It is conceivable therefore, that consciously or unconsciously Naz may overemphasise the positive impact of programmes, highlighting and showcasing for example, only those MSC's that demonstrate the most significant changes in order to guarantee continued funding from the bank. It would be interesting for future studies to evaluate the impact of donor/receiver power relations on monitoring and evaluation.

However, whilst being mindful of this, I decided to utilise this methodology and conduct an analysis of these stories, as I was keen to place the girls' voices and opinions at the forefront of my analysis. This thesis aims to analyse the Goal programme from a critically feminist perspective and with this in mind, I believe it is important to include the opinions of the girls' on which this thesis focuses. I am not trying to speak for the participants; I agree with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak who urges that 'Western' intellectuals do not speak for the female subaltern (1988) or they risk casting them "doubly in shadow" (1988: 287). Rather, I am attempting to highlight the value of the participants' stories and disrupt the norms over whose voice is heard. As feminist essaying Rebecca Solnit states:

"Liberation is always a part in the storytelling process: breaking stories, breaking silences, making new stories. A free person tells her story. A valued person lives in a society in which her story has a place. [...] Having a voice is crucial. By redefining whose voice is valued, we redefine our society and its values" (2017: 36)

For the purpose of this thesis, I analysed 16 MSC stories submitted by Naz over a two-year period between 2016 and 2018. The ages of the participants featured in the MSC's ranged from 12 years to 29 years of age, with the average age being 16. The majority of the participants in the MSC's (9 of the 16) came from Mumbai, in the East of India, however the remaining MSC's featured participants from all across the country including; Padamathur (1), Bangalore (1), Delhi (3) and Madurai (2). The MSC's predominantly feature participants who live in urban settings, (15 out of 16), with one MSC featuring a girl from a rural village. It is important to note that the MSC's analysed in this thesis were not specifically selected but simply include every MSC submitted by the Naz Foundation between 2016-2018. For safeguarding reasons, the names of the girls have been removed and the MSC's have instead been assigned a number, for example MSC1.

In choosing to carry out a quantitative analysis, I am aware that I am diverging from traditionally held feminist views opposing this type of research, considering it to be "in favour of the male perspective" (Kathi Miner-Rubino and Toby Epstein Jayarane, 2007). As Maureen McHugh explains: "some feminists have questioned the liberation potential of research and especially the possibility of traditional (i.e. experimental, quantitative and objective) research to produce knowledge that will alleviate gender inequity and oppression" (2014:137). I believe however that it is important to include a form of quantitative analysis in order to demonstrate that such an approach can be used to help achieve feminist objectives. It does not seem sensible to let discussions relating to the supposed superiority of different methods detract from our capacity to adopt a range of research approaches that can be harnessed to advance the promotion of gender equality. I would argue that both quantitative and qualitative techniques have merit within feminist

research and can even complement each other, hence the dual approach within this thesis. AS McHugh states: "feminist research cannot be specified to any single approach to the discovery or creation of knowledge" (2014: 137).

6.0 Analysis

In this section of my thesis, I will present the findings of my analysis. I will begin by providing a brief content analysis of the Goal curriculum. Then, as previously indicated I will use quantitative methods to analyse the data collected from the base and endline questionnaires carried out by Naz across a two-year period, from 2016-2018. Subsequently, I will examine the MSC's of Naz participants, across the same two-year period. I will then evaluate the responses from participants; establishing how/if the Goal programme has addressed GBV. Furthermore, I will cross-examine the MSC's utilising the DPE framework, as outlined in the theoretical framework section. By adopting this approach, I will be better able to explain the impact of the Goal programme in addressing GBV and to make suggestions regarding potential improvements to the programme.

6.1 Goal Curriculum Content Analysis

There are several aspects of the curriculum that are important to consider here from a feminist perspective. From an intersectional viewpoint, the curriculum actively acknowledges the additional implications of race, class, religion, sexuality and caste on power relations between men and women. Clearly the intersection between gender and caste is particularly important given the context within which Naz delivers its programmes. In future, one enhancement that might be made to the curriculum is to include additional considerations in respect of the impact that the different social stratifications have on power relations between and amongst women, as the current curriculum focuses exclusively on the power dynamic between men and women.

Another observation I have made after reviewing the curriculum relates to the definition of gender. In one session named 'Boys' and Girls', the participants have to identify the different characteristics that they believe exist between men and women, later categorising these into those attributed by society and those given by nature. Clearly, while this activity encourages participants to consider the role society has on gender norms, it does mean

that participants learn a more binary approach to gender. By compartmentalising the characteristics into arbitrary categories, the curriculum is encouraging participants to base their definitions on what makes a girl or a boy on biological attributes, such as 'girls have breasts' or 'boys have penises'. While the curriculum does state that: "these sex and gender categories are not presented as rigid" ('Be Yourself', Goal), this way of thinking could be harmful to female participants who identify as male. A suggestion might be for the session to continue to explore characteristics of gender but to ensure that there is further discussion first around the existence of other identities. Moreover, considering that Goal is implemented in many countries, it is also important that the curriculum takes into account the fact that gender is not fixed or globally consistent and need to be adapted to each context.

It is worth noting that the curriculum is inclusive towards all sexualities, with a session named 'Bodies and Emotions' addressing sexual desires, whether towards the same or opposite sex. It could be argued that the curriculum does not go into great depth regarding this topic, with only hetero and homo sexual relationships being discussed, but considering the typically young age range of the participants and the fact that discussing sexuality is not culturally appropriate in some contexts, it might be argued that this is sufficient at present. In the future, utilising evidence from evaluation exercises and any external research conducted in this sphere, the curriculum could be reviewed to further develop the content of this section.

6.2 Quantitative Analysis

I will now present the outcome of my analysis of the data collected from base and endline questionnaires completed by Naz programme participants between 2016-2018. There are four statements that address GBV within the questionnaire which are as follows:

- (a) I know a place where I can report violence
- (b) I know a place where I feel safe
- (c) Verbal insults are a form of violence
- (d) Women should tolerate beating

The results from each of these statements can be found in the tables below in the form of percentages, which allows for direct comparison across the two years. It is worth noting that the total number of participants who completed the questionnaire rose from 2016 to 2018. In the first year, 1036 base and endline questionnaires were completed. In the second year, numbers rose to 2091 responses, signifying the strengthening of the programme. For ease of reference I have used *pre* to signify the responses to the questionnaire before programme implementation, and *post* for responses after the participants had completed the programme.

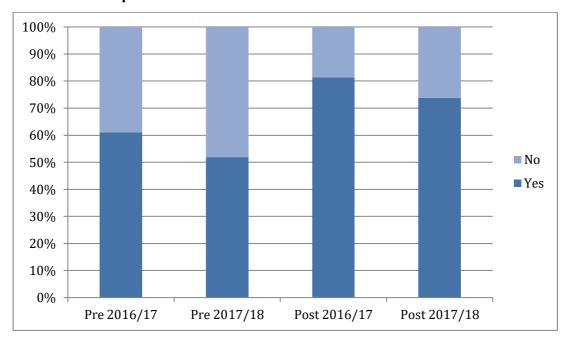
100% 90% 80% 70% 60% ■ No 50% Yes 40% 30% 20% 10% 0% Pre 2016/17 Pre 2017/18 Post 2016/2017 Post 2017/18

6.2.a I know a place where I can report violence

Graph 1. Pre/Post 'I know a place where I can report violence'

As we can see from Graph 1, at the end of the programme for both 2016/2017 and 2017/2018, there was an increase in the number of participants who knew a place in their community where they can report violence. The increase was higher amongst participants in 2016/17 than 2017/18, with the number of participants knowing a place to report violence rising by 37.52%, and 29.43% respectively. But both increases are significant and show that the programme is having a marked impact on participants' awareness of reporting procedures in instances of violence.

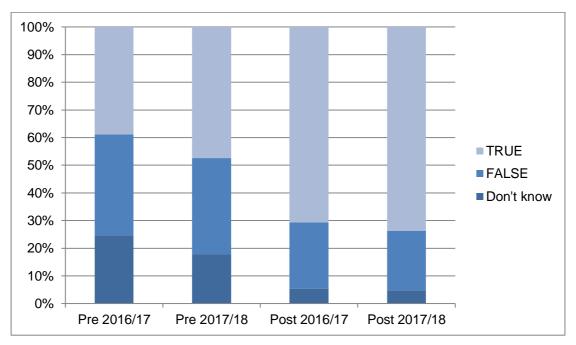
6.2.b I know a place where I feel safe



Graph 2. Pre/Post 'I know a place where I feel safe'

Graph 2 highlights the impact of the programme on participants' knowledge of safe spaces. As we can see, for both 2016/17 and 2017/18 the baseline level of the participants was already quite high at 60.97 and 51.94%% respectively. This suggests that a majority of participants in both programmes were already able to locate safe spaces within their communities before joining the programme. Both programmes still delivered statistically significant and positive impacts however, with an increase in the number of participants who could identify a space where they felt safe occurring across both years. Whilst being able to identify a safe space is clearly beneficial, it is of limited value unless those at risk are also able to access information about support services such as women's shelters, support groups or domestic violence NGO's. Future programmes might therefore, incorporate material relating to such information in order to ensure that participants are fully aware of how to access support and services if needed.

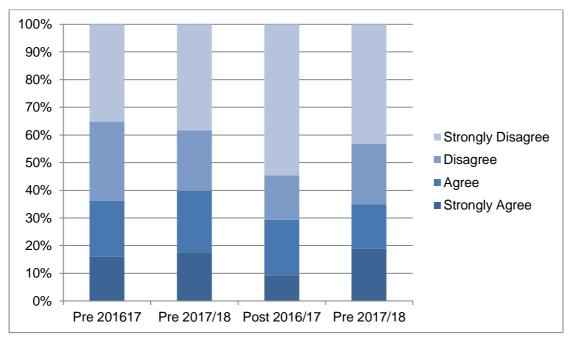
6.2.c Verbal insults are a form of violence



Graph 3. Pre/Post 'Verbal insults are a form of violence'

As we can see from Graph 3, there is a very significant impact on what participants consider to constitute gendered violence. At baseline for both 2016/2017 and 2017/2018, the majority of participants are either unsure or don't agree that verbal insults are a form of violence, with the responses equating to 61.18% and 52.64% respectively. Arguably, this highlights the social acceptability of street harassment, verbal insults and 'catcalling', with a recent *Plan International* Study on street harassment finding that many adolescent girls feel like this is 'just something they have to get used to" (2018: 4). A finding that would appear to be supported my own analysis. Verbal insults and harassment impact girls' freedom, autonomy and safety, so it is of particular value that the programme is able to demonstrate a considerable increase in the number of participants who, post programme, would consider verbal insults as a form of violence.

6.2.d Women should tolerate beating



Graph 4. Pre/Post 'Women should tolerate beating'

This final graph, (Graph 4) shows participants opinions on whether women should tolerate beating. While the results are generally positive, with an increase across both years in the number of participants that strongly disagree with the statement, the rise was not as significant as for the previous questions. When combining strongly disagree and disagree, we can see that for 2016/2017 there was an increase of 6.87%. For 2017/2018, the increase was lower again at 5.06%. Whilst this is still statistically significant the data does suggest that this is an area where further work is required. These responses arguably highlight the difficulty in changing longstanding, cultural norms surrounding violence and women, as well as underlining the fact that social change does not occur overnight but instead takes time and investment.

In this section I have used a quantitative approach to analyse the data collected in base and endline questionnaires. The analysis suggests that, for the most part, the Goal programme has had a positive impact on raising participants' awareness of GBV related issues. The analysis also revealed that regarding physical violence, there may be some continuing barriers to

change which can be reflected upon in future reviews of the curriculum and programme delivery. In the following section I will look to explore the impact of the programme further, putting the participants and their individual MSC's at the forefront of my analysis.

6.3 Quantitative Analysis

To carry out this analysis I reviewed 16 MSC's, looking at topics highlighted by the participants and identifying key, recurring themes. I subsequently grouped these key themes into categories and created codes for these groups. After completing this process I was left with two groups:

- Physical, verbal and sexual violence
- Menstruation

Alongside the repeated references to GBV, the number of times participants' referred to matters relating to menstruation was particularly notable. As we will see below, participants regularly mentioned the impact that the programme has had on their knowledge and perception of menstruation and menstrual health. In India, menstruating women are considered to be impure and as such are often prevented from doing certain tasks. The participants refer to cultural beliefs that prohibit menstruating women from doing certain things, such as entering temples, cooking food and touching certain objects. Although these references may not seem overly restricting, by forbidding menstruating women from doing certain things, Indian social norms are limiting the agency of these women and impinging on their right to free will, movement and expression. Additionally, it is important to note that these norms can have far more serious repercussions. An estimated 23% of adolescent girls drop out of school when they start menstruating due to both the stigma and lack of available sanitary products, preventing adolescent girls from obtaining their right to education ("Menstruation Study", The Times of India, 2018). Moreover, misogynistic norms relating to menstruation can result in the practice of women spending their times in huts or 'gaokors'. This dangerous tradition sees menstruating women banished to poorly constructed huts, with women often dying as a result of the either the cold, smoke inhalation or snake bites (*Banished for Menstruating*, The Guardian). Moreover, recent horrific reports have described how thousands of women living in rural India have been encouraged to have entirely unnecessary

hysterectomies to stop their menstrual cycles. This is due to employers who do not want to engage menstruating women due to absences when on their periods ("Why are menstruating women removing their wombs", BBC, 2019). With these factors in mind, I have decided to include menstruation within this study, as arguably the stigma and social practices surrounding periods in India are another manifestation of gender-based violence, affecting women's physical, emotional and psychological wellbeing.

As well as reviewing the MSC's for content, I also critically analysed them through the DPE feminist pedagogical lens, looking for any references to specific reasons why the Goal programme had an impact on the participants' awareness of GBV. The coding for this was more straightforward thanks to the constructs of the theoretical framework. Here, I grouped together the references as:

- Dialogic
- Participatory
- Experiential

The results of this analysis can be found below.

6.3.1 Physical, Verbal and Sexual Violence

Overall, 7 out of 16 MSC's had specific references to GBV. Although this only constitutes 43.7% of the MSC's, it is important to note that the participants were not asked to describe the most significant change the programme had brought about specifically linked to GBV, but rather they were asked to describe the most significant change in general. With this in mind, it is significant that almost half of the MSC's make reference to GBV and reinforces the idea that gendered violence is a serious issue across India. The table below details the occurrences of GBV in the case studies

Table 2. Physical, Verbal and Sexual Violence within MSC's

MSC Number	Quote from MSC
3	"An even bigger impact was felt after the sessions on
	GBV. My father used to drink and beat my mother
	when he was drunk. I never recognised that this was
	violence. But after the session I realised that what my
	father did was wrong and should not be like that. My
	mother wanted to stop it but never found the words and
	courage [] After the session on violence I shared
	what I had learned with her. It was a turning point. My
	mother realised that she had to take action and she
	started raising her voice to end the violence"
6	"It was during one of these life skills that 6 first learned
	about different forms of violence and what she could
	do to help"
9	"The life skills sessions were particularly fascinating for
	9 who was learning about communication, gender
	violence and HIV for the first time. She was especially
	impressed by the session on violence and truly felt that
	girls were entitled to live life freely"
10	"Two years ago, boys began constantly teasing her.
	She was scared and uncomfortable since the boys
	would comment on her physical appearance. The Goal
	sessions on violence made her realise that being silent
	when facing violence is not an answer and she
	understood that she had the right [] to fight back if
	needed"
11	"One of the main changes is the increased ability to act
	in case of rights violations. When a distressed young
	woman was stranded at Bombay Central, 11 took care
	of her. 11 found shelter in a local NGO for her so she

	didn't have to go back to a situation where she had
	been a survivor of domestic violence".
14	" 14 and her mother became her stepfather's target. He
	scolded them and beat them up. [] After her sister
	left, her stepfather also started pampering and cuddling
	14. He touched her at various places on her body. She
	was confused and thought it was the love fathers show
	daughters. It was only when he began touching her
	inappropriately that she realised something was not
	right. It was during this time that the Goal session
	'breaking the silence' was being done. 14 understood
	what had happened to her and the importance of
	standing up for herself. She started saying 'no' to her
	stepfather and confided in her mother".
16	"Whenever her uncle used to come to 16's house, he
	pestered her to marry him. He also forced her mother
	to give him permission to marry 16. […] As days
	passed her uncle started increasing the pressure on
	the family whenever he came to their home. Because
	of the problems, 16 was always worried and lost
	interest in her studies. After the Goal session on
	violence against girls, she talked to the life skills
	trainer. 16 left that day with a clear mind and the
	conviction that she had the right to say 'no'. She went
	home and discussed her opinion with her parents. She
	told her parents that she does not want to marry now
	and asked her parents to put a halt to the situation. 16
	convinced her parents".

There are several observations that can be made after reviewing these quotes. Firstly, it is clear from these MSC's the value the Goal programme has had on raising awareness and developing the participants knowledge of gendered violence. As we can see in MSC 6, the Goal sessions have

supported in developing participants understanding of GBV in general by raising awareness about what might constitute this form of violence.

Additionally, we can see that the Goal sessions have further enhanced knowledge of the rights adolescent girls have in challenging this violence and the methods by which they may do so; MSC 10 describes how the participant learnt she had the right to raise her voice and challenge the boys who were harassing her, MSC's 14 and 16 both highlight how participants learn they have a right to say 'no', with MSC 14 learning that she had the right to say 'no' to the abhorrent sexual advances of her stepfather and MSC 16 recognising that she is able to negotiate with her parents and say 'no' to child marriage.

Furthermore, these MSC's demonstrate the multiplier effect of the Goal programme. As can be observed in MSC 3 and 11, after participating in the programme the participants felt able to disseminate their knowledge to those around them. This clearly has positive implications, particularly for the other adolescent girls and women within the community. In MSC 3, we see that the participant shares her learnings on violence with her mother, who then finds the courage take steps to end the violence she has been subjected to by her husband. Similarly, in MSC 11 we learn that the participant used her knowledge and understanding to support another young woman who is leaving a violent situation. These examples help to highlight that although Naz's Goal programme works in schools, the women of the wider community can become indirect beneficiaries of the programme helping to extend its influence.

Finally, it becomes apparent after analysing these case studies that the Goal programme has a real impact on the lives of these adolescent girls. We see from MSC's 3, 10, 11, 14 and 16 that the programme has generated real change for these girls. Whether it is learning that they have the right to say 'no' to sexual violence, standing up to their abusive father, challenging inappropriate harassment and catcalling, denouncing child marriage, or providing support for a woman escaping domestic abuse, the programme has had a beneficial effect of how the participants understand/recognise gender based violence.

6.3.2 Menstruation

As previously discussed, I decided to include menstruation in my analysis as it quickly became apparent after reviewing the MSC's that menstruation was an important topic for the girls in India, and that contextually, it can be seen as a variation of GBV. 9 out of 16 MSC's included references to menstruation, which highlights the significance of this issue for the participants. The table below contains the menstruation connected quotes from the MSC's.

Table 3. Menstruation within MSC's

MSC Number	Quote from MSC
1	"One of my favourite sessions was menstruation. She
	learned about the facts, the myths and misconceptions
	and she shared this information with her family and
	friends. When I talked about menstruation with my
	mother, she did not agree with me and kept believing
	that we shouldn't touch pickles or go to temple. But
	now slowly, I can see the change in her".
2	"The first time she heard about menstruation was
	during the YPI session. And although her periods
	haven't started yet, she shares that the sessions have
	been very helpful. She is happy that whenever she will
	start menstruating she will know what to do to maintain
	hygiene and be healthy".
3	"After the sessions on menstruation, she informed her
	mother about menstrual hygiene. Her mother stopped
	using cloth during her periods and started using
	sanitary napkins".
5	"She learned about HIV, menstruation, and violence for
	the first time, and she has used what she has learned
	to educate the women around her; including her sister
	and her mother-in-law, who insisted that she had not
	attend temple when menstruating".

8	"The session on menstruation was also another
	important session for 8 where she understood how and
	why girls get their periods and that it is a natural
	process and not something to be ashamed of".
9	"Through Goal, 9 understood that these were just
	myths and she continued to work even during her
	period. In this manner, she slowly transformed her
	family's perception about menstruation as well"
12	"The session on hygiene and menstruation were
	especially impactful. I realised the ways in which she
	can keep herself clean and hygienic during her periods
	and also debunking of myths and misconceptions
	revolving around menstruation. Initially I used to
	believe all the do's and don'ts such as not touching a
	god statue, a new born baby and entering the kitchen
	during periods but now I know having a period is a very
	normal thing for any girl and it is nothing to be
	ashamed about or humiliated about".
14	"Whenever I talk about menstruation to my friends,
	they feel uncomfortable. They tell me to stop talking
	about it but I tell them that menstruation is nothing to
	be shamed about. We should all have knowledge
	about menstruation".
15	"The most important sessions during the ten-month
	programme for her were menstruation, understanding
	power and communication".

There are several conclusions that can be drawn from analysing these quotes. Firstly, we can observe that the Goal programme sessions on menstruation have helped to challenge misconceptions surrounding periods and subvert cultural perceptions. In MSC's 1, 5, 9 and 12, we can see that the programme has helped to address cultural myths associated with

menstruating, such as girls not being able to attend temple, touch pickles, help in the kitchen, or hold new born babies. Although the examples of myths described in the MSC's are not harmful to the girls, it is important to note that periods remain a deeply taboo topic in India and there are cultural practices, especially in rural areas, which can be dangerous to the health and well being of girls and women. These include being banished to 'menstruating' huts and womb removal. By denouncing minor myths like being able to touch pickles, the girls will slowly be able to confront other societal beliefs related to menstruation and encourage the breakdown of the taboo.

As well as challenging cultural perceptions, we can see from the MSC's that the programme has also promoted the development of healthy menstrual practices both before menstruation has begun, as is the case in MSC 2, and also after the participants have started their periods such as MSC 3. The Goal programme discusses the importance of safe menstrual practices, as well as the need to maintain health and hygiene, which is of particular value in the India context considering that only 82% of women in India do not have access to sanitary products (Pragya Sood: 2018). I am mindful that this element of the programme could be considered as a form of colonialism, as we have seen earlier. However, it cannot be denied that given the taboo surrounding menstruating women in India, there is a lack of conversation about menstrual health, which this programme seeks to address.

Finally, it is interesting to note in the MSC's that the Goal programme has led to a change in how women personally consider menstruation. We see in MSC's 8, 12 and 14, that after participating in the programme, the girls acknowledge that menstruation is a natural process and is not something to be ashamed or humiliated by. Nor is it seen as something that should impinge on their daily life. This suggests that India's misogynistic/patriarchal views on menstruating have led adolescent girls to perceive periods as something negative and shameful. We can also see from these examples, that similarly to GBV, there is a positive multiplier effect linked to the sessions on menstruation. Here, the participants are discussing the content of the sessions "with their parents, siblings and friends" and encouraging discussions about periods.

6.3.3 DPE Feminist Pedagogy within MSC's

From both the quantitative and qualitative analysis, we can clearly see that the Goal programme has positively altered participant perception of gender-based violence. In order to understand why this positive impact has occurred, it is useful to view the findings through a feminist pedagogical lens. This will allow a deeper understanding of the successes of the programme, as well as providing an insight for other programmes wishing to replicate the effect of Goal. The details of my DPE analysis of the MSC's can be found in the tables below.

6.3.3a Dialogic components

Table 4 highlights all of the references within the MSC's, to dialogue covering how coaches/teachers and participants interact, communicate and engage with one another. A central component of a dialogical approach is the importance of finding one's voice.

Table 4. Dialogic components of the programme

MSC Number	Quote from MSC
4	"I was very much aggressive with my friends but
	when I attended the conflict ladder session then I
	realised that fighting or making ourselves
	aggressive is not the right way to communicate
	with people. So I now speak politely, help other
	people and respect them".
6	"Since joining Goal, I have initiated conversations
	about violence, HIV and menstruation with
	community members".
7	"I found my voice. It is not just about developing
	better communication skills while interacting with
	strangers and programme participants but finding

	the strength to voice my opinion"
9	"From being a shy, reticent girl 9 is now a CSC
	who co-facilitates sessions with other 400 girls.
	These has improved her confidence levels and
	her ability to speak openly".
10	"One of her teammates supports 10. She stands
	by her when she mourns her father. She gives her
	room to share her feelings without being judged
	and she gives her positive thoughts when she
	feels sad".
12	"It was 12's first time having meaningful and
	detailed discussions on some topics that had
	been taboo for her".
15	"The communication session has helped me to
	understand the importance of open discussions.
	Knowing this has helped me to stand up for
	myself. My sister tried to convince my parents that
	I should choose the commerce stream in school.
	But I know that I can do better in arts and that is
	what I want to do".
16	"After the Goal session on violence against girls,
	she talked to the life skills trainer. 16 left that day
	with a clear mind and the conviction that she had
	the right to say 'no".

We can clearly see from MSC's 6,7,9 and 15 that the Goal programme has promoted participants to find a voice. Both MSC 6 and MSC 9 describe how the participants now feel comfortable initiating conversations and facilitating sessions, while MSC 7 adds that it is not only important that she now feels comfortable interacting with strangers but that also voicing her opinion. This is arguably due to the frequent use of discussions used within the programme, that encourage the girls to share their thoughts and viewpoints with one another in a judgement free space. MSC 12 highlights that the Goal

programme was the first time she had taken part in a discussion of sensitive topics. These MSC's highlight the importance and value of a dialogical approach that differs from traditional didactic methods.

Moreover, these MSC's demonstrate the significance of the interactions between both coaches and participants and amongst the participants themselves. We can see in MSC's 15 and 16 that the participants felt comfortable turning to their coaches and asking for advice about various issues. This interaction differs from more traditional teacher/student relationships, which typically are often less supportively interactive. It is particularly worth considering here that Naz employs previous 'Goal girls' (participants) as coaches. This clearly ensures programmatic sustainability but also helps to generate dialogue between coaches and participants. Often these coaches are from the same or similar communities as the girls themselves, and will have experienced many of the same issues at the same time in their lives. This helps them to understand the perspective of the participants and in turn provides a legitimacy and sense of safety that helps participants to feel comfortable in talking with their coaches. This interaction clearly contributes to the success of the programme from a dialogic perspective.

6.3.3b Participatory components

As previously described, a participatory approach to pedagogy describes the involvement of the participants within the learning process. A participatory approach allows participants to have a say in what is being taught and how it is taught. After reviewing the MSC's, the Goal programme can be considered to be quite participatory, with MSC 12 stating that: "the sessions are conducted in participative way and we get a chance to express ourselves". 43.7% of the MSC's had become community sports coaches (CSC) within the programme and were responsible for the facilitation of some of the curriculums content alongside the principal coach. By becoming responsible for managing and running sessions, the programme provides the participants with a means of involving themselves in the programme and deciding different ways to deliver the sessions. Moreover, appointing participants as community

sports coaches also cultivates a sense of ownership and accountability in the programme.

As well as community sports coaches, 25% of the MSC's are peer leaders in the programme. Peer leaders are responsible for helping the coach and the CSC's with the various activities by carrying out small tasks such as taking attendance, organising different drills and conducting the warm up. In this way, they are also able to contribute to how the sessions are delivered, ensuring their continued engagement within the programme. They also act as a conduit for information exchange between the other participants and those delivering the programme, promoting real time adjustments to content/focus as necessary.

Clearly we can see that the Goal programme is highly participatory in its approach. One suggestion for the future would be for Naz to carry out reviews of the curriculum across its implementation sites. By involving both the coaches and the participants in this review, it would be possible to collect in depth feedback on programme content and to allow participants to be involved in not only how the sessions are delivered but also how the curriculum itself is shaped. This would increase the relevance of the programme to participants.

6.3.3c Experiential components

As a quick recap, an experiential approach ensures that participants' experiences are at the forefront of the learning process. It is obviously difficult to know and understand all of the varied life experiences that the girls participating in the programme have experienced. Similarly it is important to ensure that the girls' experiences aren't essentialised. Nevertheless, through the varied content of the curriculum, the programme does aim to focus on the most commonly occurring experiences of the participants, even if it is in a more general manner. As such the Goal programme can to a certain extent be considered experiential. For example within the MSC's the participants describe experiences with domestic violence, financial issues and religion, all of which can be addressed through different sessions within the curriculum. As indicated in the previous sub section, engaging past participants to help

deliver the programme also adds value in this respect, helping to ensure that the curriculum reflects the lived experiences of those attending.

One suggestion to improve the experiential component of the programme would be to hold discussion events before implementation begins so as to learn what participants would like to see addressed based on their own personal experiences.

In this section, I have analysed the three components to a dialogic, participatory and experiential feminist pedagogy. In doing so, I have attempted to explain how the Goal programme was able to achieve the positive impact that was identified through the analysis of both the data and the MSC's. In the next and final section, I will conclude my thesis and offer recommendations for further research.

7.0 Conclusion

This thesis aimed to bridge the gap between academic theory and practice, by offering an evaluation of the impact that the Goal programme had on participants' awareness of GBV. By utilising a dual approach combining both quantitative and qualitative analysis, I was able to conduct a thorough examination of the programme, which was seen to have had a positive impact on the awareness of participants in respect of both GBV and menstruation. Applying a DPE feminist pedagogical framework to the data provided key information as to why the programme had the impact it did. I believe that having taken this approach I am in a position to offer valuable insights into how sports for development initiatives can use sport to address all forms of gender-based violence within programmes targeting adolescent girls.

Clearly the results from this thesis are contextually specific to India, the impact that the programme had on participants' perception of menstruation myths as a case in point. I believe however that this thesis has highlighted how a feminist pedagogical approach that generates dialogue and discussions, encourages active participation from participants and adapts the curriculum to each individuals' experiences, is a highly successful method of delivery. This is a directly transferable finding in respect of the delivery of programmes across the globe. While there are without-a-doubt some aspects of delivery that the Goal programme could improve upon, such as increasing the role of implementing partners in creating new context-specific content or allowing participants to provide feedback on the sessions, in my opinion the programme has had significant impact on participants' knowledge of GBV, as both the numerical data and the MSC's attest.

There are a couple of areas that I will now suggest as additional areas of research within this field. (1) Regarding GBV, it would be interesting to design an MSC with a question that specifically addresses GBV. For this thesis I analysed MSC's that posed the general question, what has been the most significant change for you since you started the programme? For a more in-depth analysis of the impact the programme has on addressing GBV, it would be beneficial to specifically ask a question about GBV to the participants. (2) Further research into the impact of the programme at a more

general level would also be valuable. One suggestion would be to carry out interviews with groups of adolescent girls that have taken part in the programme alongside those of control groups that have not. This would provide a useful overview of the real impact of the programme. (3) Finally, this research has analysed the impact of Goal based on feedback from participants who have recently completed the programme. In order to ascertain whether the programme has a long-term, sustainable impact, it would be highly beneficial to explore participants' experiences at particular points in the future i.e. 5 and or 10 years post programme.

In the meantime it is important to remember that changing pervasive, patriarchal norms takes time and it is therefore crucial, that girl-centred initiatives such as Goal continue to be implemented within communities across the world.

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