TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT MÜNCHEN

Lehrstuhl für Sportpädagogik

'Sporting Role Models' as Potential Catalysts
to Facilitate Empowerment and Tackle Gender Issues:
An Empirical Study in Malawi, Zambia and South Africa.

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Vollständiger Abdruck der von der Fakultät für Sport- und Gesundheitswissenschaft

der Technischen Universität München zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades eines

Doktors der Philosophie (Dr. phil.)

genehmigten Dissertation.

Vorsitzende: Univ.-Prof. Dr. Elisabeth Wacker

Prüfer der Dissertation:

1. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Claudia Kugelmann (i.R.)
2. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Jürgen Beckmann
3. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Adri Vermeer
   (Universität Utrecht / Niederlande)

Die Dissertation wurde am 14.03.2013 bei der Technischen Universität München
eingereicht und durch die Fakultät für Sport- und Gesundheitswissenschaft
am 25.06.2013 angenommen.

Acknowledgement

Abstract

There is an undifferentiated understanding of the concept 'role models' in the field of 'Sport and Development'. Invocating 'sporting role models' (SRMs) is generally based upon the assumption that they are (or need to be) positive and worth of emulation. Furthermore, the historical association between masculinity and sport leads to the predominance of male SRMs. Even though sportswomen increasingly attract public attention in the 'Global North', there is still a lack of female SRMs in Africa.

The three NGOs examined in Malawi, Zambia, and South Africa all use football for 'social change'. This study reviews and interweaves existing interdisciplinary sources on SRMs related to gender and development to offer a more nuanced approach. Thereby, a SRM classification is presented based on the degree of model-observer interaction (MacCallum & Beltman 2002). The potential of famous SRMs was mainly scrutinised through a literature review, whereas this study's main empirical interest concerns medium (or high) interaction SRMs involving coaches. This study provides a 'Heuristic Framework' depicting the potential of SRMs to promote empowerment emphasising gender dimensions.

This interactionist study adopts a mixed methods approach with respect to data collection and a qualitative analytical stance using 'methodological triangulation' (Denzin 1989; Flick 2009). The applied interpretative 'Case Study Design' gives credit to local particularities.

Since personal development does not happen by coincidence, empowerment-enhancing pedagogical interventions are divided into three interacting levels: presence and mind-set, intentional teaching, and transfer. This study emphasises the reciprocity of empowerment through role modelling: quality relationships do not only influence participants over time, but also affect the well-being of SRMs themselves. Thus, 'empowerment *of* SRMs' represents a precondition to successfully facilitate 'empowerment *through* SRMs'. Other basic components include authenticity as well as consistency of actions and messages.

Some cross-country trends concerning SRMs are identified despite the heterogeneity of the sites investigated: the predominance of male football, the lack of SRMs for females, and the overall tendency to favour male SRMs. Other results explore the popularity of theoretically 'deviant, but outstanding athletes' such as Esther Phiri in Zambia or Natalie du Toit in South Africa. Bredemeier's (1994) 'bracketed morality' and Hargreaves' (2000) 'gendered heroism' are two relevant concepts for all SRMs who will challenge stereotypical gender perceptions over time. These findings indicate that athletic success fuelled by patriotism may soften rigid socio-cultural norms and ultimately transcend gender, bodily, or ethnic constraints.

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List of Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BPFA	Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action
BSA	Breakthrough Sports Academy (Zambia)
BUSA	Bauleni United Sports Academy (Zambia)
CEDAW	Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CSD	Case Study Design
DAWN	Development Alternatives With Women for a New Era
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
FAM	Malawian Football Association
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
FfHM	Football for Hope Movement
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
GDI	Gender-related Development Index
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
GRS	Grassroot Soccer
HDI	Human Development Index (UNDP)
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IAAF	International Association of Athletics Federations
IAPESGW	International Association of Physical Education and Sports for Girls and Women
ILO	International Labour Office
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IWG	International Working Group on Women and Sport
KII	Key Informant Interview
KSC	Kalim Sports Council (Zambia)
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MDGs	United Nations Millennium Development Goals
MDHS	Malawi Demographic and Health Survey
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NOC	National Olympic Committee
P.E.	Physical Education
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity

PS	Play Soccer
SAD	Swiss Academy for Development
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SRM	Sporting Role Model
SRV	Self-recording Video
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV and AIDS
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNGC	United Nations Global Compact
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's (Emergency) Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (formerly ODCCP)
WHO	World Health Organisation
WSI	Women's Sport International
ZSFN	Zambian Street Football Network

I   INTRODUCTION

1   Background and Motive

Sport has the potential to add positive value to international development and cooperation for the benefit of women, men, girls and boys irrespective of the developing degree of a country or continent. However, basic prerequisites need to be carefully examined to transcend mere 'wishful thinking' and move beyond impractical or unrealistic goals and objectives for change.

1.1 'Sport and Development' (S&D)

The core concept of 'Sport and Development' (S&D) promotes participation and inclusion from a humanitarian and educational point of view. Dealing with sport activities in a developmental context does normally not involve elite sports. In order to reach as many individuals as possible, sport has to be perceived and implemented in its broadest possible way including physical education, games, fitness, martial arts, gymnastics, traditional games, dancing, etc. S&D targets everyone regardless of abilities, competences, physique, sex, ethnicity, socio-economic status, age, or other key demographic variables. From a sport pedagogical stance of 'multiple perspectivity', human motives of being physically active transcend excellence and performance (Kurz 1995). Additional motivational elements and meaningful interpretation of sport activities involve health related issues, experience or adventure, expression, suspense as well as a sense of belonging and community (Kuhlmann 2006). Thereby, the main focus lays on 'development through sport' in contrast to 'development of sport'. An ideal pedagogical and didactical sport intervention should aspire towards a combination of these two approaches. This study operationalises 'development' as human development in its broadest sense. The concept of 'development' is closely linked to 'socialisation', but goes beyond institutional aspects and mere integration in social structures involving cultural, institutional, social as well as more individual processes (Flammer 2009). Therefore, programmes using sport mainly as an instrument for personal development have a great interest in teaching values and conveying life skills which are constitutional elements of education. Following this reasoning, 'education towards sport' is not focussing on sport-specific skills only, but strives for arranging activities and experiences in pedagogically thoughtful manners. Such resource-oriented set-ups aim at a sustainable understanding and potential appreciation of a 'sport and movement culture' which should eventually foster life-long physical activity. 'Education towards sport' and 'education through sport' have to complement each other, in order to meet the requirements of this 'double mandate'. Following Prohl (2010), sport activities are only valuable from a pedagogical perspective, if knowledge transfer and sport skills - in the sense of an adequate 'sport and movement culture' - are systematically interwoven with general education in terms of personality development. Basically, this claim is valid irrespective of socio-cultural contexts, but with different focal points.

First, in the context of development cooperation, sport programmes are implemented as instruments (Digel & Fornoff 1989) in terms of 'education towards sport'. Ideally, these acquired abilities and skills should provide basic physical capabilities which enable

participants to be motivated and remain involved in lifelong sport activities (Memorandum 2009). Furthermore, physiological assets of an active individual may comprise, for instance, body control and awareness, muscle formation, cardio-vascular functions as well as fundamental coordinative competences such as reaction, rhythm, orientation or balance. But health issues and physical well-being heavily depend on the socio-cultural context. While the promotion of regular sport activity is doubtless appropriate and even necessary in most industrialised countries, the provision of minimal nutrition and breaks from hard labour are crucial health factors in the development setting. This concern applies to many women and girls in sub-Saharan Africa who have to walk long distances – daily and heavily loaded – to fetch water or firewood. Thus, depending on local needs, adequate S&D activities should provide opportunities for playful cooperation, relaxation, fun, and/or aesthetics to counterbalance common strain and deprivation.

Secondly, S&D programmes mainly fostering ‚education through sport' are dedicated to developmental topics such as children's rights, health promotion, violence prevention, ecology, social inclusion, etc. This approach postulates a transferability of competences which were acquired through sport activities into other domains of everyday life.

1.2 Gender and 'Sport & Development'

Sport and especially football are male domains from a historical perspective. Women had to struggle for every discipline admitted to the Olympic Games during the 20th century and beyond. In most parts of the world sport is still considered 'unfeminine' and inappropriate for girls and women. This opposition and scepticism towards females active in sport is based on traditionally expected norms: "Children who behave in gender-appropriate ways are considered normal; anything else (girls insulting, threatening, and physically fighting boys and other girls; boys who do not like sports and who cry a lot) is considered gender deviance" (Lorber 2010, p. 249). Such assumptions claiming "differences between the sexes are biological rather than cultural, and that feminine- and masculine-appropriate sports and male sporting superiority are in the 'natural' order of things" persistently linger – to a certain extent - in many cultures and societies (Hargreaves 1994, p. 7). Socio-cultural patterns of female and male beauty ideals produce a contradiction between 'being a woman' and 'being a successful sportswoman', thus creating an inconsistency between femininity and sport. This friction is emblematised concerning sport disciplines or games either labelled as 'typically male' or 'typically female' (e.g. Palzkill et al. 1991; Kugelmann 1996; Saavedra 2005a). However, universal ideals of masculinity and femininity do not exist. Saavedra (2004) described in her Senegalese research "two idealized femininities that are decidedly non-muscular", but revealed at the same time that basketball, for instance, was considered "graceful and gentle" in Dakar and thus - in contrast to football - suitable for women (p. 236).

This study is based on the premise that female 'asportism' is due to a lesser extent to 'nature' or innate lack of interest than to traditionally patriarchal structures, culture and social systems. This rather constructionist and interactionist approach is going to be further elaborated within the generic frame of reference (Chap. IV). In a majority of countries, females are considerably under-represented as athletes, coaches, referees, managers, board members, spectators, journalists, etc. in the fancy world of most sports. Therefore, if developmental programmes use sport as 'universal language' and aim at influencing both males and females alike, special measures need to be taken in order to allow for girls and women to fully benefit. There is no reason why psycho-social, physiological or cognitive

competences - which can be acquired through sport activities - should be reserved for boys and men only. Women and girls should be as well enabled to take up a public or leadership stance, show self-confidence, express themselves loudly and clearly, have ambitions or assert themselves physically.

Recently, there has been a notable paradigm shift moving from 'gender equity in sport' to the concept of 'sport for gender equity'. This shift exceeds mere female inclusion into predefined existing structures. S&D initiatives should strive for gender equity in terms of empowerment and transformation rather than just adding girls and women to a programme and promote female participation (Sancar & Sever 2005).

Being actively involved in a sport programme also opens up new social horizons for women and girls and offers networking opportunities. Of course, such meeting occasions are not causally determined by sport or football, but could also be arranged b, for example, singing in a choir. However, there are particularities linked to sport and especially football which differ from other leisure time activities: Besides the already mentioned historical link with masculinity, there is also a special emphasis on the body and its functions. Another crucial aspect which is bestowed by many sports - and football in particular - is claiming public space and therefore visibility. The ongoing presence of women and girls in an unusual sport setting, can challenge, influence or change general perceptions of active females in the public space and amend unequal social structures. Gender structures and female occupations of leading public positions or jobs are strongly interlinked with the individual self-concept of a girl or woman. If females are not confident enough to actively claim parts of the limited public sphere (governing bodies, jobs, facilities, executive boards, commissions, etc.), no change will be happening. Furthermore, in many cultural contexts women and girls are often 'invisible' individuals with limited rights and restricted access to public space. Sport activities could amplify female movement to a more important radius and increase visibility. Sport is a significant symbol of claimable space in its direct and indirect sense of the word, since it usually needs a considerable amount of safe square meters on a public pitch to be played. To avoid jeopardising girls and women who dare to trespass socio-cultural barriers, adequate types of sport have to be chosen. A gradual introduction of such innovative programmes is indicated as well. Simultaneously, community awareness has to be raised, if female physical activities strive for a sustainable and safe implementation.

These links between sport and gender are being increasingly recognised as a resource in the context of development cooperation.

A major step of acknowledgement occurred in 2005 when the UN General Assembly proclaimed the 'International Year of Sport and Physical Education'. 2005 highlighted the significant role that sport can play in achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Especially in respect of the third MDG which claims the promotion of "gender equality" and the empowerment of women, sport is expected to foster major advancements.[1] However, apart from identification of the need to eliminate stereotyping, there is still little recognition of the gendered nature of sport in most countries. Empowerment can hardly be interpreted more literally in any other area than in and through sport.

Whannel (2002) summarised particularities of sport and gender stereotypes: "Sport is without question a significant element in the construction of gendered identities. (…). Men are expected to be interested in sport, women are not. While of course there are exceptions to

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[1] See http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals (accessed 12-03-2010).

this rule, women who are keen on sport are seen as somewhat aberrant, just as men who dislike sport are. Sport confers and confirms masculinity; an interest in sport problematises femininity" (p. 10). This historical association between masculinity and sport leads to the predominance of male 'sporting role models' who are often celebrated as brave, powerful and patriotic heroes. Whereas female athletes attract more and more attention, interest and media coverage in the 'modern' or 'Western' world, there is still a lack of African female role models in sport. Therefore, role models represent a crucial issue when it comes down to gender equity in the African developmental context.

2   Problem Statement and Aim

There is an almost inflationary use of the notion 'role models' in the field of 'Sport and Development' (S&D). It seems like a magical term which is taken for granted to be beneficial and enables children and youth to become morally responsible citizens. Many newspapers, governmental agencies, sport federations, NGOs and politicians are repeatedly praising and advertising the ethical value of 'role models' in sport. But often there is a lack of differentiation regarding this term and its concept. Invoking role models and especially 'sporting role models' (SRM) is generally based upon the assumption that they are or need to be positive and therefore worth of emulation.

The influence of SRM with regard to moral development and prosocial behaviour is explicitly supported by many governmental agencies such as the Federal Office of Sport in Switzerland or in the United Kingdom. 'UK Sport' defines rights and responsibilities of athletes as follows: "Athletes can be influential role models for young people competing in sport. The behaviour of high performance athletes can have a significant impact on young people as they admire and aspire to emulate their sporting heroes, especially their actions and their attitudes. High profile athletes should remember that they are regularly in the media and their actions can and do impact on many people".[2]

Besides governmental activism, the prestigious Laureus Sport for Good Foundation[3] dedicated its Magazine 2009 to 'The Importance of Role Models'. Boris Becker, vice-chairperson and ex-tennis-champion, defined his conviction: "I have visited projects where teenagers from the community are trained to be the coaches and mentors of younger boys and girls, who in due course will themselves become the role models for the next generation. This simple idea can bind a community together and deliver tremendous benefits for individuals" (Becker 2009, p. 2). Within the world of the United Nations, UNICEF expresses its perspective on the SRM potential: "Sport gives us heroes to admire and positive role models who inspire young people to overcome the odds and aim high for success". To endorse this standpoint, UNICEF appoints many former Olympians and other sports personalities such as David Beckham, Marcel Desailly or Roger Federer as "Goodwill Ambassadors". UNICEF mainly takes advantage of these influential champions "to raise funds and advocate for the rights of children".[4]

Another organisation explicitly dedicated to "bring sport and play to the lives of children affected by war, poverty, disease and illness" is Right to Play (RTP) founded by the former

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[2]See http://www.uksport.gov.uk/pages/rights_and_responsibilities (accessed 03-11-2009).
[3]Laureus promotes the use of sport as a tool for social change and celebrates sporting excellence. For more information see www.laureus.com (accessed 24-09-2011).
[4]See http://www.unicef.org/sports/index_40839.html (accessed 03-01-2010).

Norwegian Olympic star Johann Koss. This athlete-driven international humanitarian organisation assumes that "star athletes are the heroes of children as well as entire nations". Furthermore, RTP is convinced that owing to athletes' special status in society, they have "a unique access to decision makers". RTP believes that time and energy offered by athletes forms a win-win situation, since it does allow admired champions as well "to give back".[5]

These few examples of how SRMs in the development setting are perceived, created, appointed, promoted, constructed and supported exemplify the existing arbitrariness, opportunism, 'wishful thinking' and sometimes naivety linked to this complex topic. Different roles and levels of interaction between recipients and potential models are intermingled, neglected or simply ignored. Furthermore, there is a lack of critical reflection or sound evaluations on the use of SRM in development settings. Most results of evaluated programmes remain at an output level, since outcome and especially long-term impact measurement are more complicated, expensive and time-consuming.

This study proposes to question mere assumptions and critically scrutinise the use of SRMs in a Sub-Sahara African developmental context with a special focus on gender implications. Thereby, a conceptual differentiation is introduced depending on the degree of interaction between a potential role model and a young person. This continuum allows for a classification of any model (parent, mentor, coach, celebrity, etc.) and a respective grouping.

For the purpose of this research, the construction and influence of athletic celebrities is mainly covered through literature research. The main empirical interest, however, is focussing on local staff and coaches as SRMs directly working with children and youth within the framework of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in Malawi, Zambia and South Africa. The study is going to concentrate on sport, gender issues and empowerment through the use of 'role models' in these three countries considering ethnical, ethical and socio-economic facts.

Ultimately, this research endeavour wants to support NGOs which use sport and play as pedagogical instruments for social change and development by formulating and providing practical recommendations and input. Of course these mainly pedagogical suggestions are not claiming general validity and applicability, but could provide a useful check-list to improve or design programmes and organisational strategies of other organisations working in similar circumstances. The aim of this study is to explore SRMs in three different socio-cultural settings in Africa and to draw a deduction from the results for the sake of an effective and adequate use of these models in S&D contexts. Thereby, special attention is given to the potential of SRMs with respect to empowerment and gender issues.

3   Setting and Target Group

This study's geographical focus is sub-Saharan Africa and concentrates on three countries: Malawi, Zambia and South Africa. Whereas the Zambian and Malawian neighbours possess a range of similarities, South Africa is different in many aspects. One of several indicators consists of the 'Human Development Index' (HDI) ranking: In 2010, South Africa belonged to the 'medium' category, while both Malawi and Zambia were positioned at the lowest level (UNDP 2010).

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[5] See http://www.righttoplay.com/site/PageServer?pagename=athlete_program (accessed 28-12-2009).

The main target group of this study consists of local NGO coaches in Malawi, Zambia and South Africa.[6] For the sake of clarity, the relevant notion of 'coach' needs to be specified for common S&D contexts: Compared to, for example, European or North American settings, most coaches are unemployed and work as 'volunteers'. Only a few of them are well-trained and/or former athletes. The majority of coaches in the S&D context are just extremely enthusiastic and often idealistic personalities who dedicate their time and energy to the community's development and well-being. Many S&D coaches act as confidants and mediating figures for children and youth between school and home. This study is going to explore to what extent these coaches are perceived as 'role models' in their communities. Besides coaches, secondary target groups consist of participating children/youth, NGO staff/management, and peripheral informants such as teachers, headmasters, etc.

3.1 Groundwork and Start-up

Preliminary work for this study was facilitated through my position as project manager and researcher at the Swiss Academy for Development (SAD)[7]. Within the framework of this employment, I was mandated in April 2008 to implement the 14-month 'Football for Hope M&E Pilot Project' for SAD.

The 'Football for Hope Movement' (FfHM) has been established as a key element of the strategic alliance between FIFA[8] and streetfootballworld[9] to increase the impact of football as a tool for social development, peace and social change. The objective of the FfHM is to bring together, support, and strengthen sustainable human and social development through football. In order to guarantee quality and to measure the impact of the various programmes supported by the FfHM, SAD and Aqumen[10] were jointly assigned to develop a monitoring and evaluation (M&E) system for the FfHM. This was the main objective of the 14-month pilot phase. More precisely, the pilot project involved the design of measurement tools adapted to programme-specific issues and capacity-building among FfHM organisations. For this purpose, the requested M&E system was developed in close cooperation with five organisations located in Colombia, Malawi, Zambia, South Africa and England. Furthermore, two representatives from each local organisation attended two M&E workshops in Cape Town and Lusaka during this pilot phase. Additionally, a scientific committee consisting of international experts provided assistance throughout the project.

3.2 Selection Process

Through various field visits in the course of above mentioned 'M&E Pilot Project', personal contacts with staff and coaches of all implementing organisations were established and intensified. Especially the three African organisations 'Play Soccer' (Malawi), 'Grassroot Soccer' (South Africa) and the 'Zambian Street Football Network' (Zambia) raised my awareness of similarities and differences in respect of organisational structure, resources, origins, philosophy, activities and programmes. All of them used football as a tool which was

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[6] In this study, the term 'staff' involves both coaches and NGO management. In many cases, programme managers are as well coaches (or used to be coaches themselves).
[7] See http://www.sad.ch (accessed 13-12-2010).
[8] See http://de.fifa.com/aboutfifa/worldwideprograms/footballforhope/index.html (accessed 12-04-2011).
[9] See http://www.streetfootballworld.org (accessed 26-02-2011).
[10] See http://www.thinkaqumen.com (accessed 06-03-2011).

clearly reflected in the names of these NGOs. All of them considered coaches as potential role models for children and young people, but based on very different premises: Whereas the organisation in Malawi, for example, was closely linked to school structures (many coaches were teachers), the NGO in South Africa was also working with schools, but with external staff and short-term interventions. The Zambian network was cooperating with schools as well, but in a more distant manner. There was as well a considerable difference in the recruitment of coaches: While 'Grassroot Soccer' in Port Elizabeth (South Africa) had a majority of female coaches who were furthermore excellent football players, the two NGOs in Malawi and Zambia rather struggled to recruit women at all. These three S&D organisations located in sub-Saharan Africa were chosen as case studies to explore and compare peculiarities and resemblances with regard to the use of SRM for the benefit of young participants and staff.

4   Research Design, Methods and Analysis

A basic preliminary approach of this study was that context, people addressed by investigation, and the research question determine methodological decisions, not the opposite. Thus, considering the African 'oral tradition' and elevated illiteracy in most settings, appropriate methodical approaches were chosen. On the one hand, this study pursues a participatory strategy being user-defined and focussing on the 'voices' from the field. On the other hand, specified study design, target and comparison groups as well as frames of reference form a reliable set-up (Chap. VIII).

4.1 Case Study Design (CSD)

In this study the individual cases in Malawi, Zambia and South Africa were considered to be more valuable than a consistent comparable approach. Therefore, the 'Case Study Design' (CSD) was chosen to give full credit to the work of the three NGOs and the particularities of their distinctive structures and settings. Thereby, country-specific 'comparison groups' were appropriately identified for each context. A multiple case design describes lifelike settings in a detailed and holistic way at the expense of an abstraction which would facilitate comparison and generalisation (Lincoln & Guba 1985). However, aiming at the formulation of practical suggestions to be used in the field necessitates a certain generalisation. Therefore, particular context sensitivity is requested regarding possible parameters of transferability (Patton 2002; Flick 2009). The CSD really considers local particularities, thus assessing phenomena which "not only take their meaning from but actually depend for their existence on their contexts" (Lincoln & Guba 1985, p. 360).

Even though Malawi, Zambia and South Africa are all situated in sub-Saharan Africa, there are considerable differences in their socio-cultural, ethnic, climatic, political and economic realities. Furthermore, this study does not claim to be representative for these countries as a whole, but is limiting its scope to very specific areas and communities in the surroundings of Blantyre (Malawi), Lusaka (Zambia) and Port Elizabeth (South Africa). The findings of this study do not even claim validity for neighbouring communities or organisations which have again other parameters to be considered such as, for instance, demographic factors. However, the chosen case studies have certainly a relevant degree of representativeness to reflect the difficult socio-economic situation of major population groups of these countries. A

direct comparative approach within a multi-country study would "ensure a high degree of consistency and synchronicity of the data, but may lose the idiosyncratic perspectives of the individual countries" (Keegan 2009, p. 250). Some authors do not favour one approach over the other, but draw attention to advantages and disadvantages of both: "There is always a balance to be struck between comparable data that allow commonalities to be seen and data that are sufficiently culturally sensitive to provide an understanding of what makes each country distinctive and singular" (Imms & Ereaut 2002, p. 109).

4.2 Multi-method Approach

Following Kay's (2009) statement, this study intends to capture, reproduce and analyse "authentic local voices" (p. 1189). Owing to the already mentioned pilot phase with a strong focus on M&E[11], a selection of different data collection methods was initially introduced to the NGOs (workshops) and tested with literate and illiterate staff, youth, and children. Working and conducting research in development contexts, request pragmatism and flexibility. Therefore, most data were collected through the 'channels' which worked best for the locals to get their messages across. Due to relatively high levels of illiteracy, oral communication was preferred. However, questionnaires were employed to ensure a certain consistency between the three sites. This study is qualitative and interpretative in design, but adopts a mixed methods approach with regard to data collection and a qualitative stance in respect of analysis using 'methodological triangulation'. Following the continuum developed by Teddlie & Tashakkori (2009) this study is "primarily a qualitative research with some quantitative components" (p. 28). The pragmatic approach of this study is mainly driven by contextual circumstances (climate, electricity, illiteracy, etc.) and other necessities of being "responsive to real-world conditions" (Patton 2002, p. 253), but always within a scientifically sound framework ensuring 'trustworthiness' (Lincoln & Guba 1985; Cousin 2010) and therefore research quality (Chap. VII).

4.3 Triangulation and Design Model

The concept of triangulation is understood and applied as integration model (Mayring 2007; Flick 2009) of quantitative and qualitative data collection and therefore suitable for this multi-method approach study.

Following the differentiation formulated by Denzin (1989) and based on the research question, this study conducts a methodological triangulation[12]. This triangulation type allows for the systematic combination of different data collection methods such as questionnaires, self-recording video, focus group discussions, and key informant interviews which were all used for this study. Flick (2009) refers to this concept as "between-method triangulation" (p. 444). Thereby, results of one method are evaluated and then confirmed or rejected by the findings of the following method, and so on. In accordance with this proceeding, Stake (2010) is convinced that "we triangulate to increase the confidence that we will have in our evidence" (p. 126). Multiple perspectives will never lead to complete and objective understanding of an issue or certain circumstances, but every added piece of a puzzle

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[11] 'Football for Hope M&E Pilot Project'.
[12] Denzin (1989) defines three other types of triangulation besides the methodological triangulation: data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation (see Mayring 2007; Flick 2009).

contributes to the full picture. Considering different characteristics of various tools and their specific patterns (Flick 2009), results gained by every of the four applied methods were collected and analysed as isolated processes in a first step. A holistic comparative analysis was then conducted as a second step to pave the way for a qualified interpretation (Mayring 2002). Even though all methods were basically considered equally important, only questionnaires were filled in by all coaches and children/youth across all three sites and thus served as consistent benchmark.

This study's design model (see Chap. VIII) comprises four pillars: I) three countries, II) five sections referring to the frame of reference and the research question, III) four target subgroups, and IV) four methods. The three African cases (Pillar I) serve as starting point, but are systematically combined with the other pillars. Results of this study (Chap. IX) are presented according to this reasoning.

5   State of Resources

Due to the interdisciplinary character and complexity of the topic, this study's comprehensive literature review touched on various disciplines within human and social sciences such as sport science, pedagogy, psychology, philosophy, anthropology and sociology. Scholarly literature comprised journal articles, monographs and anthologies mainly originating from the USA, South Africa, Australia, the United Kingdom, Canada, Germany and Switzerland. Furthermore press releases and schoolbooks from Zambia, Malawi and South Africa were considered, besides many websites and manuals. For the Zambian context, a few typewritten dissertations which were mainly focussing on gender and education were screened in the library of the 'University of Zambia' in Lusaka.[13] Academic literature on role modelling providing scientifically sound evidence on effectiveness in changing behaviour was scarce and seemed to be an almost exclusive research domain for psychologists.

While numbers of publications with regard to 'gender and development' as well as 'gender and sport' were steadily increasing in the last four decades, the nexus 'sport and development' has been under serious scientific scrutiny only since the beginning of the 21st century. Systematic long-term studies are therefore still missing in this field. The combination of 'football and gender' with an explicit emphasis on sub-Saharan Africa has only been covered punctually. However, most of these rare studies were conducted in Africa, but not by African researchers.

Even though most sources and theoretical constructs used for this research have European, Australian or North American roots, the sub-Saharan African research context has been considered as much as possible. But the lack of indigenous research in the relatively young field of 'sport, development and gender' only led to a modest number of available studies. Compared to Malawi and Zambia, South Africa offers a wide and growing range of valuable academic work in this regard. Despite these efforts, Saavedra (2004) states in her article on female football in Senegal, Nigeria and South Africa: "The first thing evident about women's football in Africa is its absence in research and documentary materials. Not many scholarly pieces have been written on women's sport in Africa, and much of what has been done is not

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[13] Haambokoma C. (2000). Factors discouraging Zambian females from training as secondary school science teachers, Lusaka/Zambia: School of Education.
Simwapenga-Hamusonde, B. (2003). Teenage mothers and their re-admission into schools: The case of secondary schools in urban Lusaka from 1997-1999. Dissertation at the University of Lusaka/Zambia.

in wide circulation" (p. 226). The same lack of African sources was emphasised by Pelak (2005a) who conducted research on female netball in post-Apartheid South Africa: "The sociological literature on women's experiences within sport is extremely Euro-American centric. We know very little about African women's sporting experiences. Given the growing popularity of competitive sports among Third World women globally, scholarly attention is warranted" (p. 74).

Precisely because of the scarcity of Zambian or Malawian sources in particular, 'Northern' or 'Western' concepts for African settings have to be applied with caution. Tess Kay, a British researcher working in the African S&D context, coined it as follows: "To uncritically 'export' these approaches is to perpetuate the process of colonization through research (…)" (Kay 2009, p. 1190). The awareness of these circumstances does not only involve literature review, but concerns the entire research methodology and its approaches: "Basing research inquiry on an implicit model of western scientific rationality carries the danger of dismissing – and perhaps just missing – authentic local voices" (Kay 2009, p. 1189). In order not to impose an ethnocentric and injudicious top-down strategy, this study pursued an explicit participatory and transparent approach involving many stakeholders. Focal points of research were locally discussed and different data collection methods tested.[14]

This study tried to screen and bundle existing interdisciplinary sources on role modelling and role models related to sport, gender and development. Based on this frame of reference, the African S&D context was explored to confirm, reject, or amend potentially derived assumptions. The generic potential of SRMs with low interaction degrees (e.g. celebrities) was mainly scrutinised through reviewing substantive literature. Based as well on a theoretical framework, empirical research was then conducted to focus on SRMs with medium (or high) interaction degrees (e.g. coaches) in defined African settings.

6   Research Question

Qualitative research and its mainly inductive approach often de-emphasise rigorous theory-driven proceedings which are archetypically for quantitative research (Frankel & Devers 2000). However, this study is following Mayring's (2010) argumentation that a sound interpretation must be theory-based which implies as well a theory-funded formulation of the research question. Thereby, a solid frame of reference is understood as system of generic or specific explanations with respect to the topic under study, thus representing relevant knowledge gained by others. Exploring this existing 'body of knowledge' provides a basis to formulate and eventually answer a specific research question.

First of all, the groundwork must to be laid on SRMs in Africa. There are, on the one hand, famous European top athletes who visit children in Africa to campaign for human rights, education, health care, etc. Can a Zambian girl really identify with a male Alpine skiing champion from Switzerland? On the other hand, African S&D volunteer coaches run weekly training sessions and talk about HIV and AIDS prevention. Is a boy in Malawi more likely to talk about his personal problems with a male or a female coach? Both examples feature SRMs in Africa, but do both of them exert influence on children and youth? What kind of influence and to what extent? And how can these two types be assessed and possibly categorised? Who decides on adequate role models? What are the implications of issues like

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[14] This preliminary testing was conducted within the framework of the initially described 'Football for Hope M&E Pilot Project'.

gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, education or socio-economic background? What role model characteristics are needed for children and youth – especially in the sub-Saharan African development setting - to identify with? These questions are going to be approximated by the generic frame of reference focussing on role models and role modelling (Chap. IV).

As a next step, the influence of role models and potential peculiarities are narrowed-down to the fancy world of sport: Are there differences between males and females? Are star athletes or coaches obliged to display an outstanding moral and prosocial behaviour? Is this an intrinsic attribute of a 'real' SRM? What role do media play? This sequence of sub-questions is mainly dealt with in the specific frame of reference on SRMs and heroism (Chap. V).

Following an interactionist socio-ecological approach (Bronfenbrenner 1979), sub-questions leading up to the research question of this study can be arranged in three levels corresponding to micro-, meso-, (exo-) and macrosystems.

Starting on the individual level (micro), who are coaches, children and youth in Malawi, Zambia and South Africa considering as their SRM? Do children in sub-Saharan Africa really pick famous sport stars from Europe or North America? Are coaches considering themselves as role models for children and other staff members? Do children perceive their coaches as role models? What issues are raised by girls/boys working with female/male coaches? Is it possible to teach and work with children without being a role model?

At a community and institutional level (meso and exo), there are questions to be asked with respect to role model attributes and who is deciding on them in a given society. How do athletes or local coaches deliver important messages (HIV and AIDS, human rights, etc.)? Are there aspects preventing motivated athletes or coaches from being accepted as role models? What organisational or community structures are necessary for SRMs to have an impact? Are there gender differences regarding acceptance of and respect towards a coach?

Implications of SRMs within a macrosystem – comprising socio-cultural, political and economic ideologies, norms and values - may influence all other ecosystems as well. What is the status and value of sport and (especially football) in a given society? What are male or female beauty ideals in a specific context? What is the significance of female athletes as SRMs? What are typical gender norms and stereotypes in defined communities (access to education, public space, etc.)?

These sub-questions subsumed under the three ecosystems pave the way for this study's research question: In what ways do 'sporting role models' have the potential to promote empowerment under special consideration of gender issues?

This research question is deduced from the sixth chapter on pedagogical application of empowerment and SRMs. Furthermore it is visualised in a 'Heuristic Framework' which lays the foundation for data structure and analysis. It is not the aim of this framework to answer the research question, but to depict it. In this study, heuristic is used to describe potential connections and delimitations between Malawi, Zambia, and South Africa.

7 Structure

This study is structured in ten main chapters. The first chapter introduces and situates the problem and defines the major research parameters. The second chapter depicts the geographical and socio-cultural framework in which this study is situated. The third chapter

sets the contextual stage by presenting the nexus of gender, sport and development and how these fields relate to one another. The subsequent three chapters IV, V, and VI constitute the theoretical frame of reference ranging from the general to the specific: The fourth chapter deals with theoretical frameworks of role modelling and emphasises the various definitions of mentors, role models and heroes. The fifth chapter further elaborates this generic frame of reference adding the 'sport component'. Thereby, SRMs and the (de-)construction thereof are considered in relation to media, ethics, and gender issues. The sixth chapter involves a pedagogical application of empowerment and 'sporting role models' resulting in the summarising 'Heuristic Framework' of this study. Then, chapter seven presents this study's methodological and epistemological framework. The eighth chapter describes the research design, sampling methods and procedural aspects. Study results and main empirical findings are presented country by country in the ninth chapter. The final tenth chapter provides generic as well as country-specific conclusions and formulates practical recommendations. Additionally, the study is critically reflected and evaluated in this last chapter.

II   GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL FRAMEWORK

The geographical focus of this study lies in the sub-Saharan African context which is commonly defined as "all countries of Africa except the northern African countries of Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, and Western Sahara" (PRB 2010, p. 18).

The following three sub-chapters will present Malawi, Zambia and South Africa focussing on selected geographical, social, demographic, cultural, economic and educational facts and figures. Whereas the neighbouring countries Zambia and Malawi have quite a few similarities, South Africa is different in many respects. While South Africa is ranked "Medium" (position 110) on the Human Development Index (HDI) 2010, both Malawi (position 153) and Zambia (position 150) are to be found in the lowest category (UNDP 2010). Annex A offers a summarising overview comparing the three countries.

1   Portrayal of Malawi

The small Republic of Malawi is located along the shore of Lake Malawi on the South Eastern side of Africa bordered by Mozambique, Zambia and Tanzania. Lilongwe is the capital and the two official languages are Chichewa and English. Most Malawians (80%) are Christians, but the percentage of Muslims (12%) is one of the highest in Southern Africa. Globally, Malawi is among the least developed and most densely populated countries. The land area of Malawi is about six times smaller than e.g. Zambia. Despite this considerable difference, there are more people living in Malawi than in Zambia: the population census 2010 counted 15,4 million Malawian residents (130 persons per square kilometre) compared to 13,3 million Zambians with 18 persons per square kilometre (PRB 2010).

1.1 Economic and Political Agenda

The multiparty democracy Malawi is ranked among "the world's ten poorest nations" by the 'Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations' (FAO).[15] Economically, Malawi is heavily agriculture-based, with around 85% of the population living in rural areas. More than one third of the 'Gross domestic product' (GDP) and 90% of the export revenues come from agriculture (tobacco, sugar, tea and coffee). In the past, Malawi has been financially dependent on substantial economic aid from the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and supporting individual nations. According to UNICEF, 74% of Malawians live below the international poverty line of USD 1,25 per day.[16] Besides poverty and corruption, the government faces strong challenges such as spurring exports, improving educational and health facilities, tackling environmental issues of deforestation, droughts, heavy rains and erosion. Other focal points on the political agenda are the battle against malaria, tuberculosis, alcoholism, drug abuse, traffic accidents and the management of the devastating HIV and AIDS pandemic (Tembo 2002; Garbus 2003).

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[15] See http://www.fao.org/isfp/country-information/malawi/en (accessed 14-02-2011).
[16] See http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/malawi_statistics.html (accessed 20-04-2011).

1.2 HIV/AIDS and Children's Rights

The 'National AIDS Commission' estimates that 14% of Malawians aged 15-49 are HIV infected (DRL 2008). As in most African countries, the percentage of women with HIV and AIDS (13,5%) exceeded the male infection rate of 10,2% in 2009 (PRB 2010). The widespread myth that sexual intercourse with virgins can cleanse an individual of transmitted diseases (UNAIDS & WHO 2002) contributes to the exploitation of minors, thus fostering a higher HIV infection among children (DRL 2008). According to UNAIDS (2004), "girls are especially vulnerable to violence, or to being trafficked or coerced into sex work, since their youth and perceived virginity are associated with freedom from disease" (p. 126). Various measures were taken by the Malawian 'Ministry of Women and Child Development' to support victims, but so far no specified age has been defined for protecting minors from sexual abuse, child prostitution, or child pornography (Munthali et al. 2004).

Adolescent fertility is considerable in Malawi: 34% of women have their first pregnancy at the age of 18 (PRB 2010). Around 1,8 million children are living without parents, of whom 45% were orphaned by HIV or AIDS-related deaths (UNFPA 2004). Most Malawian orphans are being cared for by their extended families. However, due to this increased number of orphans compounded by an accelerated adult mortality and deteriorating economic situation, these family structures face vital difficulties in taking care of orphans. Consequently, in recent years more and more street children were registered in Malawi (DRL 2010a). Even though employment under the age of 14 years is prohibited by the Malawian constitution, a study on child labour released in 2004 stated that 80% of children were performing income-generating activities either within or outside their homes (DRL 2010a). The extent of human trafficking is undocumented, but the Malawian government makes efforts to combat trafficking and prosecute child trafficking for agricultural labour exploitation (U.S. Department of State 2004).

1.3 Education and Gender Issues

Malawi was "a forerunner in abolishing fees" and one of the first African countries to implement free education in 1994 (UNDP 2010, p. 39). Consequently, school enrolment rose from 58% in 1992 to 83% in 2010. Youth literacy has also increased, moving from 68% in 2000 to 84% in 2010 (Ministry of Development Planning and Cooperation 2010). Parents were encouraged by the government to send their children to school, but many families still need all earning possibilities for survival (Kadzamira & Rose 2003). This free access, however, has also led to major infrastructural shortages such as dilapidated buildings and insufficient toilets, as well as a lack of textbooks, untrained teachers and overcrowded classrooms, thus causing a considerable decline in quality (DRL 2008). With regard to school drop-outs, the rate for girls is considerably higher than that of boys primarily due to socio-economic problems, early marriage or pregnancy. UNFPA (2004) reports that "out-of-school youth appear to be more vulnerable to adverse outcomes from sex such as contracting HIV and yet they are the ones that are difficult to organise and target" (p. 14). According to UNICEF (2004), many girls are entering sexual relationships with teachers for money. Moreover many female drop-outs are subjected to gender-based violence exercised by male teachers, pupils and community members (Leach et al. 2002; Swan 2007). The Human Development Report 2010 ranked Malawi 153 out of 169 rated countries on this index. Only 10% of females (aged 25 and older) had at least a secondary school education, while the corresponding male percentage was 20% (UNDP 2010, p. 159). The Global Gender Gap

Report (Hausmann et al. 2006) measures gender inequality by considering the average of four indicators: economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment. On the overall results of these indices, Malawi ranked 81 out of 115 rated countries (Hausmann et al. 2006, p. 9). The Human Development Report 2010 enumerates Malawi explicitly among "countries with high gender inequality" beside Benin, Saudi Arabia and Sierra Leone (UNDP 2010, p. 93).

The Malawian 2008 Population and Housing Census (NSO 2008a) revealed that gender inequalities still prevail in many fields. The main areas of female disadvantage were in "access to higher education, literacy, ownership of housing and household assets, as well as in household basics namely safe drinking water, cooking and lighting fuel. Also, women married earlier than their male counterparts, had a high fertility rate and predominated among heads of child headed households" (NSO 2008b, p. iii). There were clear differences between the urban and rural population as well as regional imbalances in respect of gender disparities: Inequalities between men and women were less pronounced among urban residents and in the Northern region. Gender disparities prevail among rural inhabitants and are most striking in Southern Malawi (NSO 2008b).

2   Portrayal of Zambia

Zambia, formerly known as Northern Rhodesia, is a landlocked country in Southern Africa which gained independence from the United Kingdom in 1964. The Republic of Zambia is predominantly Christian (85%) and is surrounded by Congo, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Tanzania, Namibia, and Angola (Van Buren 1994). The official language is English, which is used for business and school instruction. However, the most frequently spoken languages, especially in the capital city of Lusaka, are Nyanja and Bemba. Up to 70 other different languages exist in Zambia besides various local dialects. The largest ethnic group in Zambia are the 'Bemba' (18%) who mainly reside in the Northern, Eastern and Copperbelt Provinces followed by the Tonga (10%) ethnic group of Southern Province. The 'Nyanja' are strongly represented in the Eastern and Lusaka Province (Byrne 1994).

Zambia is a representative democracy headed by a president who also acts as prime minister. The political situation is remarkably stable despite the widespread poverty. The one-party rule installed after independence lasted until 1991 when a multi-party democracy based on British and US systems was established (Schultheiss 1994).

2.1 Economy, Urbanisation and Environment

Colonial history has shaped Zambia's economic and social development considerably. The main economic focus was driven by the copper-mining industry and agricultural large-scale projects, at the expense of decentralised rural agricultural structures. This led primarily to male migration into cities and the Copperbelt region to seek employment in the copper-mining industry. Since women were forbidden to enter urban areas during colonial times, they ruralised and took care of the family and farming (Glazer 1997).

Owing to its natural resources, Zambia was economically prospering until the 1970s when prices for raw material decreased. Since food production was neglected, the country got into debt attempting to feed the rapidly growing population. Once a middle-income country,

Zambia began to slide into poverty. As a consequence many governmental services were privatised and civil society initiated self-help organisations (Schultheiss 2004).

Copper mining is still the crucial industry for Zambian economic prospects. This undiversified focus bears the risk of being unable to cope with an international market crisis. As a preventive measure, Zambia strives for economic diversification to reduce this copper dependency. Such initiatives concentrate on other rich resources in Zambia such as tourism, gemstone mining, electricity (hydro-power), tobacco, flowers, cotton, maize and sugar. As in many sub-Sahara African countries, the main producers of food crops are women, while male agriculture tends to focus on commercial farming. Furthermore, FAO, IFAD & ILO (2010) observe that "men may move into activities that are considered female if these have become more productive or profitable (e.g. Gambia, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia)" (p. 13).

Zambia holds one of the highest urbanisation rates in Southern Africa. The percentage of the urban population living in slums in 2005 amounted to 57% (PRB 2010). More than one third of the population resides in urban centres such as Lusaka and Copperbelt, while many regions in Western and north-eastern Zambia remain scarcely populated and residents practise subsistence farming. Especially in these rural provinces malnutrition and high unemployment rates are menacing issues. The total employment to population ratio (age 15 plus) was calculated as 61% in 2008 (UNDP 2010, p. 190). Almost half of the population (46%) was undernourished in 2002-2004 (PRB 2010). According to UNICEF, about 86% of Zambians are estimated to live below the recognised national poverty line.[17]

Compared to Malawi (rank 153), Zambia holds position 150 on the HDI 2010. Sub-Saharan Africa "is home to the only three countries whose HDI is lower today than in 1970: the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Zambia experienced declines in life expectancy, gross balance and income - for many reasons. The collapse of copper prices in 1980 sparked a protracted depression that shrank the economy by a third. Incomes have yet to return to previous levels. It also suffered from waves of refugees fleeing civil wars in neighbouring Angola and Mozambique and from the HIV epidemic, which gave the country the fifth highest HIV prevalence in the world" (UNDP 2010, p. 30).

Social indicators continue to decline, particularly in measurements of life expectancy at birth as well as maternal and infant mortality. In a survey based on UN data from 2001 which calculates the probability at birth of not reaching 40 years of age, Zambia ranked first with 53,6% on a worldwide level.[18]

2.2 Health (HIV/AIDS) and Gender Issues

As in many Sub-Sahara African countries, unsound waste management and littering in Zambia cause health problems and environmental damage. Market areas, in particular, are highly affected in urban and peri-urban areas. On a larger scale, the mining industry causes considerable air and water pollution (Osei-Hwedie 1996).

Heavy rainfall during rainy seasons also causes serious sanitation problems. Flooding increases outbreaks of diarrhoeal diseases such as cholera and dysentery (UNICEF & WHO 2008). Some experts even argue that environmental sanitation issues have "an impact on each of the MDGs" (Harvey 2008, p. 78).

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[17] UNICEF, from http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/zambia_statistics.html (accessed 13-08-2011).
[18] See http://www.nationmaster.com/graph/hea_pro_of_not_rea_40-health-probability-not-reaching-40 (accessed 26-04-2011).

According to UNAIDS, Zambia is one of the world's most affected countries with regard to HIV and AIDS. In the period 2007-2009 an estimated 21,8% of female and 14,4% of male population (aged 15-49) were HIV-positive in Zambia (UNAIDS 2010). This high prevalence rate contributes to the statistic that almost half of the Zambian population is younger than 15 years (CSO et al. 2009). Insufficient education opportunities for girls (Bah 2005), under and unemployment, prostitution and rituals are some reasons cited for the high female infection rate. Such a traditional Zambian practice is the "ritual cleansing of widows and widowers" (Byrne 1994, p. 35). According to this custom, the family of a dead person has to prepare the bereaved spouse for a new wedding. For this purpose, a family member has to sexually interact with the widow or widower (Byrne 1994). Especially in locations with high HIV prevalence, this ritual bears the risk of spreading the disease (Taylor 2006). This traditional practice was also reported in Malawi: "In a few isolated areas, widows were sometimes forced to have sex with in-laws as part of a culturally mandated 'sexual cleansing' ritual following the death of the husband" (DRL 2010a, p. 15).

In contrast to other countries, not only the most underprivileged social groups are affected by HIV in Zambia. The disease also spreads rapidly among wealthier and better educated classes of population. Furthermore, infection rates are especially high in Lusaka and the urban areas of Central Province (Kandala et al. 2008).

Children, especially girls, are heavily affected by the high HIV rate. Often they have to quit school to take care of sick family members or to earn money. Similar to the situation in Malawi, most Zambian orphans are being cared for by their often overstrained extended families. Orphans are at risk, because they "may be abducted and enrolled as child soldiers or driven to hard labour, sex work, or life on the streets" (UNAIDS 2004, p. 63). Street children often face the vicious circle of poverty, violence, crime, drugs, and prostitution.

The Global Gender Gap Report 2006 ranked Zambia overall behind Malawi (81) on position 85 out of 115 rated countries. The most obvious gender disparities have been identified in Zambia in respect of educational attainment and health issues. However, focussing specifically on political empowerment, Zambia (position 43) was clearly ahead of Malawi (position 68) in this ranking (Hausmann et al. 2006). Lower educational attainment inhibits women from entering the formal employment sector. In order to gain employment, there is considerable male migration to urban sites. This labour migration leaves many female headed households behind which are often amongst the poorest (Touwen 1990).

3   Portrayal of South Africa

The Republic of South Africa (RSA) has three neighbours in the North (Namibia, Botswana, and Zimbabwe) and shares its North-eastern boarder with Mozambique. The two countries Lesotho und Swaziland form enclaves within South Africa. Otherwise, this large country (1,2 million square kilometre) with more than 50 million inhabitants (PRB 2010) is surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean and the Indian Ocean. South Africa comprises nine provinces[19], and eleven languages (including English, Afrikaans, Xhosa, and Zulu) are officially recognised (DOC 2010; SAHRC & UNICEF 2011a). Pretoria (re-named Tshwane in 2006) is the

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[19] The nine South African provinces are: Limpopo, North-Western, Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Free State, KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape, Western Cape, and Northern Cape.

executive capital while the parliament is based in Cape Town. However, the largest city and economic hub of South Africa is Johannesburg (Kriel 2009).

3.1 Political and Economic Situation

In 1948 British rule ended and a White minority government came to power and enforced a cruel race separation policy called apartheid. Numerous bloody years of struggles and international isolation were necessary to finally dispel apartheid in 1994 and establish a constitutional multiparty democracy. Nelson Mandela's party, the ANC (African National Congress), won four elections in a row celebrating its last victory in 2009 (Apartheid Museum 2004). The four ethnic group classifications African, Coloured, Asian, and White which were used during the apartheid era are still used to describe the population of the RSA and its diversity (Hallman et al. 2004).

South Africa has the continent's most important economy mainly exporting gold, diamonds, minerals, cars, metals and machinery. Other key economic sectors are energy, tourism, and agriculture (DME 2003). Compared to Malawi and Zambia, economic indicators of South Africa look much better. Although the RSA is a middle income country, there is huge inequality with regard to distribution of wealth. 20% of the richest households control about two thirds of all income (May et al. 1998). Despite governmental efforts, these economic disparities between population groups are expected to persist for many years. Poverty, crime and diseases are widespread throughout the country and put the suggested optimism of economic growth and newly gained international involvement into perspective.

Between 2000-2008 the percentage of the population living below the income poverty line of 1,25 USD a day was 26% (UNDP 2010, p. 162). Poverty is mainly concentrated among Africans and the rural population. But besides the social group factor, there are also considerable geographical differences concerning this rural African poverty: the three provinces Kwazulu-Natal, Eastern Cape and Northern Province are particularly affected by poverty (Baden et al. 1998). As an average, 20% of children in South Africa live in homes without electricity (SAHRC & UNICEF 2011b). Millions of people still live in townships that were constructed under the apartheid government. In 2005, 29% of South African urban population lived in slums (PRB 2010).

3.2 Unemployment, Education and Criminality

The deep poverty gap in the RSA is combined with high criminality rates and unemployment. A survey in 1999 reported a national unemployment rate of 36%. This figure was further specified to 52% for African women and 60% for young people between the ages of 15 and 24 (Statistics South Africa 2001). The Human Development Report 2010 indicated a 41% total employment to population ratio (age 15 plus) in 2008 (UNDP 2010, p. 190), thus confirming the persistence of this problem. Poverty and high unemployment mainly caused the violent (and xenophobic) incidents in South African townships against migrant workers from other African countries in 2008 (Macconell 2009).

Despite these worrying facts and figures, South Africa remains the economic top performer in sub-Saharan Africa. According to UNDP (2010), the RSA has the lowest "incidence of multidimensional poverty" in the region (p. 8). Moreover, the country made significant

progress in school attendance by doubling "pre-primary gross enrolment ratios since 1999" (UNESCO 2011, p. 33). Nevertheless, the RSA ranked among the 15 countries with the worldwide largest out-of-school population in 2007 entailing serious illiteracy and innumeracy issues (UNESCO 2011, p. 41). A South African survey showed that a numeracy and literacy exam score is a "strong predictor of early labour force outcomes" (Lam et al. 2008, p. 16).

Even though crime rates have decreased in the RSA during the last few years, it still ranks among the "most crime-ridden and crime-concerned societies in the world" (UNODC 2002, p. ii). During 2009/2010 a total of approximately 2,1 million serious crime cases were reported in South Africa. Roughly a third involved contact crimes (such as e.g. assault, murder, robbery or sexual offences) and a fourth was property-related crimes (SAPS 2010).

Reported rates of rape are at the most serious levels in the world, and there is much concern about the increase in violence against women and in particular against children" (UNODC 2002, p. ii). An article on BBC News summarised the seriousness of the situation: "It is a fact that a woman born in South Africa has a greater chance of being raped, than learning how to read" (Dempster 2002). According to the SAPS (2010), there were 55,097 cases of rape and indecent assault during the year (p. 11), but only about 4% of reported incidents led to a conviction (DRL 2010b). A Medical Research Council study on sexual violence found that "only one out of every nine rape survivors reports the attack to the police" (DOC 2010, p. 32).

Sexual offences are the most prevalent crimes against children: 27'417 was the case number reported for 2009-2010. Roughly 29% of these sexual crimes involved children under the age of 10 years. It is a fact that numerous cases, especially involving family members, remain unreported (SAPS 2010).

Another dark figure of sexual crimes in the RSA is related to the so-called 'corrective rape' or 'educational rape', in which (mostly Black) lesbian women are targeted. Thereby, lesbians are raped by men to punish them for their 'immoral behaviour' and to 'cure' them (DOC 2010; DRL 2010b). Even though the South African legal system is very progressive in terms of homosexuality (e.g. recognition of gay marriages since 2006), above mentioned homophobic crimes seem to be silently tolerated by rural, conservative and poorly educated communities (Roberts & Reddy 2008). Furthermore, this South African study revealed that same-sex relations were repeatedly (2003-2007) considered "always wrong" and "un-African" by 83% of respondents. Thereby, Black South Africans have reported higher levels of disapproval of homosexuality than White and Coloured South Africans. This widespread public intolerance of homosexual activity is often linked to the perception that it is a "Western and European import" (Roberts & Reddy 2008). Another reason for raping lesbians is the widely held erroneous belief that homosexual women are never HIV positive, and hence a safe prey (DOC 2010). The already mentioned sexual offences against children are also closely linked to HIV and AIDS: the myth that having sex with a virgin can cure an infected person (Martin 2006) puts many girls and boys at risk of being raped.

3.3 HIV/AIDS and Gender Issues

UNAIDS (2010) estimated that in 2009 in South Africa 5,6 million persons were living with HIV, 390'000 people were newly infected and 314'000 individuals died of AIDS: "South Africa is host to a burgeoning HIV epidemic of catastrophic proportions. The country has the dubious honour of having the most HIV-infected individuals in the world" (Martin 2006, p. 33).

Complexity and dimension of this disease go way beyond regular health issues and have political, economic and social impacts. HIV and AIDS in South Africa is widely conceived as "one of the most serious developmental challenges faced by the country" (Tempelman & Vermeer 2006, p. 35). The epidemic is caused and nurtured by a combination of poverty and social instability, low status of women, illiteracy, high mobility (particularly migrant labour), malnutrition, sexual violence, high levels of sexually transmitted infections, and deficiencies in good governance practices (Martin 2006; UNAIDS 2010). About 30% of pregnant women are HIV-infected in South Africa, although there is considerable variation in HIV antenatal prevalence by province. These rates range from a peak of 39% in KwaZulu-Natal to a low of 16% in Western Cape (DOC 2010).

The AIDS epidemic is steadily increasing the number of children who have lost parents. UNAIDS (2010) estimates 1,9 million single or double orphans in the RSA. Here again, there is a considerable gap between provinces: In the Eastern Cape a fourth of all children has lost a parent. This number decreases to 8% in the Western Cape (SAHRC & UNICEF 2011b).

According to UNAIDS (2010) the epidemic has reached its peak since 1990 and HIV prevalence has stabilised, but at an extremely high level. Between 2002 and 2008 HIV prevalence among youth (15-24 years) was generally decreasing in South Africa. Despite this positive trend, numbers of HIV-infected youth still increased in KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga. The overall decelerated process among young people, however, seems to be related to successful prevention programmes (safer sex practices) and broader access to antiretroviral treatment (Shisana et al. 2009). There is also a significant reduction in the transmission of HIV to infants in South Africa, since "almost 90% coverage of treatment to prevent mother-to-child transmission" has been achieved (UNAIDS 2010, p. 10).

Nevertheless, HIV prevalence remains disproportionately high for females in comparison to males (Tempelman et al. 2006). In 2008 one in three women (aged 25-29) were found to be HIV-infected. This worrying proportion has not changed since 2002. "The sustained high levels of HIV infection among young females is one of the most concerning findings of the 2008 survey and needs urgent attention for effective HIV prevention among females in their prime child-bearing age" (Shisana et al. 2009, p. 63).

The Global Gender Gap Report 2006 assigned high marks to South Africa with regard to political empowerment with more than 40% female ministers and more than a third of women in parliament. While these specific achievements awarded South Africa the 8th position (out of 115 rated countries), its performance was "offset by average ranks on educational attainment (42nd) and health and survival (59th) and poor scores on economic participation and opportunity". These various indices placed the RSA on the overall 79th position regarding gender disparities (Hausmann et al. 2006, p. 17). In respect of various facets, South Africa represents a combination of "characteristics of a highly industrialized country with those of a developing country in sub-Saharan Africa" (UNODC 2002, p. 2).

4   Target Groups and Local Setting

The main target groups of this study are local staff and coaches in Malawi, Zambia and South Africa who are working within the framework of NGOs. Before providing more details about these organisations and the reason that they were chosen for this study, the central term of 'coach' and corresponding working conditions need to be specified for S&D contexts.

Sport coaches in a non-professional environment e.g. in Norway, Australia or Canada are usually well-trained, nicely equipped, supervised and specialised in a sport. Most of them are in employment outside sports and hold down a coaching position as a leisure time activity. Such a description rarely fits the situation of a coach in the S&D setting.

Even though most coaches are working for a NGO as 'volunteers', most of them are unemployed and unable to earn a living outside this structure. A few of them are well-instructed and/or used to be athletes themselves, but the majority of coaches in the S&D context are just extremely enthusiastic and often idealistic personalities who put their heart and soul into the future of children and young people of their community. As stated initially, a systematic combination of 'education through sport' and 'education towards sport' would be most desirable from a pedagogical point of view. However, in difficult socio-economic contexts with scarce nutrition, health problems and poor education systems, sport skills transfer is often less relevant than practical and trustful support alongside the pitch. Many coaches are confidants and mediating figures for children and youth between school and home. They are often considered communal 'role models'.

In recent years, many S&D organisations made considerable progress and invested into coaching training which led to other organisational dilemma and moral qualms: Well-trained volunteer coaches were more likely to be hired by other companies and leave the organisation. However the lack of staff training weakens any organisation on the long run. Paid employment, on the other hand, may attract dubious people whose primary interest might be in the money rather than the cause. Some organisations simply do not have sufficient funds to pay staff members and therefore rely on volunteerism. This paradoxical situation in terms of coaching, training and volunteerism is challenging for many S&D organisations and thus needs to be contrasted to 'Western' perceptions.

4.1 Play Soccer (Malawi)

'Play Soccer' (PS) was founded in 2000 with programmes spreading to Ghana, Malawi, Zambia, Senegal, Cameroon and South Africa under the US-based PS international umbrella in recent years. The programme framework is designed for year-round weekly sessions. Each session includes some literacy activities plus three basic educational components: (1) football skills and technical training with an education and sports science approach, (2) health and physical development and (3) social development life skills. These life skills are taught as non-formal education 'learning circle' activities that also take place on the football pitch. They include issues related to health and physical development such as immunisations, clean water and hygiene, nutritional information as well as prevention of HIV and AIDS, malaria and other diseases. Furthermore, PS focusses on topics with regard to psycho-social development such as fair-play, respect, gender equity and peace. Children's Rights and Education form two major pillars of the work provided by PS. This involves an establishment of close and sustainable relationships with schools and in some settings PS even recruits teachers as volunteer coaches. However, commonly local youth and young adults are ordinarily trained to deliver the sessions. The above described curriculum is implemented by volunteer instructors primarily through activity-based games, thus teaching healthy lifestyles and psycho-social skills. Programmes are delivered on safe playing fields

directly after school or on weekends. At the end of each session, every child receives a free, healthy snack and drinking water.[20]

Data for this study have been collected in Blantyre and Mulanje, two different locations in the Southern Region of Malawi where PS is working or planning to work, respectively. Blantyre is Malawi's centre of finance located in the Southern Province and the country's second largest city with an estimated population of 660'000 in 2008.[21] It is sometimes referred to as the commercial capital of Malawi as opposed to the political capital Lilongwe.

According to the 2000 Malawi Demographic and Health Survey (MDHS), Malawian women completed 3,1 median school years, whereas this figure was 5,1 for men (NSO & ORC 2001). These numbers reflect the major gender disparities in literacy and education in Malawi, but this imbalance becomes even more striking between people residing in Northern Region compared to those living in the Central and Southern Regions (Garbus 2003) such as the inhabitants of Blantyre and Mulanje. Additionally, the median years of schooling decrease for both men and women living in rural areas such as Mulanje.

Activities for this study were held in the outskirts of Blantyre (Ndirande) where PS has been running its programmes for five years. Two weekly sessions are held on the compound of Makata Primary School in Ndirande with an average of 1'200 young participants per session.

The rural community Mulanje is the major tea producing region of Malawi and situated about 80km south of Blantyre. PS had not previously delivered programmes at the Chanunkha Primary School in Mulanje. Since children in Mulanje had never been involved in activities led by PS, they were selected as the 'comparison group' contrasting with children in Ndirande. It was planned that PS should start conducting activities at the Chanunkha Primary School in Mulanje shortly after data collection for this research took place.

4.2 Zambian Street Football Network (Zambia)

The 'Zambian Street Football Network' (ZSFN) is a network consisting of three closely cooperating local organisations based in the suburban area of Lusaka, the capital and largest city of Zambia. Furthermore, Lusaka is as well the name of one out of nine Zambian provinces. The city of Lusaka has more than one million inhabitants and is a commercial as well as governmental centre. In terms of population, it is considered one of the fastest growing cities in Africa (CSO et al. 2009).

The 'Zambian Street Football Network' (ZSFN) was launched in 2007. Sharing experiences and working together on joint projects were the major goals of the ZSFN.[22] The network originally consisted of four organisations using the same curriculum in different communities of Lusaka:

- Breakthrough Sports Academy (BSA) mainly operating in Northmead and Garden.
- Bauleni United Sports Academy (BUSA) mainly operating in Bauleni.
- Kalim Sports Council (KSC) mainly operating in Mtendere, Kalingalinga, Avondel, Chainda (and in Kalikiliki since September 2008).
- Grassroot Soccer (GRS)

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[20] See http://www.playsoccer-nonprofit.org (accessed 03-05-2011).
[21] See http://www.citypopulation.de/Malawi.html (accessed 25-01-2011).
[22] See http://www.streetfootballworld.org/news-center/newsfolder/bsa-launches-the-zambia-street-football-network
(accessed 23-07-2011).

BSA was established in 2003 and is a registered non-profit, non-governmental sports academy. Its main objective is to introduce sport to Zambians between 4 and 20 years of age and to encourage inclusiveness, participation, teamwork and sustainable youth structures within the community: "The organisation concerns itself with a broad gamut of social issues, of which its main programmes include, youth leadership development; community sports development; school sponsorship; health education; environmental clean-up; and football league development in refugee communities." [23] BSA was the driving force in the establishment of the ZSFN and took up major coordination tasks for the network.

BUSA is a community driven NGO that was founded in 2002 aiming at an integration of sport into the communal and personal development process. Through its programmes, "BUSA combines sports and life skills training especially for socially and economically underserved and at risk children and youth".[24]

The KSC was established in 2005 when a couple of coaches from Kalingalinga and Mtendere met envisioning youth education through sport activities, thus mainly focussing on HIV and AIDS. The KSC founder was formerly working with BSA. KSC believes in football's capacity "as a mobilising tool to create HIV/AIDS awareness".[25]

In Lusaka, data for this study was collected from BSA, BUSA and KSC in the following four communities: Northmead, Bauleni, Mtendere and Kalikiliki. All three organisations of the ZSFN operate in densely populated and poor townships of Lusaka where most of the employed people work in the nearby industrial area or run small independent shops. Due to unemployment or low incomes, parents or guardians struggle with nourishing their children and paying bills. The environment is in a poor condition with huge unmanaged waste deposits and dysfunctional drainage systems. According to a BSA report, people in these townships "just dump garbage anywhere they feel convenient". Another problem raised in this report was the lack of garbage bins provided and managed by local authorities. Besides poverty, "dirty neighbourhoods and health risks" were the most often mentioned focal problems in these townships. Therefore, the ZSFN decided to integrate environmental issues into their action plans with the aim "to get more boys and girls in our target communities involved in the clean-up and to involve families both in sport and clean-ups".[26]

4.3 Grassroot Soccer (South Africa)

Grassroot Soccer (GRS) is an international AIDS awareness and educational organisation with headquarters based in Cape Town. Founded in 2002 by former professional football players, GRS mainly operates in South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. In addition, through selected implementing partnerships, GRS extended its activities to other countries: Botswana, Ethiopia, Liberia, Malawi, Uganda, Lesotho, Sudan, Namibia, Dominican Republic, Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso (GRS 2007). The mission of GRS is to mobilise the global football community in order to better combat HIV and AIDS in Africa: "Using the power of football in the fight against AIDS, Grassroot Soccer provides African youth with the knowledge, skills and support to live HIV free".[27] Thereto, GRS implements a specific HIV and AIDS life-skills curriculum containing interactive sessions using many football

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[23] See http://bsazambia.yolasite.com (accessed 23-07-2011).
[24] Unpublished BUSA brochure printed and distributed in Bauleni/Lusaka in September 2008.
[25] See http://www.streetfootballworld.org/network/all-nwm/kalim-sports-council?set_language=en (accessed 19-05-2010).
[26] Unpublished BSA report printed and distributed in Northmead/Lusaka in September 2008.
[27] See http://www.grassrootsoccer.org (accessed 12-07-2011).

metaphors: "Key curricular topics include making healthy decisions, avoiding risks, building support networks, reducing stigma and discrimination, increasing knowledge about testing and treatment, addressing gender issues, and assessing values". Since GRS constantly aims at improving its activities-based curriculum, they underwent a restructuring process in 2008/2009. Thus, the GRS training tool has changed since the data collection for this study and is now called SKILLZ[28] curriculum (Colucci 2010). Additionally, GRS wants to empower personalities enabling and motivating them to educate the local youth. For this purpose, GRS "is built upon the principle that kids learn best from people they respect. GRS educators– soccer stars, coaches, teachers, and peers– are role models in their communities".[29]

The data for this study was collected in the city of Port Elizabeth (also called 'Nelson Mandela Bay') which is situated in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. This region is strongly affected by poverty (Baden et al. 1998), and the number of orphans totals to way above the national average (SAHRC & UNICEF 2011b). The research was conducted in the outskirts of Port Elizabeth, namely in the African community of New Brighton, hometown of the 'Lamani School' and the 'David Vuku School'.[30]

Depending on the local context, GRS disseminates its messages in many different ways. In Port Elizabeth the main delivery method during the data collection for this study focussed on school-based programmes. GRS coaches worked directly at local schools leading 16 one-hour interventions. Some schools and teachers allowed these sessions to be conducted during classes. In other settings, GRS was permitted to use the school compound, but without interference with regular courses. Pupils participating in the GRS programme at 'Lamani School' and 'David Vuku School' received a certificate at the end of the intervention period.

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[28] See http://www.grassrootsoccer.org/what-we-do/skillz (accessed 24-07-2011).
[29] See http://www.grassrootsoccer.org/who-we-are/our-team/ (accessed 25-07-2011).
[30] GRS coaches run their programmes in two other communities of Port Elizabeth as well: Zwide and Motherwell.

III   CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

This third chapter sets the contextual stage by presenting the nexus of gender, sport and development and how these fields relate to one another. Furthermore, the importance of the socio-cultural context is emphasised. This background chapter operationalises three conceptual intersections that are foundational to this study: 'Gender and Development', 'Sport and Gender' and 'Sport and Development'.

1   Gender, Sport and Development

Before theoretically exploring implications of ‚sporting role models' (SRMs) with a focus on gender issues and empowerment, the conceptual triad of gender, sport and development requires proper introduction to display its dynamics, complexities and synergies which strongly depend on socio-cultural peculiarities. These variations are not only obvious between continents, but appear as well between two neighbouring countries or – maybe more subtly - at regional and even local levels.

Both terms 'gender' and 'sport' are commonly used in various ways and contexts. Since these two notions represent key issues for this study, preliminary clarifications are needed. Both concepts are going to be applied and elaborated more in-depth in the following frames of reference relating to role modelling and models. Then, light is shed on the third notion 'development' which is extremely relevant for this research and more complex than its appearance.
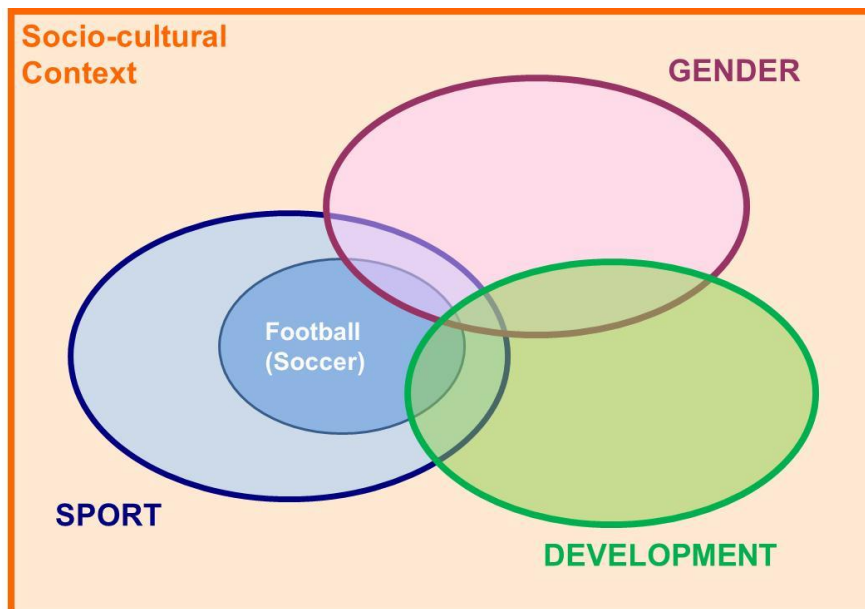
Graph 1: Contextual Background of Gender, Sport and Development

1.1 Gender

First of all, a clear distinction is necessary between the terms 'sex', 'gender' and 'sexuality'. While 'sex' traditionally refers to a biological pattern of being either born female or male[31], the term 'gender' stands for a more abstract concept. Thus, gender is not determined biologically, but socially constructed. Based on this social construction feminism, sociologist Lorber (2010) defines gender as "a social status, a legal designation, and a personal identity". Furthermore, she understands gendering as social processes which influence "major social institutions of society, such as the economy, the family, the state, culture, religion, and the law – the gendered social order". An interactionist and systemic approach is illustrated by Lorber's (2010) definition of 'sex' as "complex interplay of genes, hormones, environment, and behaviour, with loop-back effects between bodies and society" (p. 15). Moreover, the conceptual distinction between 'sex' and 'gender' led to a fundamental paradigm change and catalysed the discourse on men and masculinity (Pfister 1999). The historically rooted and widely shared binary system (male/female) is nurtured by the erroneous assumption that 'sex', 'gender' and 'sexuality' always correspond. Therefore, many traditional societies are challenged by individuals who openly state an incongruity between their biological sex, gender identity and/or sexual orientation, thus transgressing commonly expected manners of social expression such as gender roles. Recent feminist and queer theories claim a conceptual fluidity and a renunciation of rigid dichotomic argumentation (Butler 1993).

Thus, gender studies are not focusing on females only and are not to be confused with the study of women or feminism. For example 'gender mainstreaming' means constantly taking into account the perspectives, roles and responsibilities of both males and females, thus adopting a holistic perspective (Sancar & Sever 2005). The 'gender mainstreaming' approach related to sport adopted by the European Union in 1995 comprised an "embedding of gender equality as an outcome of all sport regulations, policies and programs", but was never fully implemented (Fasting & Brackenridge 2008, p. 25).

Within the gender discourse, 'equity' and 'equality' are often used as synonyms, but need to be distinguished. 'Equity' does not necessarily mean that all persons must be treated exactly the same, but treated according to individual interests, skills and needs. In other words, nothing is more unjust than treating different subjects equally. The 'Montreal Tool-kit' defines gender equity as "principle and practice of fair and equitable allocation of resources and opportunities for females and males. Gender equity eliminates discriminatory practices that are barriers to full participation of either gender" (IWG 2002). However, equity goes beyond access to resources and participation and needs to fulfil basic principles of empowerment: "(…) equity requires that poorer women and other excluded groups are not just able to gain access to valued goods but to do so on terms which respect and promote their ability to define their own priorities and make their own choices" (Kabeer 2001b, p. 53).

Using a metaphor from the world of sport, Kidd & Donnelly (2000) aptly summarise that "if 'equality' means providing everyone with the same starting line, 'equity' means helping everyone to reach the most appropriate finish line" (p. 139). The fact that living in an equitable society provides benefits for everybody is officially acknowledged by the UN: "Gender equality and the empowerment of women are at the heart of the MDGs and are

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[31] Of course social and human reality (including e.g. transsexuals, transgender people, hermaphrodites or intersexed individuals) goes beyond this traditional binary division.

preconditions for overcoming poverty, hunger and disease" (UN 2010, p. 4). But female empowerment does not necessarily entail male disadvantages (Oxaal & Baden 1997).

Despite these ideologically relevant distinctions, most protagonists of today's development community use 'gender equality' claiming that the notion 'equity' is redundant since "concepts of fairness and justice are integral to any discussion of gender equality". Opponents of 'equity' criticise that "cultural interpretations of what is 'fair' may actually be used to justify discriminatory behavior" (World Bank 2001, pp. 69-70). As a matter of fact, both concepts offer opportunities and entail limitations. Regardless of the chosen terminology, meaningful developmental interventions aiming at efficiency, credibility, and sustainability, must genuinely consider and implement the core messages of both gender equity and equality.

1.2 Sport

Sport activities in a development context do usually not imply elite sports. In order to reach as many individuals as possible, sport must be perceived and implemented in its broadest possible way including physical education (P.E.), fitness, martial arts, gymnastics, traditional games, dancing, etc. Certain sports do have different connotations in different socio-cultural contexts. One activity can for example encounter massive resistance because of its Western origin. Modern, commercialised sports do sometimes have an ethnocentric or even imperialistic touch claiming an almost hegemonic right of existence. However, traditional games do not automatically indicate backwardness and modern sports do not necessarily foster progress and development. Tembo (2002) who drafted a curriculum plan for Malawian P.E. lessons, emphasised the importance of cultural practice: "Traditional games and dances in Malawi, especially in the villages, play a vital role in the lives of people and these have been incorporated in this curriculum to provide a smooth and natural link between the home and the school" (p. 33). Is it easier for women in conservative societies to be active in traditional sports? Since many indigenous African practices derive from male-dominated hunting or war, such patterns might be counterproductive consolidating existing patriarchal structures and gender roles. Furthermore, Everhart & Pemberton (2001, unpaged) stressed the "competitive warrior model characteristic of men's sports" confronting it with "women's sports which were rooted in philosophies of participation, cooperation and play".

Recent socio-psychological and pedagogical literature as well as a ground breaking 'Memorandum on Physical Education' (2009) elaborated by major German sport institutions[32] more and more refrain from defining sport as specific disciplines, but use the notion of "exercise fields" (p. 8). This concept is an alternative to traditional understanding of sport (Prohl 2010). Moreover, this rather unspecific approach towards physical activity offers a terminological expansion for women and girls who often have restricted access to traditionally male-labelled sports in Africa.

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[32] These major German sport institutions include: Deutscher Olympischer SportBund (DOSB), Deutscher Sportlehrerverband (DSLV), Deutsche Vereinigung für Sportwissenschaft (dvs).

1.3 Development

The term 'development' seems self-explanatory, obvious and less sophisticated than 'gender' or 'empowerment'. Nevertheless, the complexity of this common notion is only revealed when further specified. Connotations and definitions usually relate to processes of dynamics and maturing depending on the respective disciplines such as psychology, economics, sociology, etc. which are not going to be covered here in detail. For the purpose of this study, two relevant dimensions of 'development' have been identified and need further differentiation and operationalisation.

First of all, 'development' has a contextual, socio-economic and geographic dimension. In a 'development context' or in a 'development setting' usually refer to economically deprived and socially marginalised locations dealing with poor health and education systems, high illiteracy, infant mortality and unemployment rates, deficient infrastructure, malnutrition, etc. Formulations implying 'development' are officially used, but the UN clearly state: "Since there is no established convention for the designation of 'developed' and 'developing' countries or areas in the United Nations system, this distinction is made for the purpose of statistical analysis only" (UN 2011, p. 67). However, within the framework of the MDGs reporting and for administrative, strategic and analytical reasons, there is a common practice that "Japan in Asia, Canada and the USA in northern America, Australia and New Zealand in Oceania, and Europe are considered 'developed' regions". The 2011 MDG grouping list of 'developed regions' consists of 55 states.[33] All other countries and areas belonging to the United Nations are considered 'developing regions' which are divided into different groupings. The current UN list of 'developing regions' for the MDG grouping 'sub-Saharan Africa'[34] consists of 50 states including Malawi, Zambia and South Africa. Furthermore, there is an additional group entitled 'least developed countries' (48 countries in total) in which both Malawi and Zambia are listed.[35]

The second dimension of 'development' comprises human development in its broadest sense involving individual, to community to societal levels. Thereby, 'development' is closely linked to the concept of 'socialisation', but it goes beyond institutional aspects and mere integration in social structures by offering a comprehensive perspective through cultural, institutional, social as well as more individual (psychological and physiological) processes (Flammer 2009, p. 22). Human development in terms of personal and life skills development are primary goals of many extracurricular activities such as sport programmes. Since a majority of sport programmes is targeting youth and children, the notion 'positive youth development' (PYD) is widely accepted (Gould & Carson 2008). But what are the desired outcomes of youth development? One of the most mentioned theoretical framework in recent years consists of the four Cs which signify "competence, confidence, (positive social) connection, and character" introduced by developmental psychologist Richard Lerner. This concept was then complemented by "caring (or compassion)" as fifth element. Subsequently, suggestions for 'contribution' as the sixth C in the sense of 'giving back to the community' were put forward (Lerner et al. 2005, pp. 22-23). Thus, this discourse on PYD is based on developmental systems and a socio-ecological approach (Bronfenbrenner 1979).

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[33] This number of 55 states includes Channel Islands and Isle of Man, from
http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Host.aspx?Content=Data/REgionalGroupings.htm (accessed 11-10-2012).
[34] In contrast to the definition by PRB (2010), the UN definition of 'sub-Saharan Africa' does not exclude West Africa: "The designation sub-Saharan Africa is commonly used to indicate all of Africa except northern Africa, with the Sudan included in sub-Saharan Africa", quoted in: http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Host.aspx?Content=Data/REgionalGroupings.htm (accessed 11-10-2012).
[35] See http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Host.aspx?Content=Data/REgionalGroupings.htm (accessed 11-10-2012).

Comparable to a rejected deficit-orientation linked to empowerment, a PYD discourse among scholars and practitioners emerged in the last decade which perceives youth "as resources to be developed [based] on the idea that every young person has the potential for successful, healthy development and that all youth possess the capacity for positive development". Prior to this paradigmatic shift, positive development was "implicitly or explicitly regarded as the absence of negative or undesirable behaviors" (Lerner et al. 2005, pp. 20-21).

Attempting to generically define human development regardless of age stages, Flammer (2009) emphasised 'sustainable alterations of competences' which comprise permanent changes as well as temporary changes entailing other ones (p. 22). Therefore, programmes using sport mainly as an instrument for personal development have a great interest in teaching values and conveying life skills.

While the meaning of 'development' is obvious for concepts such as 'development through sport' and 'development of sport', it remains ambiguous for the initially introduced nexus 'sport and development' (S&D). Having specified two different 'development' dimensions, does S&D refer to 'development' as a description of the socio-cultural context or to human development? Can a sport programme in the suburbs of London or New York claim to conduct S&D activities? As a matter of fact, S&D involves both meanings to a certain extent. This study argues that enabling and fostering human development (including empowerment, teaching life skills, etc.) through sport activities is valid for every setting either in the 'developed' or 'developing' world. Besides, there are also marginalised and deprived zones and neighbourhoods within 'developed' and industrialised countries. Then, of course, sport programmes which take place in a 'development setting' face different challenges and offer other opportunities. But even if S&D imply the contextual aspect of 'development', sustainable work in development settings should coercively be based on cooperation, participation, inclusion and obey to empowerment premises.

2   Socio-Cultural Context

Socio-cultural factors must be considered in any discussion of interfaces between gender, sport and development: "It is clear from the literature on gender and empowerment that the role of gender in development cannot be understood without understanding the socio-cultural (as well as political and economic) contexts in which development takes place. The concept of empowerment only has meaning within these specific contexts" (Malhotra et al. 2002, p. 10). The definition of what is regarded as feminine or masculine in a given society is subject to constant change over time (Merk-Rudolph 1999).

Cultural paradigms related to gender roles and relations are often deeply engrained in educational systems and social structures. Women and girls in most sub-Saharan countries are particularly affected by poverty and the consequences of the HIV and AIDS pandemic. If families can afford to send children to school, sons are usually privileged. Many girls have to stay at home for domestic work and care for younger siblings or indigent family members. Unlike boys and men, girls and women are rarely granted leisure time. Due to often missing or incomplete education, women's access to income-generating jobs is limited. Such gender perceptions grew steadily and were as well nurtured by prevailing education and curricula. A revised Zambian pupil's book, however, illustrates that socio-culturally embedded gender roles and norms are not set in stone. There is a colourful chapter on 'women and men' in the

textbook 'Social and Development Studies' for 4th grade which relates to changes in gender-based occupations: "In the past, cooking food and bathing a baby was done by women and girls only. Repairing a bicycle or a car was done by men only. Now men and boys can cook and bath a baby. Women and girls can repair a bicycle or a car. (…). Men and boys can also sweep around the house and wash plates after lunch and supper. All the members of a family can do the same type of work to help each other. (…). Things have changed. Men and women drive big trucks and buses. Men and women are managers at work. Men and women play soccer. Men and women now do the same types of work and play sport together" (Nyambe & Simuchimba 2007, pp. 48-51).

According to Zambian educational authorities, school books are centrally administrated, revised and newly distributed every ten years. Thus, this teaching material highlighting gender-based shifts in Zambian society in terms of domestic tasks, employment and leisure time is going to be used until 2017 (Nyambe & Simuchimba 2007). Of course, a prerequisite for such governmental top-down interventions is regular school attendance of both girls and boys. It would be naive to believe that such a pupil's book can change a socio-cultural context. However, according to Byrne (1989) "updating educational materials and media representations of men and women as successful and happy in non-traditional roles would be more effective" than ephemeral interventions such as guest speakers (MacCallum & Beltman 2002, p. 32). Additionally, besides providing a Zambian portrait of Zambian society - including past and future visions -, the textbook does classify liberal standpoints and legitimise social change at all levels.

Because socio-cultural norms and values are changing over time, it is of utmost importance to raise awareness of the conceptual fluidity linked to specific socio-cultural realities. This may be exemplified with regard to sport and gender perceptions: In the USA, football – which is called soccer – is a rather feminine sport, since the domains to demonstrate 'real male' excellence are American Football, Baseball, Basketball and Ice-hockey. There are even feelings of antipathy towards the 'imported' sport: „The USA's sports establishment does not like soccer. (...). In fact, in the build-up to the 1994 World Cup indifference towards or even hatred of soccer became a statement of patriotic commitment". According to Tomlinson (1999), soccer in the USA is associated with ethnic minorities, middle-class schools, and women „at its most spectacularly successful level" (pp. 2-3). Similar patterns can be found in Sri Lanka where the major national and patriotic sport – strongly accentuating masculinity - is not football, but cricket. In Senegal, playing basketball is culturally acceptable for women whereas football is not considered feminine (Saavedra 2004). In Jordan, female kick-boxing is not contested, but women's boxing meets with a refusal.[36] These examples from around the world illustrate the fact that any sport programme in any region on the globe is first and foremost embedded within a specific cultural, political, juridical, economic and social setting. What is appropriate for one district or target group will not necessarily bear out in another place. Thus, not every physical activity makes sense in every context. An obvious differentiation between developed and developing or transitional countries needs to be emphasised with respect to S&D programmes and socio-cultural settings. What sports are commonly played in a society and by whom? Maybe fitness, health and psycho-social well-being in one place may mean exercises and games, while in another place it is all about having shelter, water, enough to eat and time to rest from physical exertion. What is considered socially acceptable behaviour in public spaces when being physically active?

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[36] See http://www.sportanddev.org/en/newsnviews/news/?3668/Women-Coaching-and-Development (accessed 14-02-2012).

Besides customs, norms and values, an assessment of access to and control over resources and dynamics of power are crucial.

As promising as for example female football is to enhance social change, in certain settings other activities might have similar or even more sustainable impacts. In traditional settings, socio-cultural insensibility may provoke public debates on principles which might even lead to radical bans of any female sport activities. Awareness in the community has to be raised to implement female physical activities in a sustainable and safe way. Any promising programme has to be established with and for local people to meet the needs of existing socio-cultural realities.

Such a locally driven, inclusive and participatory approach is important when sport didactics contradict socio-cultural norms. For example the idea of grouping children according to their age, interest and ability can be hampered by the inappropriateness of both boys and girls playing together. If a sport intervention does not comply with minimal socio-cultural criteria – which sometimes need to be locally negotiated -, it is not going to be sustainable. Such enacted programmes usually stop when foreigners or external actors leave. Guest (2010, unpaged) wrote about his experience in Angola where children played coeducational football on school grounds, but otherwise mainly sex-segregated games: "When I asked people about the contrast between the school yard and the back yard, they were matter-of-fact: 'We know the school is run by outsiders [since the camp was administered by the UNHCR, the school had been organized by donor groups], and they like boys and girls to do everything the same. So during school time girls play football. But for us, really, football is for boys - so when school is out, the girls do their own thing.' In other words, they would play along with the idea that soccer should be for everyone - but they didn't really buy it". Of course, on the one hand, such external inputs may also be grist to the mill of people who argue that enabling girls to play football, even only during school, might already entail empowerment and social change. On the other hand, such extrinsic approaches without a serious dialogue lead to artificial structures and positively absurd situations which question the credibility and impact of S&D interventions. In a nutshell, just having a look at pitches, sport and players in a given context is not enough to truly understand socio-cultural implications.

3   Gender and Development

Following the above described holistic gender discourse, why are many programmes in the developmental context specifically targeting girls and women? Analysis of gender differences and inequalities in most (developing) countries show a majorly disadvantaged female position in social, political, economic, vocational, recreational, legal, and educational areas. In many settings, females are not even permitted to decide on their own bodies. Therefore, gender discussions and interventions tend and often urgently need to concentrate on those discrepancies at female expense. However, targeting women and girls for special measures does not mean to isolate or 'shelter' them completely at the cost of a holistic perspective. Another issue, linked to development and 'women and men' as abstract categories, concerns the risk of depersonalisation. Depending on the topic, an exclusive focus on gender may neglect other crucial characteristics like age, skills, interests, education, socio-economic status, etc. (Hargreaves 2000). In order to accommodate a sound differentiation within the

seemingly homogenous female entity, the British DFID[37] utilises for example the concept of 'voice' which "is used to emphasise the fact that 'women' is a highly heterogeneous category and that diverse groups of women have diverse interests" (Waterhouse & Neville 2005, p. 4).

The following sub-chapters provide a historical and institutional overview on 'gender and development' describing implications of empowerment in development settings.

3.1 Historical and Institutional Background of Gender and Development

The debate on women's role and male bias in development studies and policy-making started with Boserup's (1970) publication 'Women's Role in Economic Development' which stressed the fact that African agricultural and economic development was almost exclusively analysed from a male-orientated perspective. Another milestone was 'The Domestication of Women' by Rogers (1979) who criticised the ambiguous impact of 'Western' norms and values on female status in developing countries.

Besides scholarly analysis, UN World Conferences on Women were a driving force to put gender issues on the global development agenda. The first two World Conferences in Mexico (1975) and Denmark (1980) mainly improved access to resources and general living conditions of women. The 3rd World Conference on Women in Nairobi 1985 was the first event on African grounds and regarded as 'Birth of Global Feminism'.[38] In the course of the 1980ties, the 'Western' hegemonic development ideology was more and more criticised. As a consequence, the international women's network 'Development Alternatives with Women for New Era' (DAWN)[39] presented an empowerment approach elaborated by scholars, politicians, feminists and NGO activists from the 'South'. The 4th Conference 1995 in Beijing started to tackle structural causes of gender inequality and inequity. Thereby, shifting from 'women in development' (WID) to 'gender and development' (GAD) fundamentally transformed the debate focussing on changing entire institutions and society as a whole (Touwen 1996). The 'Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action' (BPFA) was accepted unanimously by 189 nations[40] and presented a kind of 'female empowerment agenda' for development. Besides crucial areas such as health, violence, economy or education, five paragraphs[41] of the BPFA dealt with female physical activity ('Beijing Platform for Action' 1995).

Five years after the successful conference in China, the special UN conference called "Women 2000 - Beijing+5: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the 21st Century" was held in New York. Unfortunately, results of this event remained modest due to the blockage of catholic and Muslim countries as well as the Vatican to agree on more expanded women's rights.[42] The following major UN conference dealing with the legacy of Beijing was held in New York in 2005. This conference 'Beijing+10' reviewed progress made in advancement of gender equality and empowerment of women and girls and critically appraised the MDGs as well.[43] In 2010, the UN General Assembly gathered in New York to acknowledge the BPFA's 15th anniversary. Thereby, the necessity of a long-run commitment was emphasised and that "gender equality and empowerment of women and girls was not

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[37] Department for International Development, UK.
[38] See http://www.un.org/en/globalissues/women/ (accessed 18-04-2010).
[39] See http://www.dawnnet.org (accessed 18-09-2010).
[40] See http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/educa.htm (accessed 24-04-2011).
[41] See the five paragraphs 83, 101, 107, 183 and 280.
[42] See http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/beijing+5.htm (accessed 12-05-2011).
[43] See http://www.unis.unvienna.org/unis/en/pressrels/2005/unisinf61.html (accessed 03-06-2011).

just a goal in itself, but a key to long-term development, economic growth, and social advancement for all".[44]

3.2 Gendered Empowerment

The term 'empowerment' is used in various fields such as social work, education, psychology, sports science, counselling, economics, politics, and development cooperation. Despite broad international approval and application, explicit definitions of 'empowerment' remain vague. Kabeer (1999) describes the use of the notion 'empowerment' as "bewildering (…), from the mundane to the profound, from the particular to the very general" (p. 2). Discourse on empowerment commonly adopts a sectoral approach in terms of economic, social, political or cultural empowerment (Luttrell et al. 2009), but the value of this concept – "if it is used precisely and deliberately" - transcends this structure and "can help to focus thought, planning, and action in development" (Rowlands 1995, p. 106).

An immediate association between 'empowerment' and gender issues is very common. Some major development agencies and organisations such as SIDA or USAID, use the term 'empowerment' exclusively referring to gender topics (Luttrell et al. 2009). However, this study supports a concept of 'empowerment' which is not automatically related to female empowerment, but might as well apply to e.g. unemployed, handicapped, poor, illiterate or abused men and women. Generally speaking, 'empowerment' aims to strengthen and further develop existing resources and to call upon personal responsibility of human beings who are disadvantaged, neglected or deprived for whatever reason. One commonly shared perception of 'empowerment' is the strong focus on a resource-oriented perspective and rejection of a deficit-oriented approach. Thus, with regard to female empowerment, one crucial feature consists in the rejection of traditional images of women and girls as incomplete 'victims by nature' weakened by deficits (Herriger 2006). This approach has been nurtured by a recent ideological shift in general psychology which is contemporarily focussing on "positive psychology-building strengths" rather than amendable deficiencies and weaknesses (Gould & Carson 2008, p. 58).

According to UNIFEM & UNGC (2010) empowerment "is both a process and an outcome". It means that "people – both women and men – can take control over their lives: set their own agendas, gain skills (or have their own skills and knowledge recognized), increase self-confidence, solve problems, and develop self-reliance" (p. 9). Another 'empowerment trait' is its interdependence of individual, collective and societal levels, thus dissolving the idea of an unilaterally driven 'outside in' or 'top down' approach (Rowlands 1995).

Despite a broad acceptance of the transformational implications of empowerment (Sen & Grown 1985; Batliwala 1994; Kabeer 2001b; Bisnath 2001; Malhotra et al. 2002; Mosedale 2003), its 'Northern' strategic targets have been criticised by feminist activists from the South. This discontent led to the establishment of the network DAWN (mid-1980s) which finally articulated the needs of poor women in developing regions and reshaped the empowerment discourse. Considering these indigenous voices, Moser (1993) differentiated between "practical gender needs" and "strategic gender needs" in her influential book 'Gender planning and development'. While practical needs refer to prescribed gender roles (being a wife, mother, etc.), strategic gender needs may challenge existing unbalanced

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[44] See http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2010/ga10918.doc.htm (accessed 23-01-2012).

power relations. Thus, Moser's (1993) empowerment approach combines both needs by utilising the practical needs "as the basis on which to build a secure support base, and as a means through which strategic needs may be reached" (p. 77).

The 'empowerment approach' (elaborated by 'Southern' scholars, politicians, feminists and NGO activists) acknowledged the existence of female oppression, but emphasised "that oppression of women takes a variety of forms and different power hierarchies subordinate women simultaneously". Depending on geography, politics, ethnicity, age, etc. discrimination and/or oppression can be experienced differently and coincidentally. Women living in poverty, for example, are first and foremost in need of food, shelter, water, etc. This struggle which many people in developing contexts are facing every day, has been "historically (…) discarded as non-feminist as their actions do not challenge the power relations that subordinates them as women" (Kvinnoforum 2001, p. 22). Thus, claiming a compulsory and substantial transformation linked to empowerment relates to an ethnocentric 'Northern' or 'Western' ideology which ignores the bitter reality of poverty.

Related to the development setting and the MDGs, Grown et al. 2005 state that "the concept of empowerment is related to gender equality but distinct from it. The core of empowerment lies in the ability of a woman to control her own destiny" (p. 33). This claim involves much more than access to resources and participation (Oxaal & Baden 1997; Kabeer 1999; Malhotra et al. 2002; Mosedale 2003). According to Grown et al. (2005) "this implies that to be empowered women must not only have equal capabilities (such as education and health) and equal access to resources and opportunities (such as land and employment), but they must also have the agency to use those rights, capabilities, resources, and opportunities to make strategic choices and decisions (such as is provided through leadership opportunities and participation in political institutions). And for them to exercise agency, they must live without the fear of coercion and violence" (p. 33).

Even though "gender equality and the empowerment of women" are notably represented by and inherent in most of the eight MDGs, the 2010 evaluation report states - despite many efforts - that "progress has been sluggish on all fronts—from education to access to political decision-making" (UN 2010, p. 4). In the new millennium, most influential entities such as e.g. the World Bank explicitly identify "gender equality [as] a core development issue—a development objective in its own right" (World Bank 2001, p. 1). It seems that these topics found their way from marginalised arenas to the central stage, but persistent follow-ups and critical queries from scholars, media, practitioners and policy-makers are still urgently needed to move beyond sloganising, romanticisation, political correctness, ethnocentrism and marketing strategies.

4   Sport as a Pedagogical and Developmental Tool

Sport programmes in the development setting should reach out to anybody who wants to be involved regardless of demographics and abilities. From a humanitarian and educational perspective, S&D programmes which involve a systematic talent scouting for international clubs as a nice ‚spin-off product' are to be considered highly questionable and worrisome. This social Darwinist approach of fostering performance clashes with the core concept of 'sport and development' which promotes participation, cooperation, and inclusion. The sport pedagogical concept of 'multiple perspectivity' forms the basis of S&D activities. Tackling

often gridlocked structures and perceptions, this concept claims that human motives for physical activity transcend excellence and performance (Kurz 1995). Additional motivational interpretations of sport activities involve health related issues, experience or adventure, expression, suspense as well as a sense of belonging and community (Kuhlmann 2006). Thereby, the main focus lays on 'development through sport' by using sport as a vehicle for human development. This approach contrasts with 'development of sport' which is focussing on specific sport skills.

Rather than focussing on one approach, ideal pedagogical sport interventions should strive for a complementary 'double mandate' which combines 'education towards sport' – in the sense of 'sport culture' and promoting lifelong physical activity - and 'education through sport'. From a pedagogical perspective, sport activities are only valuable, if such knowledge and skills are systematically interwoven with general education in terms of personality development (Prohl 2010). Basically, claiming such a 'double mandate' is pedagogically relevant regardless of different socio-cultural contexts, but of course with altered emphases.

4.1 Life skills, Global Education and Youth Development

S&D programmes which pursue ,education through sport' use sport mainly as an instrument for personal development by teaching values and life skills. As already stated, an ideal programme should foster life and sport skills (Prohl 2010). Through good quality instructions, children and youth are going to be motivated to regularly participate in a programme which then implies life skills training as well (Brook 2011). Developing sporting abilities seems obvious, but what life skills are imparted? Under what conditions do which competences develop in young participants in general and young sport participants in particular?

Programmes promoting life skills through unusual channels such as theatre, arts or sport, face scepticism based on a vague terminology which rather adumbrates 'soft outcomes' than statistical facts and figures. Nevertheless, in respect of vulnerable children and adolescents, the WHO (1999) reports positive experiences with an emphasis "to start from what the children are interested in and experiencing and to use that as a basis for building life skills sessions with them" (p. 7). To that effect, leisure activities like games or arts may represent appealing starting points to reach this hardly approachable indigent target group.

Terms such as "positive youth development, social-emotional growth and life skills development (…) are not explicitly defined or are simply used interchangeably with little explanation". However, the most commonly used term related to extracurricular programmes involving sport activities is 'positive youth development' (PYD) which "focuses on the promotion of any number of desirable competencies or outcomes in young people". PYD involves a development and transfer of knowledge, values and various competences (Gould & Carson 2008, p. 59). PYD programmes are structured, strengths-based and universal: "at their core, they promote *all* young people's healthy progression through adolescence and into adulthood. Rather than focus on what keeps some young people from meeting their developmental milestones, PYD programmes focus on what all young people need— both from themselves and from others—in order to reach their full potential" (Schulman & Davies 2007, p. 5). An ideal PYD model may also provide inter-generational assets: "As physically, socially, psychologically, emotionally, and intellectually healthy youth develop into adults,

they will choose to contribute or 'give back' to civil society, and in doing so, be promoting the positive development of the next generation of youth" (Fraser-Thomas et al. 2005, p. 23).

According to Papacharisis et al. (2005), "life skills facilitate the development of the psychological skills that are required to deal with the demands and challenges of everyday life" (p. 248). Thus, life skills can be behavioural, cognitive, interpersonal or intrapersonal in nature, but need to be transferable and "enable individuals to succeed in the different environments in which they live, such as school, home and in their neighborhoods" (Danish et al. 2004, p. 40). This approach stipulates a transferability of competences acquired e.g. through sport activities into everyday life situations as imperative criteria. Adolf Ogi, former Swiss president and UN Special Adviser on Sport for Development and Peace [45], is a vehement advocate of this cause. He repeatedly used the metaphor of sport as "the best school of life" exemplified by winning, losing, and coping with emerging emotions. [46] Moreover, these competences include solidarity, discipline, and respect which are as well constitutive elements of the complex discourse on 'global education' or 'global learning'. Various approaches of 'global education' and 'life skills' have a shared denominator in their common search for pedagogical answers to the positive or negative effects of globalisation (Adick 2002; Jäger 2008). There is no consistent attribution in the literature of which topics relate to globalisation. Categories coined by the UN (Fountain 1999) contain e.g. human right's education, ecology, intercultural learning, conflict resolution or social justice (Gugel & Jäger 1995). The holistic approach of 'global education' does also comply with the use of sport as a means for human development. While 'education towards sport' provides basic physical capabilities for a lifelong involvement in sport (Memorandum 2009), 'education through sport' targets developmental issues such as children's rights, peace and health promotion, gender equality, violence prevention, ecology or social inclusion which correspond to the already mentioned globalisation topics. Scrutinising the core elements of various international life skills programmes, the WHO (1999) identified five basic life skills areas which are relevant across different cultures: "decision-making and problem-solving; creative thinking and critical thinking; communication and interpersonal skills; self-awareness and empathy; coping with emotions and coping with stress" (p. 1).

After introducing basic mechanisms of PYD, life skills and global education, what kind of development is facilitated through sport in particular? Pedagogically well-managed sport activities offer real-life learning grounds where core social competences such as empathy, conflict resolution, cooperation, leadership, or fairness can be developed and further encouraged. Besides these social (interpersonal) competences (Gardner 1991), purposeful sport interventions have the potential to influence emotional (intrapersonal) competences as well. Through sport activities participants are, for example, given the opportunity to experience their own behaviour regarding aggression, frustration or anger. Thereby, athletes become aware of their own limits and gain self-confidence to tackle such emotions. Last but not least, cognitive competences such as concentration, problem-solving, creativity, tactical and cross-linked reflection can be strengthened and promoted through well-managed sport activities (Kuhlmann 2006).

In a development or post-disaster situation, sophisticated sport programmes may also entail therapeutic potential. Well-directed activities may, for example, support recovery processes

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with respect to trauma.[47] To what extent a human being is able to overcome a traumatic event depends on the existing resiliency which is the "capacity to rebound in the face of adversity" (Benson 2002, p. 126). Resiliency can be influenced through protective factors which include e.g. the existence of social networks among peers or an implementation of coping strategies (Henley 2005). Furthermore, the "significance of community support in the form of caring interactions between adults and children who are not related" is emphasised (p. 14). Thus, certain sport features such as e.g. team spirit or assistance by a coach or team-mates may contribute to build, strengthen and further develop these important protective factors.

The already mentioned value of resiliency as an asset of PYD programmes, has also been emphasised by Benson (2002) and other scholars (e.g. Fraser-Thomas et al. 2005; Mulholland 2008) indicating consistency in literature. Besides resiliency, two other influential developmental assets were identified: "*prevention* of high-risk behaviors (…) [and] *enhancement* of thriving outcomes (school success, affirmation of diversity, a proactive approach to nutrition and exercise, and so on)" (p. 126).

Another major added value of sport and physical activity is the potential of creating settings in which participants can really feel and experience their own bodies. This argument goes along with the 'participatory pedagogy' ("Pädagogik der Teilhabe") proposed by Liebau (1999). However, the German term 'Teilhabe' transcends the meaning of mere participation and literally means 'having part'. It implies an uncontested distribution of responsibility, rights and power within a given community or society. Within this social framework, moral education and character development is not going to flourish through cognitive teaching and authoritarian preaching, but can only grow through self-determined individual experience. There is no possible short-cut or magical solution. Nevertheless, there is a widespread myth and "generally held assumption in the sporting community that life skills automatically result from mere participation. However, initial research shows that this assumption does not hold true. Life skills are taught not caught" (Gould & Carson 2008, pp. 74-75). This statement stresses the influence of coaches, teachers, peers, staff or adult leaders.

4.2 Potential Drawbacks of Sport

The above described potential assets and benefits of S&D for human well-being cannot ignore the fact that there is another perspective with regard to sport. Almost on a daily basis, negative or noxious news is broadcast from the world of sport, often mirroring existing social problems (UNICEF 2010a). Such deplorable issues include for example various forms of discrimination such as racism, sexism or homophobia involving a considerable estimated number of unreported cases (Lenskyj 1991). Moreover, sport media cover stories on violence, corruption, anorexia, doping, drug-abuse or sexual harassment (Brackenridge 2002; Fasting 2004). Additionally, sport activities may as well entail injuries or risky imitations. Close relationships, excessive care and pressure to perform may also lead to emotional dependencies between coaches or officials and young athletes. Especially in poor development contexts, problem areas like human trafficking, exploitation or prostitution are distressingly interlinked with sport. Reporting on women's football in Nigeria, for example,

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[47] According to WHO (2005), the notion 'trauma' is used, if a person suffered a life-threatening experience and responded to it with severe shock, fear and/or helplessness. These symptoms appear after terrorist attacks, war, rape, natural disasters, etc. independent of socio-cultural contexts (ICSSPE 2008).

Gänsler (2011) wrote an article entitled "Who wants to kick has to sleep with the coach" (p. 1). The German journalist describes how sex is used as "currency of the poor" both enforced to display power and offered to obtain privileges (p. 3). In many African regions, athletic success and bravura are exalted and sporting celebrity idealised as magic solutions to all the problems. In some places this ,wishful thinking' entices particularly boys into skipping school. Due to tremendous unemployment rates, many of these youngsters – often inspired by sporting heroes - rather believe in a lucrative and promising future through football than through education. This becomes again a breeding ground for ruthless self-proclaimed managers who search for young talents to be 'exported' to European leagues without any insurance or minimal safety guarantee. A NGO staff member working in Ivory Coast was interviewed by the British 'The Observer' in 2007 stating: "Many parents see in their children 'potential geniuses' who will help secure the family's future but they neglect to think about the consequences of turning their children into objects of transaction."[48] The topicality of this inglorious spin-off product of international football is illustrated by initiatives such as 'Foot Solidaire', founded by a former professional footballer from Cameroon.[49] All these potential sources of danger and noxious effects need to be carefully considered as sport programmes are conceptualised and launched.

Recent research in Europe and North America has indicated correlations between youth team sports such as football and alcohol abuse (Brettschneider et al. 2002; Eccles et al. 2003). Generally, studies on PYD focus on developing strengths and thus potentially positive outcomes. However, experiences linked to sport programmes and/or sport activities or incapacity to acquire competences "can also lead to the adoption of negative attitudes and behaviors (e.g. maladaptive stress management strategies, inability to focus on process and performance goals, identify only with the sporting role). Such negative outcomes might include physical injury, burnout, lower levels of moral functioning and school dropout" (Gould & Carson 2008, p. 68).

In fact, sport is probably not only fostering decency and discipline, but also aggression. Under certain circumstances, sport is promoting fairness, but as well reckless fighting and cheating for victory. Within youth sport programmes, coaches and staff – and their abilities and formation - play a crucial moderating role of all these tendencies. But after all, sport programmes are not society's repair services and thus not capable and neither in charge of solving all problems (Brettschneider et al. 2002; Goddar 2006). Who thinks of sport as magic potion and easy remedy will be desperately disappointed. Sport has a huge variety of potential assets to offer, but still within certain limits. Metaphorically speaking, sport must really be understood as a tool. Sport as a tool is as neutral as a hammer. This working tool allows e.g. for the construction of a house or the destruction of a window. Positive or negative effects in respect of this either valuable or dangerous tool ultimately depend on the intention, handling, knowledge and thoroughly reflected set-up.

4.3 Implementation of Sport Programmes in the Development Context

In contrast to ,serious' developmental interventions such as programmes promoting literacy or water supply, S&D was often a bit sneered at outside respective expert groups. Sport and play activities were attributed to arbitrariness and coincidence without any legitimacy of

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[48] See http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2007/jun/10/football.theobserver (accessed 24-09-2011).
[49] See http://www.footsolidaire.org (accessed 17-10-2011).

purposive goal orientation. Tembo (2002) described in his dissertation on P.E. curriculum in Malawi that "most of the Malawian education stakeholders do not seem to view physical education as a legitimate subject since all they see is a 'bunch' of happy kids jumping around soccer and netball fields" (p. 4). Thus, the link between the potential of P.E. and currently dominant health issues in Malawi is not only neglected, but ignored (USDHHS 1996).

However, besides organised P.E. sessions in schools and universities, sport activities around the world are far from being arbitrary and functioning by chance. Following Jäger (2008), sport arrangements can be divided into three simplified categories. First of all, clubs and other organised sport associations have to be mentioned which usually run championships under the umbrella of regional or national federations. The second category comprises rather informal leisure and amateur sports and is characterised by spontaneous, sporadic and event-driven activities. The third category involves pedagogy-oriented sport interventions subsuming "specific settings and rules within the context of violence prevention and integration, peace promotion and development cooperation" (p. 13).[50] Of course these categories punctually overlap and influence one another.

Most S&D interventions fall in the third category. Thereby, various NGOs pursue different goals, but all generally strive for a contribution to the MDGs. These ambitious goals comprise e.g. education, female empowerment or environmental and health issues. A common terminology in anglophone technical literature distinguishes two types of sport programmes: 'sport plus' and 'plus sport' (Coalter 2002).

Most projects primarily driven by sport organisations which strive for a sustainable programme delivery (including e.g. life skills), fall in the category of 'sport plus'. In contrast, most organisations which take heed of a 'plus sport' approach are predominantly operating in the social, environmental or health sector. Such NGOs are particularly interested to attract and approach young people through sport activities and events. These two types are not rigidly set in stone and rather serve as reference points to position different S&D organisations. Most NGOs which are actively involved in the growing S&D domain are representatives of the 'sport plus' approach. A well-known exponent of 'sport plus' is the network 'Kicking Aids Out' currently consisting of 15 countries: „Our mission is to empower youth to positively influence their lives and the lives of others, by actively enhancing life skills through sport".[51] However, in terms of didactical implementation, there are considerable structural and conceptual differences between 'sport plus' organisations. For example 'Play Soccer' (PS) operates a year-round schedule. Thereby, every sport session is divided into three equally important modules consisting of health issues, football skills and „social development life skills".[52] This organisational structure contrasts for example with 'Grassroot Soccer' (GRS)[53] which conducts ten-week interventions at schools and delivers a certificate at the end of each course. Due to usually limited resources, not all S&D projects are based on elaborated didactical concepts.

Besides the already mentioned competences, sport activities may also stimulate participants' subjective well-being and simply inspire to fool around and enjoy. This 'fun factor' and feelings of light-heartedness are particularly appealing to children/youth. About half of both

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[50] This quote has been translated from the original German version by the author.
[51] See http://www.kickingaidsout.net (accessed 12-06-2011).
[52] 'Play Soccer' runs programmes in Malawi, Zambia, Ghana, Senegal, Cameroon and South Africa.
See http://www.playsoccer-nonprofit.org (accessed 30-05-2011).
[53] 'Grassroot Soccer' mainly works in South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. See http://www.grassrootsoccer.org (accessed 11-08-2011).

Zambian and Malawian populations are younger than 15 years (PRB 2010). Therefore, sport activities are an attractive instrument to reach out to such young populations. Furthermore, both Zambia and Malawi appear in the inglorious worldwide top ranking with regard to HIV infections and AIDS. Hence, adequate sport programmes may raise sensitive, but vital issues in a playful way and transfer age-based information to specific target groups. In many African countries, HIV and AIDS are considered self-inflicted punishments of God entailing social ostracism and isolation. In these settings, young persons who consult a medical doctor are promptly suspected of being HIV positive. Therefore, a sport tournament, for example, may provide a sensible framework to address HIV related issues on neutral grounds. Numerous creative methods including traditional dance, rap, theatre or poetry are often used as supporting programmes of S&D events. Furthermore, many S&D tournaments are accompanied by medical staff who offer anonymous testing free of charge and appropriate counselling. As a matter of fact, in many troublesome and socio-economically deprived contexts, playful experiences per se already offer an added-value since they allow for children and youth to escape reality for a while.

5   Potential of Sport Addressing Gender Issues

The already mentioned paradigm shift from 'gender equity in sport' towards 'sport for gender equity' postulates gender equity as a cross-cutting issue and objective of S&D initiatives transcending mere participation of girls and women (Sancar & Sever 2005). Moreover, this conceptual shift requests a strong focus on the needs of specific target groups such as e.g. teenage mothers, married women, out-of-school children or orphans within a socio-cultural and socio-economic setting. Drawn from her experience with her organisation 'Moving the Goalposts Kilifi' (MTGK) in coastal Kenya, its founder Sara Forde (2008) wrote: "All too often policy and programmes are developed and implemented without being grounded enough in the real-life context and experiences of the recipients" (p. 179). In her book interviewing rural girls who play football in Kilifi, she emphasises the importance of "menstruation and its impact on school and sexuality, the relationship between school and sexual activity, pregnancy and abortion, [and] the fluidity of family situations" (p. 180). S&D programmes need to take female reproductive and sexual health issues and the burden of domestic work into account to be reliable, effective and sustainable.

Another Kenyan organisation, the well-known 'Mathare Youth Sport Association' (MYSA),[54] had to take special measures when its female programme started: "MYSA was not simply setting up a girls' football league; rather, it was embarking on a process of transforming gender norms". Thereby, e.g. staff members had to extensively negotiate with caregivers, parents, and communities to enable female activities. Time schedules had to be adjusted to accommodate girls' domestic responsibilities, safe mobility had to be assured, and strategies implemented to overcome other social constraints (Brady & Khan 2002, p. 12).

Certain socio-cultural patterns of male and female ideals entail a tension or even contradiction between femininity and sport. This inconsistency is even increasing with 'typically male' sports such as football in most settings. Since football is a 'masculine sport' in Africa, it becomes a real spearhead to raise awareness and tackle gender inequity, when publicly played by girls or women.

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[54] See http://www.mysakenya.org (accessed 23-11-2011).

In a nutshell, the potential of sport linked to gender equity and equality has a double dimension as obstacle and opportunity: One the one hand, addressing socio-culturally relevant gender issues and taking adequate measures are indispensable for an inclusive sport approach. On the other hand, pedagogically thoughtful S&D programmes using 'typically male or female' sport activities may foster gender sensitivity and challenge inequitable gender constructs at all societal levels.

Before further exploring the gender-related barriers and chances of sport activities, a historical overview is provided to classify international advocacy efforts - especially regarding 'women in sport' – initiated six decades ago.

5.1 Historical and Institutional Background of Sport and Gender

Origins of the international 'women in sport' (WIS) movement go back to 1949 when the 'International Association of Physical Education and Sports for Girls and Women' (IAPESGW) [55] was founded. On a regular basis, IAPESGW organised international networking meetings and scientific congresses mainly concentrating on sport-related topics taking a rather "middle-class, elitist character and white, Western, educational and cultural hegemonic stance" (Hargreaves 1999, p. 461). The first IAPESGW Congress was held in Copenhagen 1949. Since then, IAPESGW Congresses took place every four years in different countries alternating across continents. [56]

At the beginning of the 1970s regulatory frameworks came into effect to foster female sport. A milestone in women's sport history was the famous 'Title IX' introduced in the USA. This 1972 revised 'Education Amendments Act' guaranteed gender equality in the education sector and in all publicly funded federations. A major impact in Europe was reached 1975 through the British ‚Sex Discrimination Act' (Eitzen 1996).

The actual international 'women in sport' (WIS) movement emerged in the 1990s, but kept a rather conservative and elitist European, North American and Australian focus (Saavedra 2005b). However, these pioneers mainly worked on voluntarily basis and steadily increased their international memberships. With the exception of IAPESGW, efforts to promote female sport in the early 1980s mainly focussed on regional or national levels. Influential players in this field are the 'Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport and Physical Activity' (CAAWS)[57] founded in 1981 or the British 'Women's Sports Foundation' (WSF)[58] established in 1984.

Even though IAPESGW aimed at a global outreach, it was not able to drastically shift towards needs and empowerment of women from developing countries over the decades. And even contact persons in African countries, for example, were privileged women. This led to an increasing dissatisfaction of women who wanted to address global gender and sport issues with a more critical, in-depth and open-minded approach. Out of these motives, a new organisation called 'Women's Sport International' (WSI)[59] was launched in 1994 (White 1997; Hargreaves 1999) perceiving itself as "global voice of research-based advocacy for women

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[55] See http://www.iapesgw.org/ (accessed 15-11-2011).
[56] The 17th consecutive IAPESGW Congress is scheduled for April 2013 in Havana (Cuba).
[57] See http://caaws.ca (accessed 08-01-2012).
[58] See http://www.womenssportsfoundation.org/ (accessed 08-01-2012).
[59] See http://www.womensportinternational/ (accessed 08-01-2012).

and sport". WSI furthermore never hesitated to openly tackle, among other topics, 'sensitive issues' such as homophobia or sexual harassment in sport.[60]

The ball got rolling in Brighton/UK in 1994 drafting the famous 'Brighton Declaration on Women and Sport'. This key document claimed "equality for women in sport throughout the world embodying a visionary sporting culture that would enable and value the full involvement of women in every aspect of sport" (Hargreaves 1999, p. 465). Thereby, it paved the way for female sport to be put on political and institutional agendas in places like Egypt and the Caribbeans, or federations like the IOC (White 1997). Another Brighton outcome was the establishment of the 'International Working Group on Women and Sport' (IWG) which committed inter alia to organise consecutive 'World Conferences on Women and Sport'.[61]

After Brighton, the second 'World Conference' was held 1998 in Namibia producing the 'Windhoek Call for Action' which went beyond pushing for women's participation in sport to promoting sport as a means of achieving broader goals in health, education, elimination of violence and human rights. An output of the third edition in Canada in 2002 was the 'Montreal Tool-kit' which was a practically valuable instrument to integrate sport within community development projects, health information campaigns, etc. (White & Scoretz 2002). The fourth IWG Conference entitled "Participating in Change" took place in Kumamoto (Japan) in 2006 assembling 700 delegates. The legacy of the fifth 'World Conference' in Australia 2010 was the 'Sydney Scoreboard' which claimed an "increase [of] women's representation on sport boards globally".[62]

The Mexican hurdler Enriqueta Basilio Sotel was the first female athlete entitled to light the 1968 Olympic Cauldron in Mexico-City.[63] Despite this powerful symbol, providing female access to organisational structures and leadership positions of the Olympic movement was a long haul. Only in 1981, the first two women were accepted as IOC members. More than a quarter century later, in 2011, only 19 out of 110 IOC members were female. Five of these women are African coming from Egypt, Morocco, Burundi, Gambia and Ethiopia. In 1990, the first woman was elected on to the Executive Board, and in 1997 the first female IOC Vice-president was chosen (IOC 2011). A milestone was set in 1995, when the 'Women and Sport Working Group' was established which was finally transformed into an official Commission in 2004. WSI and other women's organisations accelerated and influenced this process through activism (White 1997; Hargreaves 1999). This progress was initiated in 1996 when female sport promotion was finally written down in the Olympic Charter.[64]

Like IAPESGW and IWG, the IOC as well organises regular world conferences on women and sport.[65] The 1st IOC conference was held in Lausanne (1996) followed by Paris (2000),

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[60] See http://www.womensportinternational/ (accessed 08-01-2012).
[61] "IWG is an independent coordinating body consisting of representatives of key government and non-government organizations from different regions of the world. The vision of the IWG is to realize a sustainable sporting culture that enables and values the full involvement of women in every aspect of sport. The mission is to be a catalyst for the advancement and empowerment of women and sport globally", from: http://www.iwg-gti.org (accessed 14-11-2011).
[62] See http://www.sydneyscoreboard.com (accessed 14-01-2012). The 6th IWG World Conference is scheduled 2014 in Finland.
[63] See http://www.olympic.org/ioc (accessed 14-01-2012).
[64] "The IOC strongly encourages, by appropriate means, the promotion of women in sport at all levels and in all structures, particularly in the executive bodies of national and international sports organizations with a view to the strict application of the principle of equality of men and women" (IOC 1996, p. 10).
[65] Thereby, the main objective is "to analyse the progress made in this field within the Olympic Movement and to define a prioritised line of action to improve and increase the participation of women in sport" (IOC 2011, p. 3).

Marrakech (2004), Jordan (2008)[66], and Los Angeles (2012).

Still Europe-based and active in advocacy domains, new players appeared in the WIS landscape in recent years with innovative organisational concepts. One of them is 'Women Win' which was founded in 2007 to use "sport as a strategy to advance women's rights".[67] Next to organisations which support female sport activities mainly through global advocacy, national initiatives – especially in development settings – are of utmost importance. The Zambian 'National Organisation for Women in Sport, Physical Activity and Recreation' (NOWSPAR)[68] is an exemplar of regional and nation-wide advocacy and activism.

Summing up, the international WIS movement started six decades ago and substantially gained momentum since the 'Brighton Conference' 1994 until today. Besides various national organisations and initiatives, especially the global efforts by IAPESGW, WSI, IWG and subsequently the IOC are promising for female sport enhancement around the world. However, two major concerns need to be raised:

First of all, considering the conferences on women and sport organised by IAPESGW, IWG and IOC, there are basically three parallel cycles striving for the same cause. As a consequence, on the one hand, the common issue 'women and sport' is constantly on the agenda somewhere, and specific priorities can be set autonomously. On the other hand, the substantially existing power of this international movement gets diluted and synergies lost by too many actors, conferences, and outcomes. Even though some individuals associate with several organisations and despite coordination attempts in recent years, so far, the full potential of combined and well-managed international efforts remained untapped. The second concern relates to sender-recipient relationships and target groups. Who is promoting opportunities and addressing risks for whom? Is envisaged empowerment of others not a contradiction in terms? Saavedra (2005b) pointed out that "WIS is rooted in the development of women's sport, and not primarily in women and development through sport" (p. 3). Despite recent efforts, most players of the WIS movement still follow 'Western' patterns of reasoning and operating. Even though more and more conferences are taking place in developing countries or in 'developed countries' fostering 'Third World participation', marginalised people from the grassroots level, especially women, are rarely actively involved. Those representatives of 'developing countries' who can afford to spend leisure time away from family duties, often belong to the social elite or at least middle-class (Hargreaves 1999). Therefore, reliable partnerships with like-minded entities in developing countries including all local protagonists are urgently needed.

5.2 Gender as Obstacle

Numerous S&D programmes are exclusively designed for boys and men, and more than ever when it comes down to football in Africa. Many S&D project descriptions – intentionally or unintentionally - use the term 'children' to refer to their male target group. When it comes down to sport activities which are often understood as being inherently male, participants and potential participants need to be differentiated in terms of often inhibiting gender issues. Furthermore, Mensch et al. (1998) emphasised the importance of the stage between

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[66] The conference in Jordan was under the Patronage of His Majesty King Abdullah II and Queen Rania with more than 600 delegates from Organising Committees for the Olympic Games, NOCs, UN agencies and (non-)governmental organisations (IOC & NOC Jordan 2008).
[67] See http://www.womenwin.org (accessed 14-01-2012).
[68] See http://www.nowspar.org (accessed 14-01-2012).

childhood and adulthood to develop gender identity and self-esteem. Young men and women are linguistically often homogenised as youth or teenagers. For general topics these neutral terms are certainly appropriate, but for sensitive issues, distinctive inequalities and experiences of males and females may be masked and need to be properly identified.

Historically, not only sport and especially football were male-dominated domains excluding girls and women. The first female cyclists, students, professors, politicians, or soldiers all broke new ground in the course of the 20th century. And all of these pioneers had to face heavy blowbacks, criticism and opposition. Mechanisms to defend traditional 'territories of masculinity' against trespassing women functioned in similar ways in different areas: Moral and ethical arguments were initially advanced to prevent females from entering 'male reserves' such as cycling, science, army, politics, football, etc. A second measure consisted of formal rules and restrictions. For example women's football was officially banned by the English FA in 1921 or by the German Football Federation (DFB) in 1955. A third method to inhibit females was to produce scientific evidence proving that women were biologically not suited to run marathons or kick a ball (Meier 2004). After the failure of these defensive approaches, irrational arguments and 'punches below the belt' were and still are used to intimidate and/or insult deviant individuals (homophobia, sexism, etc.).

Nowadays, considering the time and effort to allow for women, girls, men, and boys to be equally active in sport, some organisations may chose less contested tools such as choir singing or poetry clubs to foster social networking and increase self-esteem. Gender issues are primarily obstacles for girls' and women's sport involvement in developing countries. First of all, socio-economic barriers are omnipresent in sub-Saharan Africa when it comes down to female school attendance or leisure time programmes in general. Where tackling poverty is daily order of business, recreational goals seem completely inappropriate. Women's and girl's domestic work and family care duties do simply not allow for other (personal) activities. The second major barrier involves safety issues. The physical security aspect depends strongly on the socio-economic situation of a village, a district, a school or any other institution where sport programmes are implemented. Topics like safe public transportation, child care or foot paths are crucial. Infrastructure, training hours, facilities, etc. must be adapted to the socio-cultural context. In some settings, girls need isolated buildings to ensure female freedom and safety. In most African countries, on the other hand, sport programmes must take place in public, open and transparent settings to be safe. The construction of fences or walls and the hiring of security guards could be considered in different contexts. Furthermore, sport equipment should be regularly revised, repaired or replaced. Dangerous objects such as rusty iron rods and nails, garbage, etc. must be systematically collected and disposed. If wardrobes (especially with washing facilities) are available, they must be well monitored. Children wearing ragged clothing should receive - at least during sports activities - complementary shorts, trousers or shirts at their disposal. Especially the delivery of sporting bras can be crucial for female participation. Furthermore, female hygiene and menstruation may be an obstacle to sport activities because of lacking sanitary pads (Forde 2008; Guest 2010). Safety concerns are of course closely related to insufficient or missing material and infrastructure which are additional obstacles. But theoretically they could be fixed, bought and organised in the short or medium term, in contrast to socio-cultural barriers which are much more complex and difficult to overcome requesting a long term perspective.

At the beginning of the 20th century, rumours of female infertility caused by physical activity were afloat in Europe. Such myths are still prevailing in many African communities. Although

many obstacles and barriers heavily depend on contextual particularities, some attitudes and prejudices commonly appear in patriarchal societies. Not claiming to be complete, such inhibiting stereotypes and perceptions - which are shared by both males and females – can be categorised into four areas: First of all, the argument of too much physical contact and aggressiveness which contradicts suitable female behaviour is especially put forward related to martial arts, boxing or invasion games like rugby, football, etc. Secondly, the build-up of distinctive body forms and muscles – interfering with reproductive cycles - is considered unhealthy, dishonourable and inappropriate for women and girls. Traditional girls' and young women's predominant concern should be to find a husband and acquire necessary skills to become an ideal wife, mother and homemaker. Anything inhibiting this 'natural process' is perceived as disconcerting obstacle. A third category of prejudice concerns physical activities which are related to pain and blood. This argument is of course interlinked with the initially mentioned aggressiveness and pertains to above mentioned sport activities. A fourth argument claims that females actively involved in 'typically male' sports may develop homosexual tendencies: Active men stand for heterosexuality and masculinity whereas active women symbolise homosexuality and un-femininity (Pfister 1999). The same stereotypical mechanisms apply to male athletes who perform in 'typically female' sport domains like synchronised swimming, ballet or rhythmic gymnastics.

All of these four mentioned areas are linked to socio-cultural myths and contexts including their respective ideals of masculinity and femininity. In most African cultures, male beauty is compatible with being a sportsman, whereas a successful female athlete is often ridiculed as she is disturbing the social order and risking her status as respected woman.

In many African countries, both boys and girls are traditionally engaged in physical activities. However, most girls and young women quit their sporting activity at an early age with the menarche, marriage or birth. For many boys sport is a form of preparation for an expected future social role as - if necessary combative - family and clan protector. Sporting females are considered as raffish, immoral and even provocative ostentation after reaching a certain status or age. In many settings, there is an enormous difference between 'girl's football' and 'women's football'. While girls playing football is often conceivable and admissible, this tolerance usually ends when it comes down to women playing football. This reluctance is also traceable within UN legislation: While the value of sport and physical education was explicitly acknowledged for children through the 'Convention on the Rights of the Child' in 1989 (SDP IWG 2008), the issue of women's sport activity was not yet broached at the 1985 Nairobi 'World Conference' (Saavedra 2005b). Ten years later, sport and P.E. are officially mentioned in the 'Beijing Platform for Action' (1995) subsumed under key-issues such as health, education, girl-child as well as institutional and political power (paragraphs 83, 101, 107, 183 and 280).[69]

Since S&D initiatives strive for the principles of 'global education' fostering developmental assets, they need to consider peculiarities of both males and females alike. Every person can benefit from acquired life skills and psycho-social, physiological or cognitive competences no matter what age, educational background, ability, sex, ethnicity, etc. When it comes to gender roles, the potential of sport (due to its masculine connotation) lies in its

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[69] "Provide accessible recreational and sports facilities and establish and strengthen gender-sensitive programmes for girls and women of all ages in education and community institutions and support the advancement of women in all areas of athletics and physical activity, including coaching, training and administration, and as participants at the national, regional and international levels" (paragraph 83k of 'Beijing Platform for Action' 1995), from http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/ (accessed 13-02-2012).

very ability to break down or disturb rigid social gender structures. And exactly this transformative potential encounters resistance and is inhibiting structures and processes. A French female boxer emphasised this interrelation on the occasion of 'International Women's Day' in 2006: "The punches that I land shake my adversaries as well as the foundations of our society (…). A woman who can box is a woman who can fight - at once capable of giving life and of defending it, in the true sense of the word" (ILO 2006).

5.3 Gender as Opportunity

Women and girls who assume a public or leadership stance, demonstrate self-confidence, express themselves loud and clear, have ambitions, assert themselves physically and are able to lose and win. These competences, among many others, can be taught and acquired through sport activities (Kugelmann 1996). Furthermore, being actively involved in a sport programme also opens up new social horizons for women and girls who would otherwise stay at home. Of course, this gain of social competences and contacts is not causally determined by sport or football, but could also occur by e.g. singing in a choir or literacy classes. However, sport and especially football have some particularities which differ from other leisure time activities: the historical link with masculinity, a special emphasis on the body and its functions, and claiming public space.

Due to its historical roots associated with masculinity, femininity and sport – and football in particular – are considered incompatible in many traditional and patriarchal cultures and societies. Technical terms like ‚man-marking' or the current German expression 'Mannschaftsspiel' (literally meaning ‚team sport played by men') illustrate the originally clearly male imprint of sport culture (Kugelmann 1996). As already mentioned definitions of masculinity and femininity in a given society are not set in stone, subject to change over time (Merk-Rudolph 1999) and depend on socio-cultural factors. In many conservative settings and in most traditional African communities, feminine behaviour is described as being weak, tender, emotional, beautiful, submissive and passive, while male characteristics occupy fields of strength, power, ambition, self-confidence, activity and aggressiveness (Williams & Best 1990). Nevertheless, a woman in sports with a certain degree of competitiveness has to adopt some of those 'typically male' attributes to be successful. She cannot remain passive and behave nicely and weakly on the football pitch. Accordingly, there is a certain tension between the perception of an 'ideal woman' and a 'successful sportswoman' (Palzkill et al. 1991; Kugelmann 2005). Although female enthusiasm at the sidelines of soccer pitches becomes more and more accepted, active female footballers still encounter resistance and prejudice. In contrast to their male counterparts, women players are generally not seen as socio-cultural ideals of beauty. Of course this perception has nothing to do with anatomical realities, but reflects broadly shared difficulties to associate femininity with football. Many socio-cultural contexts consider sport and physical activity as "vehicle for shaping boys into men who will lead society" (Sadker & Sadker 1994, p. 125). In such settings, just by encouraging girls' and women's sport involvement, traditional gender norms are already challenged. Even though change is on its way, reluctance and discomfort are also noticeable – maybe in more subtle forms – in 'developed countries'.

A second inherent property of sport in contrast to other leisure time activities is the physicality and the focus on body functions. Reliable S&D programmes should provide gender-based information on health, nutrition, body functioning, diseases and hygiene. This

knowledge is even more valuable when reaching future (teenage) mothers. Besides generating physiological and psycho-social well-being, sport programmes can tackle sensitive topics which are often still hushed up or taboo in most African families and even schools. In analogy with girls' situations described by Forde (2008) for coastal Kenya, Simwapenga (2003) emphasised the problem of early pregnancy in Zambia as a result of interacting factors such as poverty, peer pressure, pressure from elderly men who force girls into unprotected sex in exchange for gifts or money, lack of supervision and knowledge. According to the Zambian scholar, adults are usually reluctant to share information related to sexuality and reproductive health with children or adolescents, since discussing such issues with minors is considered inappropriate and 'untraditional' in Zambia (Simwapenga 2003).

Brady (1998) pointed out that "in a number of cultures, the body is working 'capital' for many girls and women, particularly those with little education and few economic advantages" (p. 80). Therefore, S&D initiatives through which especially adolescent girls could receive information on their bodies, sexuality, menstruation, contraception, etc. and their rights are crucial. This knowledge allows for girls and young women to obtain more control over their own lives, to defend themselves or to know where external support is available, in particular regarding pregnancy, HIV and AIDS, sexual harassment or prostitution.

However, an explicit focus on bodies and 'physicality' involves as well a certain vulnerability of children and youth being potentially exposed to emotional dependency or sexual exploitation. To protect children from any form of molestation, excessive demands or violence, a formal code of conduct - signed by all coaches and participants - should be institutionalised stipulating clear rules. Moreover, neutral agencies should be established to anonymously report on abuse. Besides severe prosecution, safe and reputable organisations could be awarded ethical labels, thus promoting their legitimacy, reliability and attractiveness.

The third added value of sport activities with regard to gender issues is directly linked to the fact that sport – and football in particular - necessitates a considerable amount of safe and open space, thus being publicly visible. Mensch et al. (1998) especially emphasises that during adolescence (between age 10 to 19) "the world expands for boys and contracts for girls" in most parts of the developing world: "Boys enjoy new privileges reserved for men; girls endure new restrictions reserved for women. Boys gain autonomy, mobility, opportunity, and power (including power over girls' sexual and reproductive lives); girls are systematically deprived of these assets" (p. 2). In traditional and patriarchal societies, most public spaces are primarily frequented by boys and men, with some exceptions like hospitals, markets or fountains (Brady 2005). Therefore, providing a specified space for women's and girls' sports activities not only has practical aspects, but also a deeply symbolic character. For example football is played in a public space and is thus very visible and potentially controversial within a community. Since constant dripping wears away the stone, claiming sheltered and safe areas for females – even though facing suspicion and resistance – contributes to challenging existing stereotypes. If female footballers playing in public is an unusual picture, events and tournaments held on a regular basis will help to overcome awkward feelings and eventually deconstruct and rearticulate gender norms and structures.

The direct impact of S&D projects on female empowerment is still hard to measure. Various studies indicate a promising potential, but only longitudinal research will be able to provide meaningful results in a few years.

5.4   Female Empowerment through Football

Football is probably the most popular sport on the African and European continents as well as in Latin America. But apparently this popularity is not purely linked to football as a game. Since media coverage, stardom, marketing, stadium crowds, etc. are almost exclusively reserved for male protagonists, the worldwide popularity of football mainly involves men. The combination 'male football' is commonly considered as pleonasm, since football has long been exclusively for boys and men.

At the beginning of the 20th century in Europe, sport was considered unproductive and especially for youngsters a waste of time. Because of its immoral gestures, indiscipline and crudeness team sports involving physical contact were particularly labelled as unsuitable for females causing adverse health effects. This mind-set gradually changed during the 1930ties and 1940ties and almost disappeared in the 1980ties in Europe and Northern America. Female football however was considered inappropriate for many decades and even formally forbidden.[70]

Male beauty is considered compatible with being a footballer and sportsman. More than that, a successful male player becomes even an idol, trend-setter or sex symbol. Although the popularity of the sport did carry forward the development of the women's side, this process moves tediously. Since FIFA started promoting global women's football by supporting the creation of female national teams financially, some football associations – especially the ones with scarce budgets - became motivated to form a female national squad. In 2004, FIFA's Financial Assistance Programme (FAP) required confederations and associations to invest at least 4% of their FAP funds into female football. One year later, this threshold was even boosted to 10% and raised to 15% in 2008 (FIFA 2011). Unfortunately, despite claims to support women's football, de facto many female national teams only exist on paper.

In sport sociology and history from the 'Global North', sport is often described as 'mirror of society' reflecting cultural values and social norms. Creedon (1994) characterised sport as a "microcosm of gender values" (p. 4). Based on Bronfenbrenner's (1979) socio-ecological approach, the broad notion of 'gender' can be categorised into three dimensions (Reimann 2002): individual gender identity, structure of gender and symbolism of gender (Chap. IV). As previously noted, gender is not biologically driven, but a socially constructed process (Lorber 2010). Of course, these three dimensions of gender constantly interact and mutually influence one another. At this stage, different thematic areas shall exemplary illustrate the potential of female empowerment through football for every gender dimension.

5.4.1   Individual Level (Micro)

Trespassing social norms may entail major consequences for an individual living in a traditional community. Therefore, living according to socially expected behaviour is a safety issue in these settings. One example of respecting social norms is proper clothing which is closely related to individual gender identity. Besides the obvious anatomical differences, some pieces of clothing are culturally an epitome of femininity or masculinity. In many parts of Zambia, Malawi and South Africa - especially in rural, traditional or deprived settings - girls and women are socially expected to wear skirts or dresses. Most women and girls do not even own trousers. And if females do wear trousers, they usually wrap a skirt (called

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[70] For example by the 'Football Association' in England (1921-1971) and the former Federal Republic of Germany (1955-1970).

'chitenge' in Malawi and Zambia) round the waist. However, wearing skirts or dresses to play football is fairly cumbersome and inhibiting. Furthermore, in really deprived settings, some children do not have underwear which prevents physical activities in public. There is the risk of displaying private body parts which is embarrassing and considered bad manners. For female teenagers and women, to wear or not to wear bras may also affect participation in sports. In really impoverished areas, the shame to exercise in public can concern boys as well, if they have no underwear and only ragged clothes. Trespassing or insufficient garment can evoke criticism, voyeurism and moral appeals. To be publicly exposed in an inappropriate way can endanger individuals who have to reckon with sanctions. Depending on the socio-cultural context and traditional settings, such consequences can range from threats, disrespect, slander, discrimination to deprivation of liberty and even physical violence. Extremely serious levels of rape rates in South Africa, for example, reflect these increased risks for girls and women (UNODC 2002; Dempster 2002). Wearing trousers or shorts - which can be put on the top of dresses as well - could therefore reduce mainly female retreats from the football programmes caused by above mentioned hassles. Summing up, clothing might appear irrelevant at first glance, but it really gets to the heart of 'gender, sport and development'. If girls are sitting at the sideline of a pitch watching the boys play, this does not necessarily mean they are not interested to join. In many cases it is not urgent to supply shoes or balls, but shorts and/or trousers enabling girls to run and exercise, thus safely becoming or remaining part of a joyful and empowering sport programme.

5.4.2 Structural Level (Meso/Exo)

Gender structures and female occupations of leading public positions or jobs are strongly interlinked with the individual self-concept of a girl or woman. If females are not confident enough to claim parts of the limited public sphere (governing bodies, jobs, facilities, executive boards, etc.), no change will happen. Organised sport may offer exceptional learning platforms and serve as stepping stone into vocational fields, political positions, recreational committees, etc.

Raising girls' and women's sport participation on the football pitch, however, does not automatically entail advancement in terms of female empowerment. Organised sports are often characterised by formal, logistical and hierarchical structures that are ideally based on democratic statutes. If female involvement focuses only on the actual sport activities and neglects the structural-organisational superstructure that manages the programme in the first place, an essential S&D component gets lost.

Most sport organisations dealing with 'originally male' sports such as football unambiguously share a common denominator around the world: the lack of female executives. Men occupy the vast majority of powerful and influential positions in today's world of sport. Saavedra (2005a) described three different paths to gain access: First of all, women could seek access to existing (originally) male-orientated structures. Secondly, there is the possibility of creating separate/parallel feminine spaces, structures and programmes. Thirdly, dominant, often patriarchal structures are transformed to suit both male and female needs and expectations. There is no unanimity regarding the right track, but access has to assure active board membership in leading positions, equity, financial means, participation in decision making and strategic planning.

Adopting a holistic gender approach, such claims do, of course, apply as well to men who want to be represented in executive boards of 'mainly female domains' such as dance associations, netball federations or kindergartens.

5.4.3 Symbolic Level (Macro)

Moving from a rather grassroots level to competitive sports, physical activity – and particularly female football - is still an indicator for gender-related attitudes.

The FIFA ranking of September 2011 lists 132 internationally registered women's football teams. But the entire ranking consists of 41 more countries which are only listed provisionally in addition to the 132 official squads. The FIFA ranking of a team is only deemed official when they have played at least five matches against teams with an official ranking. Such inactivity does reflect the neglect and obstacles which organised female soccer is facing in the respective countries. Currently there is no African country listed among the top 20 nations of women's football and only one nation (Brazil) represents Latin America. Twelve out of the top 20 national teams are from Europe. 33 squads are representing Africa: the African flagship Nigeria remains dominant in the worldwide ranking at 27 and is followed by Ghana at 51 and Equatorial Guinea at 55.[71] While South Africa at 67 is almost capable to keep up with the best African teams, Zambia (122nd) and Malawi (129th) rank among the also-rans. Nevertheless, Malawi's position is a progress, since they appeared only on provisional ranking in 2009. The official FIFA women's rankings may indicate the significance and degree of social acceptance of female football in a specific country and reflect the given support by respective national football associations.

In contrast to most European national football teams, African national squads have symbolic nicknames. Of course, male teams and corresponding nicknames appeared first, but in recent years female equivalents entered the football scene.

Having analysed most African countries under this aspect, five naming patterns emerged distinguishing female and male national football teams: The first category comprises corresponding, but still independent names with strong, fierce and competitive connotations. While the Nigeria men's national team is called 'Super Eagles', the women's squad are the 'Super Falcons'. Namibia belongs as well to this first category with male 'Brave Warriors' and female 'Brave Gladiators'. The second category still involves corresponding and independent names, but with an obvious link to femininity and 'typically female' attributes. For example the best male footballers in Ghana are called 'Black Stars' while 'Black Queens' refers to the best female players. Kenyan footballers are to be found in the same category: Men belong to the 'Harambee Stars' whereas females play for the 'Harambee Starlets'.[72] The third category comprises grammatically precise translations of the original male nickname into a feminine version. South Africa uses 'Bafana Bafana' (meaning 'our boys') referring to the men's national football team and 'Banyana Banyana' (meaning 'our girls') with regard to the women's counterpart. The 'Indomitable Lions' of Cameroon have a gender-corresponding translation in the French national language: 'Les Lions Indomptables' and 'Les Lionnes Indomptables'. Countries of the fourth group have just one identical name for both teams: For example in Equitorial Guinea the nickname 'Nzalang Nacional' (meaning 'national lighting or

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[71] See http://www.fifa.com/worldranking/rankingtable/women/index.html (accessed 10-11-2011).
[72] Harambee is the Swahili word which means 'pulling together', from: http://allafrica.com/stories/201102100051.html (accessed 23-01-2012).

sparkle') is used for both male and female national teams alike. The fifth category comprehends nicknames of men's teams which are simply adapted for women's teams by adding a gender-specific adjective: The 'Zebras' of Botswana are called 'Female Zebras', and the 'Flames' of Malawi are the 'Female Flames'. The term 'Flames' refers to the symbolism of the "rising or setting sun" which is illustrated on the national flag standing for "agency and strength, the growth and success of Malawians as an independent, anti-colonial and black African people" (Kabwila Kapasula 2010, p. 34). Zambia also belongs to this fifth group, but with a slightly more sophisticated name. While the surprising Zambian male winners of the Africa Cup 2012 are called 'Chipolopolo' (meaning 'Copper Bullets'), the female team is named 'She-polopolo'.[73]

Even though these five categories are not a precise and causally stringent indicator of the state of women's football and corresponding symbolic values in a specific country, these terms offer valuable clues to determine a certain degree of acceptance, independency, appreciation or neglect of female footballers. Moreover, nicknames and their significance are as well used by media through which certain implicit and explicit messages are sent out to a broader public. Interestingly, in respect of the studied countries, the weak FIFA rankings of Zambia and Malawi correlate with the fifth category of being a dependent male appendage. Considering South Africa, the terminological autonomy is also reflected through a certain level of institutional support which again entails appealing results and a better ranking.

6 Lack of Female Sporting Role Models

"Sports personalities flood news headlines, endorse all varieties of products and, in this globalized world, are among the most recognized celebrities worldwide. Even children in remote rural African villages wear T-shirts and carry notebooks depicting football stars who play for Manchester United or Arsenal, and can name their favorite players. These stars serve as role models and idols for children around the world, particularly during major sporting events, such as the World Cup. Yet female sports figures are noticeably absent" (Huggins & Randell 2007, p. 5). While this quotation gets to this study's heart, one important restriction has to be added: The term 'children' basically means 'boys' in these statements. Girls in remote African communities rarely wear sport shirts and only a few of them are familiar with sport celebrities (Biskup & Pfister 1999; Meier 2005; Vescio et al. 2005).

Young (2005) and other scholars postulate that girls and female adolescents acquire socio-culturally adequate female movement patterns through imitation. Therefore, available female role models are even more important in domains which are traditionally male areas in order to have an idea of culturally acceptable deviance.

Before presenting influential African sportswomen and their performances on and off the track, pool, court or ring, light is shed on female access to untraditional domains in African society. To conclude, potential and assumed functions and expectations regarding female sport stars are depicted.

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[73] See http://www.lusakatimes.com/2011/02/13/shepolopolo-lose-harare/ (accessed 23-01-2012).

6.1 Female Role Models in Untraditional Domains

The at least grammatically neutral term 'role model' is "often rhetorically invoked when considering how to encourage the entrance of outsiders into a presumed desirable position that has been previously off-limits". Even though this way of using this notion considers male and female approaches alike, most studies concentrate on "finding, creating, developing or promoting role models largely to encourage girls and women in fields, hitherto predominantly masculine, especially sports and science". Programmes designed to promote male access to traditionally female domains are relatively rare (Meier & Saavedra 2009, p. 1169).

6.1.1 Influence of Personal Environment and Legislation

A Zambian study revealed mechanisms which describe how parents and relatives often discourage females from training as science teachers. This dissertation suggests that families want daughters and sisters to be successful not wasting the invested money by failures due to difficult subjects. If girls are given the opportunity to receive education at all, they should succeed for sure. A female science student explained: "My mother told me that a lady is supposed to do something that is easy to understand because a lady's mind is a very lazy part of the body which cannot think critically in terms of science" (Haambokoma 2000, p. 72). Such biased stereotypes concerning women's intellectual potential are often found and spread among females themselves. A female English teacher remembered: "One of my brothers discouraged me by telling me that sciences at post-secondary level especially at University level are not as easy as at secondary level. Therefore, to avoid dropping out before completing, I opted for the arts subjects" (p. 70). Besides daunting remarks of family members and structural factors, the Zambian researcher found that "the small number or total absence of female science role models in some secondary schools" are major sources of discouragement of young women (p. 105).

In certain traditionally male dominated areas, female access and participation has been ensured by legislation. For example in South African politics "a 50% ratio of women in parliament and a female deputy President" are guaranteed by constitution. Female sport involvement has been given priority as well through national policies such as the 'White Paper on Sport and Recreation'. But there is evidence of a considerable "void between intention and practice in a sport context". According to Goslin et al. (2008) inequalities between men and women in the South African world of sport were especially linked to the "number of women in leadership positions in sport governing bodies [and] media coverage of female sport" (p. 38).

6.1.2 Influence of Fictional Role Models

The need for supportive and encouraging role models which guide, motivate and serve as an outlet for emotions and thoughts is equally relevant for both boys and girls. Research in Ghana found a "lack of approaches for child and adolescent communication" which is also valid for other African countries (Carnegie 2002, p. 2). Since knowledge on human right's, body functions, education, HIV and other diseases are vital for children and adolescents in most African settings, this target group needs adequate information. Even though most youngsters in developing countries face challenges growing up worthily and safely, girls and female adolescents belong to the most vulnerable youth (UNICEF 2004, 2010b).

In the absence of reliable and available mentors and role models, UNICEF South Asia launched a girl cartoon character called Meena in 1998. The ten year-old Meena should symbolise a female role model with whom girls in India, Nepal, Bangladesh, and Pakistan could identify. The messages conveyed through entertaining stories of Meena and her parrot Mithu dealt with nutrition, hygiene, school attendance, health care, child marriage, etc.[74] The cartoons were not only intended to raise awareness of discriminating practices involving girls, but also to offer solution-oriented and achievable ways to tackle daily hassles or serious problems. This initiative did not only target females, but was also meant to deliver messages on gender biases in families and society to boys, parents and caregivers.[75] Meena was also used to challenge gridlocked perceptions related to sport and gender. As Hargreaves (1994) summarised: "It has been particularly difficult to transcend traditional assumptions that differences between the sexes are biological rather than cultural, and that feminine- and masculine-appropriate sports and male sporting superiority are in the 'natural' order of things (p. 7). Fictional characters proved to play a crucial role in the absence of real-life role models. In 2005, UNICEF and the 'Pakistan Cricket Board' launched a campaign using cricket to address girls' right to education and sport. Meena led this initiative playing cricket in videos, on posters and in leaflets.[76]

Research examining the "conception of heroes" of children and youth aged 5 to 16 years was looking for different categories of heroism (White & O'Brien 1999, p. 81). Thereby, a majority of responses of 5 to 6 year-old students led to the category "comic or cartoon heroes" while no student of this youngest age group named a person from sport or entertainment (p. 85). For children aged 8 to 9, the 'cartoon category' was still the most important one, but they also mentioned stars from areas like sport, entertainment, politics, religion, etc. Youngsters aged 11 to 13 clearly identified sport personalities as their favourite heroes. The oldest group (15 to 16 years) predominantly named sport figures, but closely followed by celebrities from politics and entertainment. Interestingly, the 'cartoon category' was mentioned - even though with a low percentage – in both older age groups as well.

Owing to evidenced success of creating a fictional female role model, Meena and her parrot found counterparts in Eastern and Southern Africa: Sara and her pet monkey Zingo. International evaluation reports and practitioners acknowledge the potential of 'entertainment education' (EE) as communication strategy: "UNICEF's EE series on the girl child Meena and Sara, demonstrate the power of animation. Animation as a genre is culturally sharable and replicable and is powerful in reaching diverse audiences in multiple countries especially children and young people" (UNICEF 2005, p. 24). The attractiveness of cartoon characters which are adaptable to many media formats and contexts enables protagonists like Sara to "gain national popularity and fame, which will increase the impact at all other levels as well" (Carnegie 2002, p. 3). The character Sara resulted out of the cooperation between ten African countries.[77]

Owing to this extensive participatory grassroots approach, topics specifically relevant to African girls were identified. Thereby, priority was given to regular school attendance, but

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[74] See http://www.awn.com/unicef/meena.html (accessed 17-10-2011).

[75] See http://www.unicef.org/meena/ (accessed 17-10-2011).

[76] See http://www.pakpositive.com/2005/08/24/unicef-launches-fair-play-for-girls-cricket-in-pakistan/ (accessed 18-12-2011).

[77] "She is the product of 20 months of research and development work involving over 150 writers, artists, and researchers from Eritrea and Ethiopia in the North, to the Cape of Good Hope in the South. Sara, her friends and family, and the characters and happenings in her community are also the result of discussions with over 5000 people in villages and slums throughout this vast region. It is their insights and reflection which have shaped the adventures of Sara, an adolescent girl between 13 and 15 years of age" (McKee & Clark 1996, unpaged).

other distressing issues such as early marriage and motherhood, HIV and AIDS, sexual harassment, girls' domestic workload and genital mutilation were as well broached and skilfully wrapped into entertaining stories about Sara, her family and friends. Like for Meena, these stories were produced as radio series, comic books, audiotapes, animated movies, posters, etc.[78] Sara and Meena were created to become communicators for various issues which mainly reflect key articles of the 'Convention on the Rights of the Child' or the 'Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women' (CEDAW) (Carnegie 2002).

But how can such deep-rooted serious problems successfully be addressed through cartoons? Compared to live action movies, "with proper formative research animated films can be used to 'strike a common chord' across a diverse region. Common characters, backgrounds and stories can be found which belong to everybody's neighbourhood" (McKee & Clark 1996, unpaged). This similarity between the characters, settings and problems and the target group are crucial and create a sense of ownership. Children, and especially girls, can identify with the stories, because their day-to-day concerns are dealt with in a non-abstract way using familiar terms, perspectives and language (Carnegie 2002, p. 5).

The purposeful combination of fiction and reality allows for both exciting and relevant stories while respecting at the same time socio-cultural values: "In creating the series, research revealed the need to remain within the realm of realism in order to maintain a credible message source. Therefore, Meena's parrot, Mithu, only ever repeats what he has heard and Sara's pet monkey, Zingo, does not talk. She only mimics and gestures in sympathy with Sara's emotions. Both animals are extensions of the girls' egos. They can do things which the Meena and Sara would like to do but which would be disrespectful, for a girl to do in Asian or African society. Therefore, cultural sensitivity is maintained" (McKee & Clark 1996, unpaged).

A pilot testing in Ghana aimed at an evaluation of Sara's impact as role model. Furthermore, the researchers investigated "whether adolescent girls are motivated and encouraged by [Sara's] experiences, whether they identify with her and whether their communities accept her and the issues she stands for". The research participants involved girls, but included as well family and community members. Collected data displayed a clear picture: "Sara was found to be fully acceptable. People said she could be their sister, their daughter or the girl next-door. The materials were also found to be entertaining, while also stimulating debate on the issue of girls being 'pushed-out' of school" (Carnegie 2002, p. 22).

The Sara initiative pursued various goals for sub-Saharan Africa. Two of these aims consisted in the production of "a dynamic role model for girls that will assist in their acquisition of psychosocial life skills essential for empowerment" and the provision of a model for improved gender relationships, beginning at an early age" (p. 6). Sara's character incorporates one criteria of empowerment adopting a resource-oriented approach. She functions as a type of 'positive deviant' and "rather than being presented as a victim, evoking pity and sympathy, Sara emphasizes girls' potential. The stories expose the issues that hinder their development and illustrate the supportive environment which they need to flourish. (…). Like many girls of her age, Sara faces nearly insurmountable socio-cultural as well as economic obstacles in her desire to reach her goals in life. But her aspirations to improve herself and her community, and her quest for alternative solutions to problems, is an inspiration to anyone who encounters her" (pp. 10-11). The conclusion of the mid-term

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[78] See http://www.unicef.org/lifeskills/index_8020.html (accessed 02-02-2012).

evaluation of the initiative in Ghana found that "Sara has the potential to be recognised widely throughout Sub-Saharan Africa as a symbol for girls' empowerment in the face of HIV/AIDS and other threats to health and well-being. She is seen as a supportive, positive role model for girls' rights in areas where a reasonable attempt has been made to program with Sara communication stories and tools" (pp. 60-61). Similar to Meena in Asia (UNICEF 2005), this independent African evaluation recommended pursuing the implementation process in Sub-Saharan Africa (Carnegie 2002).

The lack of female role models is a socio-structural and educational problem often forming a vicious circle. Successful and socially accepted or even admired women in historically male-dominated fields are creating visions and new opportunities for girls. However, if such positive deviant models are not available or visible, these doors remain closed. Striving for a change, involves untiring efforts and unusual creative measures such as cartoon heroines.

6.2 African Inventory of Female Sporting Role Models

Anticipating some facts of the following theoretical chapters, it is generally agreed that adolescents and predominately children mainly pick models who adhere to traditional gender stereotypes (Bandura 1986; Gibson & Cordova 1999; Biskup & Pfister 1999). Furthermore, females rarely name role models from the sport domain, and "sports women [are] hardly ever chosen by boys or girls" (Vescio et al. 2005, p. 157). The Australian study additionally found that "a larger percentage of girls nominate a model from the family, peer or entertainment domains" (p. 166).

A study conducted 2005 in Zambia confirmed these findings for the African context: "While a survey in Lusaka and Kabwe has shown that 61% of all questioned girls could not think of a sport idol at all, only 19% of those who named [a SRM] were mentioning women athletes. (…). Interestingly, 26% of the girls who named sports idols chose a person from their personal environment (family, school, neighbourhood and community), whereas no boy mentioned a role model belonging to his private surrounding" (Meier 2005, p. 16). These results were as well confirmed by Bailey et al. (2005) analysing empirical research on various continents: "Boys and girls tend to attribute role models differently, with girls being more likely to name parents as role models, while boys more often named public figures, such as sports stars. This difference may be due, in part, to the evident lack of female sporting role models available to girls" (p. 6).

At this point the question needs to be raised whether female top athletes in Africa are known, but not considered worth mentioning or simply not visible. Besides gender, especially socio-economic factors were relevant for media access and knowledge of international celebrities. A study in Zambia (Meier & Kunz 2007) showed a significant difference in Lusaka between children of an orphanage ('Fountain of Hope') and a lower middle-class school ('Burma Road'). The variety of international nominations at 'Burma Road' was impressive compared to almost exclusively Zambian male footballers named by orphans. Additionally, girls and boys at 'Burma Road' enumerated favourite sports which were unusual in Zambia such as tennis, golf or cricket. Socio-economic imbalance was also relevant with regard to coaches. While half of both girls and boys at 'Burma Road' could imagine having a woman as coach, 80% of the kids at 'Fountain of Hope' rejected a female coach (Meier & Kunz 2007).

As already mentioned media coverage of female sport – not only in developing countries – is mostly marginalised. Thus, even if equal media access was guaranteed, children would rarely be exposed to female sport and athletes. Rulashe (2004) reported on media editorial content research in 12 African countries (including Malawi, Zambia and South Africa). The findings indicated that "black women accounted for a mere 5% of news sources and only 6% of media practitioners in South Africa" (p. 138). Despite this suggested non-existence of African female top athletes, in reality their performances and international reputation are constantly increasing. Without claiming completeness, an inventory of significant African sportswomen is going to be present and the areas in which they excel.

6.2.1 Female Athletes and Sport in the Spotlight

The "700 best-known Africans" of all times including politicians, musicians, athletes, film makers, authors, artists, etc. were listed by Kalyegira (2002).[79] Even though it is debatable whether this rating can be credibly determined through online research in Africa, the list reveals some interesting findings. Number one of this ranking was Kofi Annan (Ghana) followed by Nelson Mandela (South Africa). The Nigerian singer Sade obtained the third position, being the 'best-known' African woman. The best listed female athlete was tennis star Amanda Coetzer (South Africa) ranking 38th. The second best-known African sportswoman was Maria Mutola (Mozambique) positioned 205th. While Coetzer is White, Mutola was the first Black athlete mentioned. She was followed by two Kenyan marathon runners: Tegla Loroupe placed 211st and Catherine Ndereba holding position 219.

Acknowledging that changes happened in the last decade influencing this list for sure, a more in-depth analysis of this 2002 ranking is still worthwhile. It is noticeable that out of 700 personalities 162 belonged to the world of sport. Thereby, 137 were male and 25 female athletes, coaches or officials. 80% of these 25 well-known sportswomen came from four countries: South Africa (8), Kenya (6), Nigeria (3), and Ethiopia (3).[80] In terms of ethnicity, there were totally 13 Black, 9 White and 3 Arab women. All listed female South Africans were White athletes without exception. The 25 "best-known" African sportswomen excelled in just three disciplines: track and field / athletics (20), swimming (3) and tennis (2). Only South Africans and one woman from Zimbabwe - all of them White athletes – performed in the swimming pool or on the tennis court. Female athletes performing in team sports were completely absent. These findings also correspond with research by Burnett (2002) and Engh (2010) who established a connection between ethnicity and sport disciplines for the South African context: "Black sporting women also experience ideological constraints differently from their white counterparts, and while many black women participate in football, the fact remains that there is an immense lack of female black sporting role models in South Africa; South African sports stars are mainly white (for example Penny Heyns, Elana Meyer, Amanda Coetzer and Zola Budd)" (p. 66). This observation is confirmed by the South African journalist Rulashe (2004) who emphasises that "media is often a reflection of its society" and asserts that "most female role models in South Africa, like Olympic swimming gold medallist Penny Heyns or 2003 IAAF[81] Athlete of the Year Hestrie Cloete, are invariably white – a hangover from apartheid days". Furthermore, she draws a connection with the heavily male-dominated editorial staff: "Sports editors, who are mostly white and male, merely maintain

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[79] This list is based on number of internet page references and documents on which their names appear.
[80] Number of female athletes of other countries: Morocco (2), Algeria (1), Zimbabwe (1), Mozambique (1).
[81] International Association of Athletics Federations.

the status quo. One cannot entirely blame them though - there is a serious shortage of black female sports role models in South Africa" (p. 139).

As a matter of fact, African athletes are often the international benchmark of middle-distance and long-distance running. However, in recent years their performances are as well increasing in more technical disciplines. In 1996, long jumper Chioma Ajunwa won Nigeria's first ever Olympic gold medal which was the first Olympic victory for a Black African woman in a technical athletics competition. In the course of the same Games in Atlanta, the Syrian heptathlete Ghada Shouaa shone with her country's first ever Olympic gold medal (Jäger 2000). More recently, the Nigerian long jumper Blessing Okagbare took a bronze medal at the 2008 Beijing Olympics.

The following year another female African athlete was in the spotlight, but media interest went far beyond her track performance: After winning the women's 800m World Championship race in Berlin, South African runner Caster Semanya was confronted with harsh accusations regarding her sex, internationally suspended and forced to undergo highly questionable tests. After lengthy assessments and discussions, the runner was finally rehabilitated and allowed to return to competitions in summer 2010. This recent lamentable case mirrors the prevailing incapability of major international entities such as the IAAF to operate beyond the historically rooted norms and predominant binary system involving solely male and female individuals. A potential incongruity between biological sex and gender identity was never reckoned which inhibited worthily coping strategies. Back in her South African home country, Caster Semenya was celebrated and even defended by president Jacob Zuma who told her publicly: "Walk tall. We're proud of you. We love you".[82]

Whether this top level support was based on authentic sympathy, patriotic pride or political opportunism, it is a matter of fact that women in South Africa still face opposition and violence when refusing to conform to traditional femininity norms. This sad truth led to the tragedy of another South African sportswoman: Eudy Simelane, the former captain of South Africa's women football team, was gang-raped and stabbed to death in 2008. Simelane "was training to be the first female referee at the 2010 World Cup" (Meier & Saavedra 2009, p. 1171). This cruel crime and corresponding prosecution caught broad international media attention. So far, Simelane was the most high-profile victim of so-called 'educational or corrective rape' through which men intend to 'cure or punish' the sexual orientation of lesbians (DOC 2010; DRL 2010b). The 'Guardian' titled in 2009: "Caster Semenya is a hero, but in South Africa being different can be deadly for a woman". Indeed, Eudy Simelane was perceived as self-confident woman "who challenged the normative ideas of what gender is. She was brutally murdered because she chose to live her life as a proud, visible and confident gay woman".[83] At least the case of Simelane led to serious investigations and finally convictions of the offenders, but the prosecutor failed to directly relate the murder to the victim's sexual orientation (Desai 2010).

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[82] See http://www.awid.org/eng/Library/Caster-Semenya-is-a-hero-but-in-South-Africa-being-different-can-be-deadly-for-a-woman (accessed 12-03-2012).
[83] See http://www.awid.org/eng/Issues-and-Analysis/Issues-and-Analysis/Caster-Semenya-is-a-hero-but-in-South-Africa-being-different-can-be-deadly-for-a-woman (accessed 11-03-2012).

6.2.2 Pioneers of Women's Sport in Africa

Despite the scarcity of remarkable African sporting females, some of them have reached the status of living icons. Four of these influential pioneers will be portrayed.

In 1984, a Moroccan star appeared on the athletics sky: Nawal El Moutawakel. Astonishingly, her name was not listed among the "700 best-known Africans" investigated by Kalyegira (2002). This omission is probably linked to language issues of French and Arab websites which might not have been fully considered. Her victorious 400m hurdles race in Los Angeles made her "the first Arab, African and Muslim woman to win an Olympic gold medal". King Hassan II publicly praised her outstanding performance and declared that all newborn girls of the 'golden day' shall be named Nawal in her honour.[84] The 22 year-old Moroccan athlete who trained and studied in the USA „opened the door for other North Africa and Arab women's participation and success in later Olympic Games" (Meier & Saavedra 2009, p. 1167). In 1993, El Moutawakel launched a 10km women's run across the streets of her home city Casablanca which is still held every year with up to 30'000 female participants. In 1998, Nawal was appointed to the IOC as first Muslim woman, in 2002 she established the 'Association Marocaine Sport et Développement' promoting Moroccan women and youth through sports, and in 2007 she became Morocco's Minister of Sport and Youth.[85] A journalist of the prestigious German newspaper FAZ ('Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung') called her "the most powerful woman of Olympic sport" and considered her as plausible candidate to succeed the current IOC president Jacques Rogge.[86]

Another top athlete from North Africa who paved the way for future generations is the Algerian runner Hassiba Boulmerka. In 1991, she won the title for the 1500m at the World Championships in Tokio, and one year later in Barcelona she took the Olympic gold medal as first African woman in this discipline (Jäger 2000). It was Algeria's first ever Olympic gold medal. Her athletic success coincided with the raise of Islamist fundamentalism in Algeria which radically condemned Muslim sportswomen performing publicly (Jäger 2000). In an interview with the BBC magazine Boulmerka remembered: "It was Friday prayers at our local mosque, and the imam said that I was not a Muslim, because I had run in shorts, shown my arms and my legs. He said I was anti-Muslim".[87] As a consequence Boulmerka faced serious death threats after her victory in Tokio and thus had to leave her home country to prepare the Olympics in Barcelona. Since she continued to participate successfully in international competitions, she lived in Cuba for a few years for safety reasons. In the BBC interview the 'Constantine gazelle' talked about her symbolic Olympic success of 1992: "As I crossed the line, I thrust a fist into the air. It was a symbol of victory, of defiance. It was to say: 'I did it! I won! And now, if you kill me, it'll be too late. I've made history! (…). It was a triumph for women all over the world to stand up to their enemies. That's what made me really proud". Today, Boulmerka lives in Algeria where she succeeded as businesswoman who is respected as one of the country's greatest athletes.[88] Boulmerka paved the way for her talented compatriot Nouria Mérah-Benida who won the race over 1500m at the 2000 Sydney Olympics.

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[84] See http://www.faz.net/aktuell/sport/mehr-sport/nawal-el-moutawakel-54-61-sekunden-haben-ein-erdbeben-ausgeloest-11561684.html (accessed 22-02-2012).
[85] See http://www.laureus.com/members/159 (accessed 22-02-2012).
[86] See http://www.faz.net/aktuell/sport/mehr-sport/nawal-el-moutawakel-54-61-sekunden-haben-ein-erdbeben-ausgeloest-11561684.html (accessed 23-02-2012).
[87] See http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-16962799 (accessed 23-02-2012).
[88] See http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-16962799 (accessed 07-03-2012).

Another pioneer and ambassador of African athletic excellence is the already mentioned Maria Mutola: „Her crowning achievement came at the 2000 Sydney Olympics, when she brought home Mozambique's first ever Olympic gold in the 800m. (…). At 34, Maria Mutola is a national hero and one of Maputo's avenues has recently been named after her" (Boavida 2006, p. 13). After her glorious international running career, she decided to switch from athletics to football. At the age of 38 she agreed to lead her country's female football team as a captain during the 'All Africa Games' 2011 held in Mozambique.[89]

Only a few positions behind Mutola, Kalyegira's (2002) ranking listed the Kenyan running star Tegla Loroupe. In 1994, she was the first African woman to win the prestigious marathon of New York City. Numerous victories and records added up to this outstanding performance of an athlete who used to run without shoes. In 2004, she founded the 'Tegla Loroupe Peace Foundation' promoting conflict resolution between hostile communities in East Africa in particular. Some strategies of her foundation include educational and health programmes, poverty reduction, and sport activities such as impressive 'Peace Runs' actively involving athletes, diplomats, youth, politicians, and - most important - warriors. Furthermore, Loroupe was named a UN Ambassador for Sport by former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan in 2006. She is also an International Sports Ambassador for the IAAF, UNICEF, and Oxfam Ambassador of Sport and Peace in Darfur.[90] In 2007, within the framework of the prestigious Kenyan 'Sports Personality of the Year Award' (SOYA), she won the newly created category 'community hero'.[91]

6.2.3 Athletic Excellence in 'Typically Masculine or Feminine' Sports

Thus far, all of the outstanding African athletes presented in the previous section were involved in sports which have steadily lost restriction and their traditional link to masculinity over the 20th century. For example 'marathon' was only officially admitted as female Olympic discipline in 1984 (Meier 2004). Even though opposing voices were initially raised and female athletes obstructed, athletics is nowadays generally considered a suitable female sport. However, sportswomen's performance in typically masculine disciplines is still contested in Africa. All the more personalities like Maria Mutola who dared the shift from athletics to the football pitch need to be given credit, since they put themselves at risk of being publicly criticised and scathed.

A prototype of an athlete who excels in the male area of boxing is the Zambian Esther Phiri. She grew up in a deprived community close to Lusaka (Mtendere) where she had to face poverty on her own dropping out of school to earn a living. She gave birth to her first child at the age of 16 as a single mother. Luckily, a health programme was implemented in her neighbourhood offering education combined with sport. Thereby Esther Phiri made her first boxing experiences and fortunately her skills were promptly recognised. In 2007, the Zambian boxer attracted a great deal of attention by defeating a Bulgarian opponent and winning the title as 'Women's International Boxing Federation Intercontinental Lightweight'. This victory bestowed numerous headlines, national fame and sponsorship upon Phiri who was additionally honoured by the Zambian president. Esther Phiri was given a house and

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[89] See http://www.womenssoccerunited.com/profiles/blogs/maria-mutola-captain-s-mozambique-women-s-football-team-at-the (accessed 24-02-2012).
[90] See http://www.diplomateastafrica.com/component/content/article/35-sport1 (accessed 24-02-2012).
[91] See http://www.soyaawards.com/index.php (accessed 24-02-2012).

endorsed by notorious brands. The pride of and significance for the country were best expressed through her endorsement deal with the national company producing one of Zambia's main dishes which was promoted as 'The Champion's Choice' (Meier & Saavedra 2009). An exploratory study conducted in Lusaka (Brady et al. 2010) asked Zambian adolescent girls (n = 683) "Who is your favorite sports figure or athlete?". The responses contained 28% of various international male football stars. 25% accounted for numerous other athletes and 10% did not have, know or mention a preferred sports figure. A total of 35% named Esther Phiri as favourite athlete, and 2% nominated Serena Williams (p. 24). The Zambian NOWSPAR[92] organisation conducted a survey on sport participation of girls in 2009 asking over 500 respondents "who they looked up to as a hero". One third of all responses contained female names. And the only female athlete mentioned was Esther Phiri. All other answers were related to men involved in football, basketball, tennis and athletics.[93]

A similar research question investigated in Lusaka and Kabwe in 2005 can be consulted in comparison: prior to the phenomenon Esther Phiri, a considerable general lack of female SRMs prevailed. In this study the two US tennis stars Serena and Venus Williams were – besides mentioned mothers, sisters, and aunts - the only nominated female athletes in the entire survey (Meier & Kunz 2007).

The fact that Esther Phiri's notoriety is not comparable to the international awareness level of Amanda Coetzer, Maria Mutola, Tegla Loroupe or Nawal El Moutawakel, reflects the modest media attention dedicated to women's boxing in general. Nonetheless, Phiri is a best-known and admired personality in her Zambian home country which otherwise strongly adheres to traditional gender norms. Once Esther Phiri had achieved international success, national pride and fame, public opinion and prejudice regarding female boxers seemed to vanish.

But in many cases talent, top performance and international recognition do not guarantee role model status. This remark especially applies to female team sports which are not given much public attention; even, if national teams such as the Malawian netball 'Queens' ranked - as best African team – at the fifth position worldwide in 2009 (behind Australia, New Zealand, England and Jamaica). Compared to the modest success of the male football 'Flames' and considering limited funds, the record of the netball 'Queens' is indeed impressive. Kabwila Kapasula (2010) stated that despite brilliant netball results, local and national male football stars in her home country were much more popular and highly esteemed: "The fact that football is the national sport of Malawi is an evidence of the patriarchal nature of Malawi. When one compares the achievements of the Flames and the Queens, the sport that should be the national sporting code is netball" (p. 35). The notoriety of the 'Queens' is even outshone by foreign male athletes: "Much as the football players are the better known than the netball ones, it is poignant to note that most football-conscious people in Malawi follow the British premier league and its stars more than the local ones" (p. 38). The fact that netball in sub-Saharan Africa is a "quintessential feminine sport" (Pelak 2005b, p. 58) is even corroborated through terminology in Malawi. In the national language Chichewa, "netball is called 'nchembere mbaye'. Thereby, the notion 'nchembere' signifies "a woman who is no longer a virgin, one who has given birth and is a caregiver" linking this sport inevitably to female bodies, marriage and family: "In netball, it suggests a part-time player, one who is infantilized by being nationally reminded that she has other duties to perform, the duty of motherhood. For football, the men are seen as full time sports men,

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[92] National Organisation for Women in Sport, Physical Activity and Recreation.
[93] See http://nowspar.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=16&Itemid=7 (accessed 22-02-2012).

thereby underlining their professionalism as sportsmen" (Kabwila Kapasula 2010, p. 33). However, even if netball is the most popular female sport in most African countries, parliamentary pressure was needed e.g. in South Africa for "getting television coverage for the biggest women's sport in South Africa" in the late 1990ties (Rulashe 2004, p. 140). In Malawi, the newspaper 'The Nation' (March 4th 2009) reported on lacking funds which stopped the national 2009 'Bingu Netball Cup' [named after the Malawian president in office] in full season. The Malawian Netball Association (NAM) declared that "the district finals will remain on hold until NAM receives the money from the Presidential Sports Initiative for buying trophies and paying out cash prizes for the top four teams in each district" (p. 34).

This brief excursus on netball which according to Pelak (2005b) unites "girls of all racial and class backgrounds" (p. 58), shed light onto the epitome of African female team sport. Netball is primarily a school-based sport introduced by British colonialism (Guest 2010). Even though top level netball players are commonly not celebrated as outstanding national superstars, their performances are still positively recognised and respected in many sub-Saharan African countries. Active female netballers are fully in line with socially expected gender norms and do even reinforce the "strict boundaries between so-called 'male sports' and 'female sports' in South Africa [which] are classical examples of how dominant groups construct social, physical, and cultural boundaries to build collective identities and naturalize their privilege". Therefore, if women and girls trespass these conventional structures and enter "the masculine construction of soccer in South Africa (…), they face formidable challenges in dismantling the boundaries that mark them as outsiders and limit their participation" (Pelak 2005b, p. 58).

The recognition of gender equality as "autonomous aspect of democratization of post-apartheid South Africa" ran parallel with the stepwise support of FIFA and the IOC for women's football in the course of the 1990s: "The convergence of these processes meant a shift in the opportunity structures for organizing women's soccer in South Africa" (p. 54). Sport has greatly contributed to the nation building and democracy process of post-apartheid South Africa. Since his symbolic gesture of reconciliation wearing the 'Springboks' colours of the national rugby team, Nelson Mandela incorporates more than ever a moral and charismatic authority of South African society (Desai 2010). After vainly trying for several years, the Banyana Banyana team was officially received by Mandela in 2006.[94] This meeting was a milestone of nationwide ideological acknowledgment of women's football. Naidoo & Muholi (2010) impressively demonstrate how the public perception of female football changed through the advocacy and magic of 'Madiba': "Not only did Mandela's audience with the team meet many of its players' lifelong dreams, but it also gained Banyana Banyana a lot more media coverage than usual". The authors describe how internet research on the female national team conducted before and after this historic meeting displayed major differences in quantity and quality. Before meeting Mandela, media coverage "portrayed the world of football as being a male-dominated, heterosexist world from which women are generally excluded and for which women have to struggle in order to gain inclusion". The numerous articles published after 2006 "celebrated the team and the talent and success of its players" (p. 106).

As many sport codes in South Africa, football was initially only played by White women who preferred the indoor version of the game "as the teams progressively became more non-

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[94] See http://www.iol.co.za/sport/madiba-magic-for-banyana-banyana-players-1.564108 (accessed 20-02-2012).

racial" (Groenmeyer 2010, p. 114). Black women kicked the ball outside and faced economic challenges: "Although the post-apartheid context has created more space for Black women and/or poor women to compete in soccer, significant material disparities between players still exist" (Pelak 2005b, p. 67). Since most current Banyana Banyana players are Black, the growing acceptance and success of the squad does increasingly feature Black women: "Although footballers like Desiree Ellis, Portia Modise and most recently Noko Alice Matlou, have received a fair amount of publicity and recognition, it is doubtful that these women can be considered mainstream (malestream) sports stars" (Engh 2010, p. 66).

Nevertheless, in contrast to Zambia and Malawi, female footballers in South Africa – owing to recent corporate sponsorship and success – have been given some public attention (Mills 2010). However, even if the best South African female footballers just qualified - for the first time ever - for the London Olympics 2012, they still excel in a domain which Pelak (2005b) described as "one of those flagship masculine sports, like ice hockey in Canada, which serves as an ideological cornerstone for the maintenance of men's dominance. Through the historical exclusion of women, soccer has been marked as men's/boys' territory (…).Football is also more than 'a game' in South Africa. It is an institution that facilitates and shapes the distribution of political and economic power. Black men across class divisions in particular have taken up soccer and made it 'their game'" (p. 57). The South African newspaper 'Sunday Independent' (Feb. 25, 2007) referred to the notoriety of the women's football national team and its slim financial support: "Banyana Banyana - the pride of women's sport in SA! If one takes into account how our country's top female players are paid out of the petty-cash tin by SAFA, it is a wonder that Portia Modise and her teammates turn up on match day at all! In return for a standard match fee of R2000 [approximately 200 EURO] per player per game, team captain Modise and company are asked to play their hearts out for the 'love of thy country'".[95] Insiders of women's football in South Africa are convinced that members of Banyana Banyana are given credit by the public compared to modest efforts provided by "SAFA, government and the mainstream media". As the former national coach Fran Hilton-Smith stated in an interview (2006): "The women have incredible support from the nation. And, in fact, everyday (…) people stop me in the street - I haven't coached the team for two years now - but they ask 'how's Banyana Banyana doing, how are these top players doing?' So they're household names. The captain, for instance, Portia Modise, was nominated as one of the top hundred women in the country. She's an icon. There is a huge support for women's football. It just doesn't get the support that's needed from the people who are supposed to be developing it" (Naidoo & Muholi 2010, p. 128).

But being in the spotlight does also result in raising further expectations. Back in 2005, a controversy was caused by Ria Ledwaba, at the time head of the women's committee at the South African Football Association (SAFA), who urged Banyana Banyana players to be more feminine: "They need to learn how to be ladies. (…). At the moment you sometimes can't tell if they're men or women. (…).There are mothers out there who won't let their daughters play football because they think they'll start acting like boys. (…). We need to teach them etiquette and the importance of being a role model".[96] Team captain Portia Modise publicly responded "that sexual preferences of team members were being made scapegoats to cover up for management failures and a lack of support" (Saavedra 2005b, p. 6). Furthermore, she said "that how the players chose to behave and dress off the field had no effect on their playing

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[95] See http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-159791819.html (accessed 20-02-2012).
[96] Story BBC SPORT, from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/sport2/hi/football/africa/4332715.stm (accessed 03-03-2012).

on the field. She also claimed that 60% of the team were lesbians, and that, in fact, a majority of soccer players worldwide were lesbian" (Naidoo & Muholi 2010, p. 133). At the same time she claimed respect of her privacy: "Nobody will stop me from doing what I love. My private life is my business and no one should tell me how to behave when I am at home. They don't even know where I stay and I don't think they care".[97] The interdependence of certain sport codes, body features, gender and sexual orientation is unfortunately common in media coverage and, as outlined by Saavedra (2005b), not only targeting female athletes: "In Nigeria, hairstyles and fashion choices of male football players have been castigated by football officials as promoting homosexuality and effeminate behaviour" (p. 6).

Whereas women who play football in South Africa already trespass non-conformist territory, Black lesbians add two levels of 'deviance' to these already crossed frontiers of social acceptance. As already mentioned, despite a very progressive South African legal system in terms of homosexuality, being gay or lesbian is considered truly 'un-African' and denounced as evil colonialist import (Roberts & Reddy 2008). This vehement rejection of homosexuality and homophobic acts are not only apparent in South Africa, but representative – in even more rigid terms – in most African countries. Malawian human right's agency for example regularly reports on people being "beaten by police or other security forces due to their sexual orientation".[98] Both constitutions in Malawi and Zambia consider homosexuality as illegal, entailing minimum imprisonment of 14 years.[99]

The fact of being a public figure does also entail consequences which recreational players are not exposed to: "The national women's football team members are faced with the responsibility of 'disproving' crude stereotypes, and are expected to appear as feminine role models and football representatives" (Engh 2010, p. 74). They need to live up to a 'double expectation' and constantly prove that femininity and football are compatible. Daimon (2010) reported on a Zimbabwean female footballer who was at risk of not finding a husband, and thus loosing social status: "Hence, female soccer personalities are usually treated as deviant who cannot be married to sane men. Because of pride and chauvinistic mindsets, men avoid marrying such women whom they deem masculine in character". The author further wrote about a female player from Ghana who "decided to abandon her football career after facing mounting criticism from many people who viewed her as a man and that she would not be married" (p. 9). Thus, female athletic professionalism is not per se empowering, but can enhance adverse effects: "Women in male domains and occupations, such as football, are threatening the 'naturalness' of the current gender order, and as a result face heightened pressures to prove their womanhood and heterosexuality. In this way, the ideologies and discourses that limit women's access to sport remain unchanged" (Engh 2010, p. 75).

Therefore, a female top athlete who is actively involved in a traditionally masculine domain such as football needs to aptly manage the balancing act between conforming to mainstream femininity and displaying outstanding performance to be considered a national SRM supported by media, governmental agencies, associations and the corporate sector. Self-confident, outspoken and sport-focussed personalities such as Desiree Ellis or Portia Modise are getting recognition to a certain degree by a certain public, but since they do not fully adhere to current gender norms, they are not 'marketable' and appealing to a mainstream

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[97] See http://152.111.1.87/argief/berigte/citypress/2005/03/13/C1/9/01.html (accessed 12-03-2012).
[98] See http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2008/af/119011.htm (accessed 26-04-2011).
[99] See http://www.queer.de/detail.php?article_id=11594 and http://www.lusakatimes.com/2011/03/18/36366/ (both accessed 22-08-2011).

audience. Theoretical background on mechanisms of this "gendered heroism" (Hargreaves 2000, p. 3) is provided in Chapter V.

7   Assumed Functions and Claims of Female Sporting Role Models

Reviewing manuals, reports, and strategic programmes of different players such as governmental or UN agencies, international working groups, local NGOs or sport associations which aim at a development of female sport and/or a development of women and girls through sport, one common denominator is echoed: the lack of female SRMs. For example the 'International Working Group on Sport for Development and Peace' (SDP IWG 2008) formulated recommendations to governments: "Provide female role models. Recruit positive, enthusiastic, and encouraging girls and women as coaches, referees and officials. Developing a talented pool of female leaders is an urgent need in most countries because few females occupy such positions" (p. 162). A similar strategy was suggested by a report mandated by WHO and ICSSPE which emphasised the importance of local embeddedness and sustainability: "The organisation of sports groups and programmes should include women in key roles, such as coaching and mentors, and role models drawn from within local communities and schools. These should reflect differences in perspectives and interests, and develop close links with schools and communities, to ensure continuity of engagement in sports and physical activities throughout life" (Bailey et al. 2005, p. 7). Consolidated findings from various S&D programmes have also demonstrated the need for a holistic gender perspective to tackle inequality: "The establishment of positive role models and development of mentoring systems are important strategies. Positive role models and support are not only required for girls and young women; there is also a critical need for gender-sensitive male athletes, coaches, journalists and other leaders to provide positive role models and support for boys and young men" (UN 2007, p. 30). Whereas FIFA so far was mainly concerned with its core business - the 'development of football' - the aspect 'development through football' was marginalised and just occasionally featured for PR and marketing purposes. Nevertheless, after the athletic and commercial success of the World Cup 2011 in Germany, FIFA seemed to recognise the fallow potential of female football and formulated its strategy 2012-2015: "FIFA promotes the development of women's football and is committed to creating opportunities for female players, coaches, referees, and officials to become actively involved in the sport of football" (FIFA 2011, p. 2). This mission statement was backed-up by a letter (January 2012) sent to all FIFA associations evoking this paradigmatic shift: "FIFA encourages female participation in all areas of football and especially within women's football development. Member associations should take into consideration players, former female players, women for these activities".[100]

After assessing the lack of female SRMs in 2009, the Zambian NOWSPAR decided to launch a campaign entitled 'Sheroes' in 2010.[101] Aiming at an increased female visibility in sport, NOWSPAR identified remarkable Zambian sportswomen: "Sheroes are everyday sports girls and women who are going against cultural expectations of what they should do or be. [They] are taking up opportunities in their communities to do sport, to be fit and to play. [They] are speaking out for their rights and the rights of others to do sport. [They] are reaching for gold

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[100] See http://www.fifa.com/mm/document/affederation/administration/01/57/35/75/circularno.1289-fifawomensfootballdevelopmentprogrammegudelines2012-2015.pdf (accessed 25-01-2012).
[101] See http://assets.sportanddev.org/downloads/poster_pres_print_5_mm_bleed.pdf (accessed 08-02-2012).

and more". NOWSPAR presented Zambian SRMs from boxing (Inonge Nayoto), football (Enala Phiri-Simbeya), Karate (Natasha Kasanda) or Judo (Matilda K. Mwaba) who were then systematically promoted and taken care of: "The Sheroes campaign is aimed at highlighting the positive images and efforts of girls and women to challenge and address stereotypes, structural and physical situations. We use media platforms to raise the profile of our Sheroes and also we support and work with the Sheroes to enhance their skills and opportunities to continue their engagement in sport".[102]

But what are assumed benefits of available female SRMs? What are possible functions attributed to top level sportswomen or recreational female coaches? Thereby, SRM status and interaction degrees need consideration (Chap. IV). The following subchapters identify ten commonly assumed functions of female SRMs. Generally speaking, these popular claims apply to any status and interaction degree, but require respective adjustments.

7.1 Increased Female Participation

One main reason why more female SRMs are needed relates to a wishful increase of women and girls participating in sport. The 'SDP IWG'[103] suggested governmental campaigns to "address myths and misconceptions about the negative impact of female participation" and mandate well-known personalities: "The use of high-profile female sport ambassadors and role models can also be effective in promoting female participation" (SDP IWG 2008, p. 160).

Analysing women's experiences of sport participation, Brackenridge (2007) mentioned role models both as constraining and facilitating factors: On the one hand, personal perceptions of role models were "unrealistic" or "Amazonian realistic" and the absence of role models had inhibiting effects. On the other hand, "more, positive role models" and "parent role models" were facilitating female sport participation (pp. 44-45). This ambiguity reflects the fact that "many assumptions underlie the notion of the role model". For some women, female SRMs may even be deflating and demotivating, because they embody physical performance and perfection (p. 28). More facts on such mechanisms will be presented in the following theoretical chapters. Scrutinising an Australian study, it became also obvious that "low family income was a significant influence on participation [and that] parenthood had little influence on elite male athletes but considerable (inhibiting) influence on elite female athletes" (Brackenridge 2007, p. 36).

Within the 2005 UN 'International Year of Sport and P.E.' a conference on 'Effecting Social Change through Women's Leadership in Sport' was held at Kennesaw State University.[104] This summit focussed on "educational role modelling as a means to reach community youth [and] positive role models (…) recognized as an important way to increase participation of women and girls in sport and sport leadership". As initially stated, interaction intensity and long-term vision were identified as parameters underpinning effective role modelling: "Long-term mentorship is also important, as the encouragement and moral support offered through such relationships are key factors in providing an enabling environment for increased

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[102] See http://nowspar.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=16&Itemid=7 (accessed 23-02-2012). NOWSPAR had the opportunity to present 'Sheroes' at the 5th IWG World Conference on Women and Sport 2010 in Sydney and was honoured by UN Special Advisor on Sport for Development and Peace, Wilfred Lemke in 2012, from http://www.sportanddev.org/?1702/5th-IWG-World-Conference-on-Women-and-Sport-Unites-Against-Violence-against-Women-in-Sport and http://www.iwg-gti.org/catalyst/march-20122/zambia-nowspar-praised-by-un-for/ (both accessed 22-03-2012).
[103] 'International Working Group on Sport for Development and Peace'.
[104] In association with various partners such as the US Olympic Committee and the International Labour Organization (ILO).

participation in this area" (UN 2007, p. 24). In a nutshell, the "lack of culturally relevant role models" (p. 18) was the most mentioned barrier to female physical activity.

7.2 Featuring and Promoting Leadership Skills

A second claim referring to women's capabilities as leaders is intertwined with the described participation rates: "As more and more women and girls serve in leadership and decision-making positions, their influence as role models and mentors encourages more women and girls to participate at all levels of sport. Promoting and documenting the successes of women and girl leaders in the world of sport is an important step in raising awareness and providing encouragement and support to other aspiring leaders" (UN 2007, p. 10).

However, this 'leadership function' of female SRMs has a double implication: in the sense of 'development of sport' it means holding leadership positions at all levels and serving as pioneers who break new grounds. This is indeed significant, since prestigious positions in international sport bodies are still predominantly occupied by men: "Recognizing the lack of women in leadership positions within sport, the [IOC] established targets and urged all National Olympic Committees (NOCs), international and national sport federations, and other sport organizations of the Olympic movement to ensure that at least 20% of decision-making roles were held by women by 2005" (SDP IWG 2008, p. 155). Additionally, from a macro perspective, "an increase of women in leadership positions in sport can also have a significant influence on social attitudes towards women's capabilities as leaders and decision makers" (UN 2008, pp. 32-33). But a simple arithmetic increase of female leaders is also contested: "Critiques of leadership initiatives have also pointed out that statistical changes in representation do not, in themselves, guarantee cultural changes in gender dynamics". Besides numbers and figures, certain quality standards of equality need to be defined which provide "key indicators for organisations to measure their progress against" (Brackenridge 2007, p. 28). Arguing from a 'development through sport' approach, leadership skills are not only publicly displayed, but do also foster personal growth which may affect children/youth and female SRMs themselves.

Huggins & Randell (2007) report on a 'Right to Play' programme in a Tanzanian refugee camp: "The girls benefit from participation in sports as well as from the leadership of female coaches, who have become widely respected role models within the camp community. (…). On an individual level, participation in sport empowers girls, giving them confidence, teamwork and leadership skills, which they carry with them for the rest of their lives" (p. 11). The inherent structure of team sports offers opportunities to display and learn leadership skills. First attempts can already occur at a young age, for example, as team captain or peer volunteer. Experiences in leadership are also acquirable as referee, coach, staff, medical assistant, etc. and may ideally be transferred into 'real life': "Sport can also provide girls and women with powerful role models, leadership skills and experience that they can transfer to other domains such as their family life, civic involvement, and advocacy". But being considered a role model does as well involve a personal development process. Such psycho-social benefits of SRMs ideally have self-reinforcing effects and allow for sustainability over time (SDP IWG 2008, p. 132). In summary, S&D programmes offer two leadership assets: They have the potential to "provide strong female role models" and involve structures which permit to "acquire leadership skills and experience" (p. 153). These two aspects are often intermingled in discussions and strategies.

7.3 Advocates for Specific Messages

The third popular claim in terms of female SRMs involves the classical 'advocacy function' of endorsing campaigns and promoting messages (of common interest). As an outcome of the IOC 'World Conference' in Marrakech, new commitments were formulated including the following: "The conference (…) calls upon all female athletes and leaders to serve as role models and mentors for young girls and women to develop their skills in sport and professional lives, and contribute to the promotion of diversity, peace and human understanding" (IOC & NOC Morocco 2004, p. 31).

UN entities use SRMs very specifically to promote the MDGs. With regard to the sixth MDG related to HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, sport personalities are mandated to transmit information to marginalised groups: "Sport can help engage otherwise difficult-to-reach populations and provide positive role models delivering prevention messages. The most vulnerable populations, including women and girls, are highly responsive to sport-targeted programmes. Sport can also effectively assist in overcoming prejudice, stigma and discrimination" (UN 2007, p. 4). Depending on the topic or the target group, adequate SRMs need to be identified from a broad pool. Sekajugo (2004) from the 'Supreme Council for Sport in Africa' emphasised the fact that "sports role models have a place in all facets of HIV/AIDS prevention, treatment care and support". Since HIV prevalence among young women in sub-Saharan Africa is five times higher than among male counterparts, female SRMs are especially urged to reach out to this very vulnerable group. There is an explicit need for both "HIV free and HIV positive sports personalities" to step forward, be trained and serve as role models (quoted in: IOC & NOC Morocco 2004, p. 208).

In contrast with these rather indirect functions as advocates, certain SRMs chose to take proactive measures to influence policies, to create top level or grassroots foundations, to run for public offices, to mobilise resources, etc. Through this personal initiative, a SRM transcends the status of advocate and acts as "a reformer, or even a revolutionary" really striving for social change (Meier & Saavedra 2009, p. 1161). Nawal El Moutawakel or Tegla Loroupe are two examples of African female SRMs who are not just serving a cause, but personally embody progress and change as their goal in life. It needs to be mentioned again that male SRMs do also have a significant influence as advocates promoting girls' and women's right to sport: „The sports arena provides an opportunity to reach out to men and boys on issues related to stereotypical attitudes and gender-based discrimination and violence. (…). Male athletes who speak out on such issues can be particularly effective given their position as role models in the community" (UN 2007, pp. 12-13).

However, credible and effective advocates of gender equity are not coercively well-known celebrities. According to Masoni De Morea (2004) "the most influential role models our children and youth have, are quite likely not the celebrated professional athletes, but instead they are those coaches who play such a prominent role in the lives of youngsters on a daily basis" (quoted in: IOC & NOC Morocco 2004, p. 214). On a grassroots level, for example, how male coaches act and speak, does have an impact on attitudes and behaviour: "Sport programs also offer important opportunities to provide boys and male youth with role models who actively support gender equity. These models reinforce equity in the expectations they communicate to program participants, and model appropriate behaviour in their relations with girls and women" (SDP IWG 2008, p. 150). As a practical measure to prevent violence in football - in its broadest sense –, UNICEF in cooperation with FIFA launched a football

coaching manual entitled 'Coaching Boys into Men' (UNICEF 2007). This manual was directly accosting coaches with the potential and responsibility they possess as role models: "As a football coach, you have power beyond the pitch. While working with young people in practice drills and during matches, you can teach respect, teamwork, tolerance and integrity. What coaches do and say can change the discriminatory attitudes and damaging behaviours that are at the core of physical violence and abuse. You can alter the damaging attitudes that create inequality between men and women, spread fighting into neighbourhoods and schools, and condone violence within homes" (p. 1). Thereby, famous football stars such as David Beckham, Emmanuel Adebayor and Thierry Henry were quoted to corroborate the role model function of a coach: "Young people need role models who can explain that violence, especially against someone weaker than they are, is just plain bullying and wrong" (p. 2). Acknowledging that coaches have the potential to play a unique role in addressing sensitive issues such as discrimination and violence off and on the pitch, this manual identified "teachable moments" (p. 9) and aptly combined technical and life skills teaching. In terms of language, for example, the common insult 'you kick like a girl' was labelled as damaging even among men coaching boys (p. 6). A strong asset of gender-sensitive male role models working with boys involved a holistic approach of dignity towards all human beings.

7.4 Changing Male Perceptions ('Eye-opening-effect')

An active presence of competent female coaches or athletes displaying technical know-how and skills affects female and male participants, staff, spectators, journalists, etc. Thereby, the most sustainable impact may be reached through personal relationships between boys who are coached by a woman. Regular cooperation and constant quality work is probably more influential than an ephemeral session with an outstanding female athlete. However, 'eye-opening effects' may as well occur by impressive well-known sportswomen.

Female sport activity may as well impact on gender equality from a peer-to-peer perspective: "Given that sport was traditionally a male domain, women and girls' participation in sport challenges a multitude of gender stereotypes, not only related to physical ability but also regarding women's role in communities and society. By directly challenging and dispelling misconceptions about women's capabilities, integrated sport programmes help to reduce discrimination and broaden the roles prescribed to women" (UN 2008, pp. 32-33). This phenomenon was for example described by Brady & Khan (2002) who analysed the Kenyan 'Mathare Youth Sports Association' (MYSA)[105]. Initially, MYSA boys were rather sceptical and expressed stereotypical concerns related to female participants. But after the female MYSA team successfully managed to qualify and win the prestigious Norway Cup, attitudes changed: "Despite their initial skepticism about girls' physical abilities, particularly regarding football, boys have come to see that girls are capable players. (…). Seeing girls achieve success in what had been a male domain may begin to reshape boys' notions about girls' roles and capabilities" (pp. 22-23). Therefore, female SRMs do not have to be adults or famous personalities to have an impact. Strictly sex-segregated programmes may offer safer spaces and more gender-sensitive structures, but they miss a unique opportunity to implicitly sensitise for gender-equitable values and practices (UN 2008).

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[105] MYSA was originally set up in 1987 as a self-help organisation for boys linking sport and environmental issues. In Mathare, this poorest community of Nairobi, an expansion of activities reaching out for girls began five years later. For more details see http://www.mysakenya.org (accessed 20-11-2012).

7.5 Challenging and Transforming Gender Roles and Structures

Another assumed claim of female SRMs involves the challenge of existing social structures, especially at top level sport: "Watching female athletes participate in high-profile sporting events, such as the Olympics, can transform male and female perceptions of the capacities of girls and women. Through their achievements, elite female athletes dispel the misconception that sport is not biologically or socially appropriate for females. An Olympic medalist […] stimulates national pride, unity and a sense of accomplishment. When the athlete is female, she provides a visible demonstration of what is possible for women to achieve" (SDP IWG 2008, p. 153). This assumption was underlined by El Moutawakel (2004) referring to today's sportswomen who "are now breaking records and destroying social and cultural barriers, as well as those stereotypes hindering women's practice of sport" (p. 200).

The more international success and honour an athlete can dedicate to his or her country, the less space is given to irritated voices criticising 'potential deviance' related to ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, sexuality, disability, etc. Concerning Caster Semenya, for example, the question needs to be raised whether the athlete would have received equal public support and "be[en] defended so passionately if she had finished 12th in her race". Luckily for her, South African patriotism seemed to be defying gender-based prejudice.[106]

Female SRMs may especially challenge existing norms, if they excel in sport codes with a masculine connotation such as football. Bianca Zeeman, a South African national footballer, "considers the Banyana Banyana team to be a catalyst for challenging gender stereotypes. As a woman soccer player, she challenges and dispels misconceptions about women's capabilities and perceives herself to be a positive role model for younger women" (Groenmeyer 2010, p. 116).

Despite this seemingly logical mechanism of female SRMs challenging gender stereotypes, this process is rather complex and not linear. Furthermore, there are considerable differences between the two claims of challenging or transforming existing gender roles and structures. Unsystematic and uncoordinated changes and challenges per se – as valuable as they may be in detail - are unlikely to result in an equitable and sustainable transformation of socio-cultural gender dynamics.

7.6 Source of Inspiration and Encouragement

Another commonly acknowledged sphere of SRM influence is the 'lodestar function' which entails a touch of spirituality and magic. The lack of female SRMs means that youth are deprived of potential supportive emotional pillars: "Without female athletes to look up to, girls miss out on the encouragement, inspiration, and exhilaration that can come from looking up to, and cheering for, a sports idol" (Huggins & Randell 2007, p. 5). This possible effect of female SRMs was as well recognised by NOWSPAR. As element of the 'Sheroes' campaign, the Zambian NGO set up regular meeting and communication opportunities: "The program also facilitates the interaction of Sheroes with other girls and women in sport to give encouragement and inspiration, they also contribute to skills development and awareness raising".[107]

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[106] See http://www.awid.org/eng/Issues-and-Analysis/Issues-and-Analysis/Caster-Semenya-is-a-hero-but-in-South-Africa-being-different-can-be-deadly-for-a-woman (accessed 22-01-2012).
[107] See http://nowspar.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=16&Itemid=7 (accessed 23-02-2012).

Masoni De Morea (2004) – following thoughts by tennis legend Billie Jean King – spoke of sport as vehicle and of SRMs as "inspiration" (quoted in: IOC & NOC Morocco 2004, p. 213). In fact, this kind of inspirational influence exceeds sound measurability, but is still assumed. Nawal El Moutawakel, for example, was convinced that she paved the way for the next generation: "As an African, I am honoured to see that my triumph in 1984 has helped many African women athletes to see the potential benefits of sport" (NCDO 2007, p. 41). But again, inspiration and encouragement do not depend on fame or celebrity status. Interviewing staff and participants of grassroots programmes such as 'Moving the Goalposts' (Kilifi, Kenya), AKWOS[108] (Kigali, Rwanda), and 'Box Girls' (Nairobi, Kenya), female trainers, coaches, and referees were identified as significant resources to rely on and look up to: "Girls and women who have strong female role models may be encouraged to stay positive and to protect and take better care of themselves. (…).These female role models often represent the possibility of a happier and healthier life despite hardships" (Women Win 2008, p. 17). Inspiration and encouragement gained through SRMs usually transcend the world of sport.

7.7 Ethical Values and Moral Influence

One common expectation linked to SRMs is an extraordinary moral and even humanitarian commitment. It is often suggested that SRMs must be worth of imitation. So far, these claims are valid for male and female SRMs alike: "Adult role models are one of the key benefits sport offers young people and play an essential part in determining whether sport programs exert a positive or negative moral influence" (Mulholland 2008, p. 35). With regard to top athletes, talent and success is not enough: "Maria Mutola, Tegla Loroupe and many others who symbolise emblematic figures of sportswomen, gifted champions crowned with success, and endowed with a moral conscience, can create extraordinary dynamics, and increase young girls' desire to participate in sporting activities" (El Moutawakel 2004, p. 202).

Whereas ethical and moral behaviour are issues related to all types of role models, Stoll & Van Mullem (2009) drew attention to peculiarities of 'sports(wo)manship'. The authors deplored the loss of "a care-giving women's coaching philosophy in athletics" which was often replaced by competition-focussed and result-oriented approaches. Furthermore, a decreasing number of female coaches was noticed which negatively influenced "moral development of girls and women" (p. 3). Thereby, the importance of "training women as coaches focusing on a women's perspective rather than assume that the practice of coaching is gender neutral" was emphasised. The suggested 'sports(wo)manship' involved a coach who can be a "caregiver, a role model for giving back, and still be highly successful" (p. 10). If female coaches - just by the fact of being women – automatically teach higher moral standards, remains to be seen.

In fact, ethical mind-sets and behaviour of SRMs may have long-term impacts: "The values and practices employed by parents, coaches and volunteers can be powerfully enabling and enriching for young people, or they can drive them out of sport for a lifetime, depriving them of enriching opportunities, experiences, and benefits that they might otherwise have enjoyed" (Mulholland 2008, p. 36).

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[108] Association of Kigali Women in Sports.

7.8 Safety Concerns

Another suggested function of female SRMs is linked to safety. Between daily hassles at home and in school, sport programmes may provide caring peers or adults who support participants on and off the pitch: "Good coaches are vital role models in children's sport, and they generally provide children with skilled instruction in a safe and non-threatening environment" (UNICEF 2010a, p. 18). Over time, emotional relationships may grow between coaches or staff and youth: "Athletes often describe their coaches as father figures and friends. Your players look to you for leadership, guidance and instruction. They listen to you; they respect your position and are used to following your instructions on football preparation, technique and performance" (UNICEF 2007, p. 3). As valuable such relationships might be, they also bear the risk of leaving youngsters vulnerable to adult power, emotional or physical exploitation and dependencies. The UNICEF (2010a) review on the protection of children from violence in sport – even though primarily focussing on developed countries – clearly stated that "good practice in sport for development initiatives reflects and embeds children's right to play safely" at all times (p. 27). Even if most coaches or staff perform impeccably, certain safety measures need to be taken to prevent incidents of "poor practices, overzealous coaching, abuse and the commodification of young athletes" (p. 18). Even though boys may as well face sexual harassment, girls belong to the most vulnerable group. Especially in patriarchal societies, the percentage of dominant men who take advantage of dependent females are stunning. Episodes of the 'Sara cartoon' reflect not unusual situations for sub-Saharan Africa in which so-called 'sugar daddies' or teachers seduce girls for money, gifts or privileges (Carnegie 2002). Preventive measures to safeguard children in sport may comprise "codes of conduct, (…) accreditation linked to education, and mechanisms for reporting suspicions or allegations" (UNICEF 2010a, p. 18). An additional precaution involves increased training of all staff members with a special emphasise of recruiting female coaches, officials, administrators, etc. According to investigations of 'Women Win' (2008), "female coaches, trainers and referees play an important role in assuring that girls and women feel safe and that their specific needs are met" (p. 17). In many African settings, it is not appropriate for young females to share certain problems with a male adult. Such delicate issues comprise, for example, sanitary items, pregnancy or menstrual pain. Providing female SRMs may increase the number of contact persons for children and girls in particular. A staff member of the Rwandan AKWOS was convinced that "girls and women may be more vulnerable to sexual exploitation and or violence by a male coach rather than a female coach" (Women Win 2008, p. 18). However, increasing female staff does not mean to stubbornly replace male coaches by women, but it may strengthen the system of checks and balances within an organisation. Moreover, an unbiased communication culture offering adequate opportunities for men and women needs to prevail.

In respect of safety, male SRMs may support campaigns which condemn violence: "Men can provide critical leadership through their roles as decision makers, public figures and opinion makers in speaking out against violence against women and ensuring that priority attention is given to the issue. Men can provide role models for male adolescents and boys" (UN 2008, p. 14). Explicitly sensitising for the topic, the UNICEF (2007) manual for football coaches provided down-to-earth advice: "Sit your players down and talk with them about respect, teamwork, tolerance and integrity. Be specific. Talk about their responsibility to respect each other, their opponents and their fans. Talk directly about racism and gender discrimination. Suggest they treat everyone the way they themselves would like to be treated" (p. 3).

7.9 Media Appearance and Visibility

Even if sportswomen are performing extremely well, the general public and potential sponsors are not going to react, if media attention is marginal. Thus, the corporate sector legitimises media coverage and public attention as additional player. In recent years, more and more women are obtaining decision-making positions within the world of sport. Nonetheless, Mills (2010) argued that "the biggest challenge facing the corporatization of female sport is the lack of female representatives in corporate and media structures. Corporate and media institutions are key agents of change and the advancement of women's sport can be attributable to such" (p. 132). This argumentation illustrates the breadth of key functions related to female SRMs not just limiting them to top athletes or coaches. Even though women occupying key positions in the corridors of corporate and media power may symbolise progress, they do not per se guarantee more or better exposure of female athletes or coaches. Cheryl Roberts, who represented South Africa at the 1992 Olympics in table tennis as one out of the first three Black sportswomen (Hargreaves 2000), criticised sport structures in her country: "South African sport does not suffer from a lack of talented women sports administrators, South African suffers from a suffocation of positions by a few women administrators and several men" (Roberts 2009, p. 11). Therefore, sensitivity and commitment to strive for a holistic and equitable gender approach do not depend on being male or female, but on the mind-set of a person.

A survey conducted by NOWSPAR in Zambia found that "coverage of women in sport by national newspapers is an average of 7%, with a drastic difference in quality and positioning of articles in the publication". This low percentage is part of a vicious circle which "reinforce[s] stereotypes by coverage of traditional female sport participation and influences the availability of role models to inspire and motivate girls and women into sport and its various aspects".[109] How this unfortunate mechanism could be altered can be demonstrated by a "unique example on the continent" illustrated by the sponsorship of the major South African oil company SASOL in support of women´s football: "Increasing the visibility of female footballers has the potential to change perceptions, strengthen existing women's football, and encourage more girls to participate in sport and become part of an expanding fan base" (Mills 2010, pp. 125-126). This corporate buy-in contributed to boost women´s sport and its athletes, officials, coaches, etc. to unprecedented extent: "In South Africa, Sasol is providing a platform to make the aspirations of female footballers a reality. Corporate and media involvement in women's football can develop a fan base once the exposure of talent occurs, the potential for a market is created. Female footballers could serve as much needed icons and role models in society. (...). There could be enormous positive impacts on inclusive participation of girls in physical activity due to increased visibility of female [SRMs], and as a result of the process of 'normalizing' women playing sport. This would greatly contribute to neutralising gender inequalities and lend to women realising their full potential" (p. 132). Therefore, top athletes or key officials as female SRMs play a crucial role in the interaction between business, sport and media: "Everyone knows that the glory of the athletes stimulates vocations and inspires admiration, as the athletes have public value that separates them from other people. They are often at the heart of means of mass communication and are therefore better capable of inciting mass public interest" (El Moutawakel 2004, p. 200). As generally known, since demand determines supply, this

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[109] See http://nowspar.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=16&Itemid=7 (accessed 23-03-2012).

'business, sport and media' triangle requires synergies for sustainability. The 'Windhoek Call for Action' did already claim an increased women´s sport media coverage in quality, breadth and quantity in 1998 (White & Scoretz 2002), but of course corporate sponsorship is needed to fuel such strategies. Even media channels could benefit by reaching out to new audiences: "Non-discriminatory portrayal of female athletes in sport media and marketing could not only provide positive role models that encourage more women and girls to become athletes, but it could also persuade more women to become consumers of sport media and other products, as well as positively influence gender stereotypes and the sexualization of women in all areas of society" (UN 2007, p. 27).

7.10 Giving Back to the Community

As chairman of the IOC Athletes' Commission in 2004, former pole-vaulter star Sergey Bubka addressed a repeatedly mentioned aspect of SRMs: "More than ever, we, the athletes, have an active role to play within society. (...). As ambassadors and role models, athletes should dedicate themselves by conveying the values of sport and Olympism to younger generations. We can motivate the youth of the world and encourage them to practise sport through the dreams we inspire in them of taking part in the Games. (…). As athletes, we have received a great deal from sport, and it is now up to us to give something in return. Each of us can contribute and all together we can build a better and peaceful world for future generations" (Bubka 2004, p. 1). The idea of 'giving back to the community' is a widely shared expectation concerning SRMs (May 2009). There is a Canadian initiative called 'Pros Give Back' featuring influential athletes and their activities beyond sport for community benefit: "We applaud and set the spotlight on what our sports heroes do outside the game that truly solidifies their iconic status in everyday life".[110] In their article on 'sport(wo)manship' and 'Title IX', Stoll & Van Mullem (2009) even wrote about "the sacred trust of giving back to the profession" (p. 7) as a duty of dedicated sporting females. The former Olympian Cheryl Roberts (2009) deplored personal opportunism displayed by many successful female athletes in South Africa: "The problem with our sportswomen is that we take as much as we can out of the system, in our own interest, and don't give anything back, for all the good that we received" (p. 15). While this criticism may apply to some athletes or coaches, other women are forced by their families to finally behave according to socio-cultural norms after an awkward adolescent phase of non-conformism. Acceptance and/or admiration of female sport often considerably drop as girls and teenagers develop into women. The philosophy of 'giving back' means an appreciation of the offered opportunities and a conveyed added value for the future. But socio-cultural settings which rather disapprove of sporting females, – especially if they excel in traditionally male sports – are not likely to appreciate such 'deviant messages' being passed on to the next generation. Thus, 'giving back' in these circumstances basically consists of displaying stereotypical female behaviour such as getting married, giving birth to children or raising money to build orphanages, hospitals or schools.

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[110] See http://prosgiveback.com/about-us (accessed 20-03-2012).

8   Summary and Relevance for this Study

In summary, the interactional effects of sport, gender and development always need to be considered within a specific socio-cultural context. Moreover, gender and empowerment per se are not solely linked to women and girls. Gender is socially constructed and implies a holistic perspective of roles, structures and responsibilities of both males and females. Empowerment is strongly focussing on existing resources of marginalised individuals or groups and rejects a deficit-oriented approach. PYD shares this resource-orientation and dissociates itself from preventing undesirable behaviour. Another important fact is that S&D programmes are only pedagogically relevant, if they live up to the 'double mandate' which systematically combines 'development through sport' and 'development of sport' with an emphasis on a S&D core concept promoting social inclusion (Brook 2011). Sport itself is not a miraculous tool which fosters human development coincidently. However, its full potential can only be tapped through pedagogical set-ups offering self-responsible learning opportunities. But this claim does not deny an intrinsic value of sport.

Referring to the potential of sport addressing gender issues, three aspects need consideration: historical link with masculinity, claiming space and focus on the body and its functions. Football is the most popular sport in sub-Saharan Africa and an epitome of masculinity. This combination requires football to raise awareness and spearhead gender equity and empowerment. However, the potential of female sport (and football in particular) unfolds a double dimension as 'obstacle' and 'opportunity'. Serious S&D programmes need to make efforts to tackle inhibiting gender-sensitive issues. Beyond this rather external and practical approach, pedagogically thoughtful sport interventions using 'typically male or female' activities may offer an opportunity to influence identity, skills, and norms, thus potentially challenging gender constructs at all societal levels. One regularly mentioned major obstacle to girls' and women's sport involvement is the lack of female SRMs especially in developing countries. Furthermore, there is a noticeable gap in African women's sport media coverage and public attention between Black and White female athletes. Internationally best-known African female athletes predominantly perform in track and field athletics, whereas women's team sports do generally not get a lot of attention. The following theoretical chapters specifically explore the potential of SRMs in respect of gender equity and empowerment.

IV   GENERIC FRAME OF REFERENCE: ROLE MODELS AND ROLE MODELLING

After defining and categorising role model concepts, the process of role modelling will be scrutinised from socio-cognitive and socio-contextual perspectives based on developmental theories. While various criteria such as social status, age, education level, etc. surely matter with regard to role models and role modelling, this study pays particular attention to gender as a determinant role modelling factor.

1   Characteristics of Role Models

Role models, heroes, celebrities, idols, mentors and stars are part of our everyday life and seem to be interchangeable terms which are popularly used and commonly understood. This lack of univocally defined notions which are often - but not systematically – used as synonyms sometimes entails erroneous assumptions (e.g. Chung 2000; MacCallum & Beltman 2002; Vescio et al. 2005; Giuliano et al. 2007). Such arbitrariness and conceptual ambiguity diminish the credibility of an academic discourse and undermine possible interventions (Allen 1995). In some contexts, for example, 'role models' are parents while in another setting 'role models' are famous athletes. Using the same term for different concepts - assuming that such a well-known notion does not need further explanation - comparable effects remain limited and attempts for generalisation vague. This "confusion of terminology" (Lyle 2009, p. 6) will not be solved through this study, but corroborates the necessity in providing a conceptual overview as well as a clear differentiation of apparently similar terms.

1.1   What is a Role Model?

There is a vast array of definitions referring to role models and their attributes and functions. The selection criteria for the subsequently presented approaches were of relevance to this study. Even though the influence of role models is not restricted by age[111], most theoretical concepts – unless specified accordingly - mainly target children and youth as potential observers and audience.

Origins of the notion 'role model' go back to the first half of the 20th century. Sociologist Robert K. Merton[112] referred to this term in his analysis of social groups and roles. He pointed out that "rather than assuming one status and one role, a person has a status set in the social structure to which is attached a whole role-set of expected behavior - and that, within those sets, ambiguities, incompatibilities, and conflicts almost inevitably lurk" (Holton 2004, p. 514).

Bandura (1977) has a broad understanding of role models and identifies "anyone with whom an individual comes into contact that might influence that individuals' behaviours, attitudes, and aspirations" as models (May 2009, p. 448).

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[111] Gibson (2003) analyses the influence of role models on adults in different age and career stages.
[112] Robert King Merton (1910-2003) was an American sociologist.

On a more abstract level, Gibson (2004) defines "a role model as a cognitive construction based on the attributes of people in social roles an individual perceives to be similar to him or herself to some extent and desires to increase perceived similarity by emulating those attributes" (p. 136). Contrasting with Bandura's (1977) definition, this perspective primarily emphasises the selection and interpretation process which an individual needs to actively accomplish (Gibson 2003).

Pleiss & Feldhusen (1995) differentiate between three categories: 'heroes', 'role models' and 'mentors'. This triad is based on the often neglected degree of interaction - conceived as continuum - between model and observer of that model. This continuum ranges from very interactive relationships with a close person to one-way relations with little or no exchange (MacCallum & Beltman 2002). Only a limited interaction takes place with celebrities (heroes) whereas extended contact is possible with teachers, coaches, peers or parents ('role models' and 'mentors'). A mentor has a personal relationship with the mentee and is actively involved in providing support. As Adriaanse & Crosswhite (2008) state: "A mentor can be a role model for the mentee, but doesn't have to be one" (p. 383). A role model, in contrast to a mentor, "plays a more passive role, evolves over time and does not necessarily have direct personal contact. In fact they may not be aware that they are the role model for a particular person" (Vescio et al. 2005, p. 155). And some heroes or heroines might not even be human beings only existing virtually. Besides this potential unidirectional effect, the informal self-selection process is another feature of the categories 'role models' and 'heroes/heroines' in contrast to 'mentors' (Murrell & Zagenczyk 2006).

Feezell (2005) distinguishes between the meaning of 'role model' in a narrow and a broad sense: "To be a role model in a narrow sense is limited to a particular context in which some person or persons would attempt to imitate the behavior of the role model. In this sense, the emphasis is on the particular role or station in which the supposed role model is involved, whether it is as a teacher, lawyer, or baseball player." The broad sense of 'role models', on the other hand, transcends the specific areas of these significant individuals and "shows us how to navigate our way through life in all sorts of situations." As a consequence of this distinction, Feezell (2005) suggests keeping 'role models' for the narrow meaning and using the term "moral exemplars (…) referring to role models in the broader sense" (p. 21). This reasoning raises moral and ethical issues (Chap. V).

Whannel (2002) differentiates between "role models and reference individuals" referring to the field of action: "the former focuses on a specific activity while the latter is generalised to many areas of social life" (p. 224). As a matter of fact, an individual can adopt multiple significant others, heroes, role models, etc. And degrees of influence can vary over time as well (May 2009). Mainly focussing on vocational and career development, Gibson (2004) takes up these rather dynamic, variable and fluid features of the role model discourse and suggests a "dimensional approach". This theory is based upon the assumption that individuals pick different role model characteristics "from a variety of sources" (pp. 143-144). Thus, Gibson's (2004) approach emphasises "the selection process of attributes rather than a search for a 'whole' role model" (p. 149). Thereby, the author coins a cognitive and a structural dimension divided into four sub-dimensions referring to different polarised role model characteristics. Within the cognitive dimension, Gibson (2004) differentiates between positive/negative and global/specific role models. With respect to the structural dimension, the two spectrums comprise close/distant and up/across-down role models. Despite this new terminology, the global/specific role models are similar to Feezell's (2005) distinction

between role models in a narrow and broad sense. Moreover, the close/distant sub-dimension is comparable to the two described concepts of direct/indirect role models (Bush et al. 2004; May 2009) and personally-known/public role models (Giuliano et al. 2007).

However, Gibson's novelty (2004) consists first of all of his systematic framework, and secondly of the paradigm shift away from the search for personified outstanding exemplar towards an essential focus on the process for the role model choice: "By actively selecting out role model attributes, the individual may create a cognitive 'composite role model' of what they would like to become" (p. 149). Other researchers stress the advantages of composite models in contrast to total models as well (Singh et al. 2006). Thirdly, from a pragmatic perspective, the dimensional approach encourages e.g. programme staff to enhance "the opportunities for individuals to increase their set and quality of role models" (p. 151). Furthermore, Gibson (2004) draws attention to important, but often neglected role model features such as "negative, specific, distant, or peer/subordinate role models" (p. 143).

For the purpose of this study, another spectrum requests further elaboration: mastery and coping models (Kitsantas et al. 2000). While mastery models display excellent skills and performance from the beginning, coping models have to tackle various obstacles and suffer setbacks in order to achieve their goals (Vescio et al. 2005).

1.2 Who can be a Role Model?

Referring to already described concepts, role models for children and youth are not coercively high-profile celebrities, but can include peers, parents, relatives, mentors, siblings, coaches, clergy, teachers, non-traditional adults, and youth workers (Scales & Gibbons 1996; MacCallum & Beltman 2002; Payne 2003; Bush et al. 2004).

There is a distinction between direct role models (such as parents, teachers, and peers) who are generally in close contact with an individual and "can influence everyday behaviour" (May 2009, p. 448) and indirect role models (such as show-business celebrities, professional athletes) who can potentially influence behaviours and attitudes of individuals through magazines, TV, internet, etc. (Bush et al. 2004; May 2009). Adolescents being strongly influenced by celebrities may engage in "parasocial relationships" and rely on a "secondary group of pseudo-friends during a time of increasing autonomy from parents" (Giles & Maltby 2004, pp. 813-814). Most role model studies concentrate on direct and personally-known role models in contrast to indirect and public role models (Giuliano et al. 2007).

It is generally assumed that parents have the most important influence on children and adolescents (Galbo & Demetrulias 1996; Payne 2003; Hart et al. 2006), but they are "certainly not the only influence" in terms of e.g. moral issues (Feezell 2005, p. 22). In the studied areas in Malawi, Zambia and South Africa, due to poverty and deadly consequences of HIV, an increasing number of children and youth do not live with both biological parents. The majority of orphans reside with grandparents or other relatives (SAHRC & UNICEF 2011b). Even though following results do not fit the sub-Saharan context, empirical research with Afro-American adolescents in the USA (Michigan) underlines the importance of close familial relationships: "Looking up to, admiring, or viewing a significant other in the family as a role model may distinguish resilient youth from more at-risk youth who do not view the adults in their family as worthy of imitation" (Bryant & Zimmerman 2003, p. 38). Within the framework of sport projects in the African development setting, staff and coaches are often

'substitute' caregivers or take an intermediate position bridging the gap between family and school. If parental support is absent, research findings indicate that vicarious others might influence individual behaviour as well (Balswick & Ingoldsby 1982; Carr & Weigand 2001; MacCallum & Beltman 2002). Bush et al. (2004) state that "vicarious role models can be socialization agents and can have a significant effect on the career aspirations, educational choices, and the self-views of young adults" (p. 110). Even though peers seem to be "most important nonrelatives, nonparental adults may play important roles in the healthy development of adolescents" (Scales & Gibbons 1996, p. 383).

1.3 What are Role Model Functions?

Foster-Clark (1993) identified various functions of non-parental adults who affect adolescent life as "teacher-model, guide-supporter, challenger, controller-antagonist, and pal-companion" (quoted in: Scales & Gibbons 1996, p. 373). Regarding role model functions exerted on individuals, there is broad consensus on assistance in learning (MacCallum & Beltman 2002; Gibson 2004). Furthermore, role models "provide motivation and inspiration and help individuals define their self-concepts" (Gibson 2004, p. 149). Another functional approach by Murrell & Zagenczyk (2006) emphasises the personal proximity and situational model-observer relevance: "We define role models as contextual experts who provide instrumental and/or psychosocial functions as part of an individual's social network" (p. 563).

Various research findings suggest that non-parental role models represent a valuable support for adolescents: "Adults play a central role in the socialization of adolescents. The presence of an adult in an adolescent's life may be a distinguishing factor between youth who successfully avoid the negative effects of risks they face and those who follow trajectories toward deviance (…). Some adults may be particularly important persons in adolescents' lives because they act as role models by sharing their beliefs and values and by modelling appropriate behaviors" (Bryant & Zimmermann 2003, pp. 36-37). Some scholars emphasise the association between having a personally known role model and "higher self-esteem and higher grades" (Yancey et al. 2002, p. 55). Of course these findings are based on 'Northern' or 'Western' socio-cultural contexts, but may also – adjusted to the setting - be relevant for African sites. Recommendations formulated by UNICEF's 'Global Girls' Education Programme' were associated with significant adults and school attendance: "In some areas, recruit and train more female teachers to provide girls with role models and to ensure that parents are comfortable with the classroom environment" (UNICEF 2000, p. 15). Research targeting female education in 28 African countries concluded: "The most consistent finding relates to the positive effects of the presence of female teachers and/or other female staff on girls' enrolment and learning" (Lloyd & Young 2009, pp. 57-58). With regard to the development of gender identity, some role models may offer orientation for adolescents "as to how men and women should behave or what they should look like" (Biskup & Pfister 1999, p. 201). The next subchapter will specifically concentrate on gender issues.

Media figures also play an important role in the development of gender identity, since they cover a broader spectrum of possible values, roles, sexuality, beauty ideals, behaviours, etc. Considering one-way interactions based on imaginary relationships between adolescents and celebrities, for example, distant figures – besides being occupational models - "may also perform social and emotional functions, particularly when they are romantic in nature". Thereby this fictional relationship could serve as a 'rehearsal at safe distance' and help to

prepare a teenager for future adult relationships. Besides this "intense personal function", Giles & Maltby (2005) specify "social entertainment" as a second function of celebrity attachment (pp. 814-815).

The most frequently mentioned role model function is to provide adequate support which also depends on interaction intensity. Therefore, support can involve socio-emotional components (e.g. relationships, orientation) as well as practical issues like learning skills through external expertise (MacCallum & Beltmann 2002). However, the asset for a young person to have a significant adult to look up to "may not be universally applicable to all adolescent outcomes" (Hurd et al. 2009, p. 788).

After depicting various role model facets, the next sub-chapter will explore the 'mechanisms' of role modelling from a predominantly psychological perspective.

2   Educational Psychology and Developmental Theory on Role Modelling

Role modelling is intrinsically determined by anthropological approaches, since psychological and developmental theories are necessarily embedded in anthropological assumptions concerning the nature of humankind. To what degree is a human being formatively contributing to his or her development and what are the/some external factors? Based on the passive or active roles of personal versus environmental factors (see

Tab. 1), four prototypical theoretical domains of human development are commonly differentiated: exogenous (e.g. behaviourism), endogenous (e.g. humanism), self-formation (e.g. 'cognitive learning theory' or constructivism) and interactionist/socio-contextual (e.g. ecological system or systemic theory) theories (Montada 2008). Since exogenous and endogenous positions - both assuming a passive individual - are rather outdated (Flammer 2009), this study sheds light on role modelling from both socio-cognitive (self-formation) and interactionist/socio-contextual perspectives.

Typology of Development Theories		ENVIRONMENT	
		ACTIVE	PASSIVE
SUBJECT (PERSON)	ACTIVE	interactionist/ socio-contextual	self-formation
	PASSIVE	exogenous	endogenous

Tab. 1: Typology of Development Theories
(adapted from Montada 2008, p. 10)

2.1   Socio-cognitive Perspective

Contrasting the endogenous domain and within the logic of constructivism, humans do not remain passive towards the environment. Thus, socio-cognitive reasoning – as a

constructivist expression – locates thoughts and convictions of individuals as active elements between external factors and behaviour (Mietzel 2007).

From a psycho-educational point of few, role modelling is an essential element to explain learning. One of the most prominent socio-cognitive psychologists is Albert Bandura with his 'Social Learning Theory' (1977). This theory is mainly based on the idea that people learn by observing others and the consequences of this behaviour. Thereby, the principal purpose is to explain how individuals model human action, thought and motivation. Key factors influencing this learning by observing others are the environment, behaviour, and cognition (Bandura 1977). Thereby, the importance of adults who model internal processing and behaviour expected to be emulated by children/youth is emphasised (Bandura 1986).

2.1.1 Processes of Observational Learning

Within social-cognitive learning theory there is a distinction between modelling and imitation. According to this theory, modelling consists of more than just copying observed behaviour. The brain is not recording a precise copy of the observed behavioural sequences, but remembering patterns of behaviour (Mietzel 1998).

Bandura (1986) identified four major components for his 'Social Learning Theory' describing a "multiprocess analysis of observational learning" (p. 51).

Firstly, the attention of the observer needs to be raised. This attentional process involves the extent to which model and observer characteristics are interpersonally attractive. Bandura (1977) pointed out that "models who possess engaging qualities are sought out, while those lacking pleasing characteristics are generally ignored or rejected" (p. 24). Mietzel (1998) mentioned enthusiasm displayed by models as another crucial ability to gain observer's attention. Celebrities and media-figures, especially, easily attract attention (MacCallum & Beltman 2002). Bandura's (1977) second component comprises retention processes. Transfer of observations into the brain is needed to reproduce this behaviour. Such response patterns are symbolically represented in "visual imagery" (p. 26) or in verbal codes. The third component implies (motor) reproduction processes which convert "symbolic representations into appropriate actions" (p. 27). At this stage a learner receives the opportunity to practice, improve and reinforce an observed behavioural pattern through corrective and objective feedback (Mietzel 1998). Bandura (1986) calls this process "cognitive rehearsal" (p. 61). Since 'Social Learning Theory' distinguishes between acquisition and performance, it depends on motivational processes, as a fourth component, if an observer is going to reproduce a behaviour or not. Bandura (1977) emphasises that "people do not enact everything they learn" (p. 28). Behavioural patterns are more likely to be imitated, if observed consequences are rewarding and provide sufficient incentives. Thus, motivation - influenced by punishment and reinforcement - is finally deciding whether or not a behaviour is performed.

2.1.2 Preconditions for Learning through Modelling

Many factors affect observational learning processes, and Bandura (1977) argued that "the provision of models, even prominent ones, will not automatically create similar behavior in others" (p. 29). A useful overview of effective role model features is provided by McInerney & McInerney (1998). They enumerate seven attributes: attractiveness, social power, status,

competence, nurturance, interaction and similarity (p. 23). A similar list was suggested by Gilbert et al. (1983), but in addition to the almost identical model features, they consider "personality, motivation, and life situation of the modeller" as well, thus alluding to a necessary two-way interaction (p. 605). Considering the degree of interaction (continuum), of course not all of these model characteristics of effectiveness are relevant for the categories 'mentors', 'role models' and 'heroes/heroines' alike.

There is broad consensus that similar socio-economic status, capabilities, age, gender, etc. are particularly important attributes. Many empirical studies specify similarity as a significant variable of role model selection (Gilbert et al. 1983; Zirkel 2002; Bryant & Zimmerman 2003; Hurd et al. 2009). Additionally, research suggests that female role models or models who belong to disadvantaged ethnic groups represent living examples of possibilities worth striving for: "All young people know that *some people* grow up to become physicians, but race- and gender-matched physicians provide young people with the information that 'people like me' sometimes grow up to become physicians" (Zirkel 2002, p. 358). This 'model-observer similarity' (Bandura 1986) is also sustained by 'social comparison theory' argueing that people are attracted to similar others "because they are more informative and appropriate for making accurate self-appraisals" (Gibson 2004, p. 144).

The perception of similar people who behave in a successful way typically raises efficacy beliefs of observers that they possess the capabilities to handle comparable situations as well. Thus, modelling can promote self-efficacy. If a model is totally different from an observer, the belief of personal efficacy is not much influenced by the models' behaviour and consequences. If a model is similar to a learner and demonstrates highly skilled activities, the learner's motivation is more likely to increase (Bandura 1997; McInerney & McInerney 1998). According to Bandura (1995), self-efficacy is "the belief in one's capabilities to organize and execute the courses of action required to manage prospective situations" (p. 2). There are three mediating factors associated with this 'self-efficacy theory': Self-efficacy expectancy is concerned about the learners' perceptions of how capable they feel to actually carry out the behaviour. Secondly, there is outcome expectancy. This factor postulates that if there is a high probability that the behaviour will result in the specific outcome, there is a greater chance that the learner will adopt the behaviour. Thirdly, outcome value: If the outcome of the behaviour is desirable, there is a greater likelihood of the behaviour being performed. Self-efficacy is partly influenced by vicarious experiences mediated through modelled achievement. To illustrate his theory, Bandura (1997) cited an example of Aerobic videos which often neglect the benefits of assumed similarity by displaying well-toned superstars as mastery models to demonstrate fat-burning exercises. Many scholars argue that learners who observe a coping model are more likely to acquire self-regulatory skills enabling them to perform well and stay motivated than learners who are exposed to expert or mastery models (Schunk & Zimmermann 1996; Weiss et al. 1998; Kitsantas et al. 2000). Since coping models had or have to defy life's adversities to reach relevant goals, they are favoured models an observer can identify with (Singh et al. 2006). Exposing learners to great mastery models can even be counterproductive. Bandura (1977) argues: "When models are unusually productive, and observers posses limited skills, their creative efforts may be self-devaluated by the unfavourable comparison. Prolific, creative modelling can thus dissuade the less talented" (p. 49).

Derived from their empirical psycho-social research, Lockwood & Kunda (1997, 1999) define prerequisites for "superstars" to motivate (or discourage) observing individuals. Referring to

role models as "individuals of outstanding achievement", they label the assumption that "superstars" inspire and motivate young adults a "cultural cliché". Furthermore, they also draw attention to the fact that "superstars can demoralize and deflate less outstanding others" (p. 91). Lockwood & Kunda (1997) identify "attainability" and "relevance" as two key aspects which determine the impact of a role model on others: "the perceived relevance of the superstar to the self and the believed attainability of the star's success" (p. 92). Therefore, role modelling is only an inspiration, if the goal is attainable and relevant. Otherwise being exposed to outstandingly performing others could be a source of frustration and self-deflation.

Regarding relevance, there is an important aspect of the already described similarity to be added: "Similarity between the comparer and the referent limits the complexity of the comparison, making a more direct interpretation of the differences in outcomes possible. As a result, referents who are similar to the individual making a comparison are likely to be perceived as particularly relevant" (Kulik & Ambrose 1992, p. 218). Besides similarity, the way in which a role model succeeds to overcome an obstacle, for example, may also be seen as relevant by an individual (Singh et al. 2006).

In fact, individuals learn from positive and negative role models (Bandura 1986; Gibson 2004). Besides high-profile athletes, humans can also be motivated by negative role models who have experienced a blow of fate such as e.g. surviving a deadly disease. According to Lockwood et al. (2002), "negative role models can inspire one by illustrating a feared, to-be-avoided self, pointing to possible future disasters, and highlighting mistakes that must be avoided so as to prevent them" (p. 854). Further reasearch focuses on motivation by positive and negative models and identifies mechanisms which determine who will best inspire an individual. Results show that individuals who are "promotion-focused" (using a strategy of pursuing desired outcomes) have been particularly motivated by "positive role models". On the other hand, "prevention-focused individuals, who use a strategy of avoiding undesired outcomes, will find negative role models to be especially motivating" (p. 861). Generally, the motivational impact of role models heavily depends on congruent "regulatory concerns" (promotion or prevention) between the model and the observer (p. 862).

2.2   Interactionist / Socio-contextual Perspective

The socio-cognitive perspective suggests an active role of the individual. In addition, this perspective ascribes a formative function to the context as well. There is constant mutual interference and interaction between subject and environment (Montada 2008) which is understood as a holistic system. Variations of either internal or external factors reciprocally influence one another in this systemic approach. Thus, both personal and situational variables of role model selection require consideration (Kulik & Ambrose 1992). This study refers to a broader and a more narrow interactionist/ socio-contextual perspective.

2.2.1   Socio-ecological Approach

Bronfenbrenner (1979) strongly influenced developmental theory discourse with his renowned 'ecological model' which represents a broader structural socio-contextual perspective. Following this mind-set, not only the potential impact of a coach on children, for example, is considered, but also its inversed effects. This model arranges the environment

into four overlapping ecosystems (micro-, meso-, exo- and macrosystems) which significantly affect the individual at the centre and vice-versa. In terms of role modelling, the microsystems of this socio-ecological model coincides with the high interaction degree of interaction continuum (MacCallum & Beltman 2002). Microsystems immediately shape human development and comprise for example the family, neighbourhood, childcare environment and/or peer groups. Coordinated efforts of, for instance, parents and coaches for a child's benefit happen through the mesosystem. The exosystem which consists of external networks (such as local education, employment or community structures) impacts on the microsystems.

A macrosystem which influences all other systems is situated at the periphery of this model focussing on socio-cultural, political and economic ideologies, norms and values. In later years, Bronfenbrenner (1994) added the chronosystem to his model which comprises striking biographic transitions such as school-leaving, menarche, marriage or employment (Flammer 2005). This rather abstract understanding of context paves the way for an interactionist perspective in a narrow sense.

2.2.2 Social Framework Approach

Whereas 'social learning theory' largely focussed on observations and cognitive factors associated with the learner, the 'social framework approach' (socio-contextual approach in a narrow sense) mainly deals with the interaction between role model and learner embedded in a specific situation. Some scholars refer to this approach as "sociocultural perspective" (MacCallum & Beltman 2002, p. 23) or "behavioural modelling" (Gibson 2004, p. 142).

The fact that learning and modelling occur within a special social setting is at the core of this approach. The framework is analogous to a master/apprentice relationship in which the master guides, advises, and motivates the learner (Haney 1997; Mietzel 1998). The expert provides the learner with appropriate support to execute the intended behaviour. As the learner starts to adopt the behaviour, the scaffolding is gradually reduced until the apprentice is able to work on his or her own. Thereby, the importance of the masterly double function as model (demonstrating skills) and coach (providing positive and negative feedback) is emphasised (Mietzel 1998; MacCallum & Beltman 2002). There may be issues relating to differences between learner and master which may inhibit the process to a certain degree, if models are not self-selected by the individual (Gibson 2004). Gender, ethnicity, social status or education might be barriers to build a trustful and creative environment (Cleminson & Bradford 1996). Due to its focus on rather structuralist one-to-one relationships that are often formally determined, this approach has maybe more relevance for mentoring, but it is still useful to understand possible influences of 'role models' and 'heroes'. Generally speaking, the contextual relevance decreases with a lower degree of interaction (Gibson 2004).

2.3 Constraints and Inconsistencies of Role Modelling

Out of many potential caveats and limitations concerning role modelling, six relevant issues are going to be considered in this study without being exhaustive.

Firstly, role models or corresponding attributions can be neither prescribed nor enforced (Kruse 2006). There is broad consensus of the impracticality and absurdity of imposing

specific role models on young people. There is empirical evidence that children and youth are not disposed to identify themselves with predetermined models. Sometimes the model selection of the younger generation even seems incomprehensible to adults. According to the Swiss psychologist Guggenbühl (2002) the role model choice is a process mainly influenced by personal traits of children and youth, zeitgeist and peer subculture. Nobody can determine which role models or attributions are chosen to be internalised. Young people, in particular, tend to boycott exemplary behaviours in order to seal themselves off the adult world: "Due to the often antagonistic relationship between youths and adults, official role models are rejected in favour of self-selected alternatives"[113] (Guggenbühl 2002). While some role models such as parents, siblings, coaches or teachers cannot be chosen and are "imposed by the environment (…), some role models will be self-selected by the individual" (Gibson 2003, p. 592). It is up to the recipient to decide on adequate role models and what characteristics one wants to emulate.

Secondly, some role models are picked simply out of practical necessity and limited availability. The importance of similarity and relevance has already been stressed. But constraints sometimes appear involving the lack of role models with similar demographic or social characteristics (Kulik & Ambrose 1992). For example in typically gender-stereotyped fields like economics, successful female figureheads are rather exceptional: "(…) without the presence of women faculty, undergraduate women erroneously assume that economics is a profession for men only" (Chung 2000, p. 640). Thus, physical presence and proximity of a model may outweigh other factors such as similar age, education or gender. Concerning male or female role models this choice may be constricted by the number of tangible and available women and men (Kulik & Ambrose 1992; Gibson & Cordova 1999). According to Yancey et al. (2002) and other authors, "the opportunity for a role model to have a positive influence is severely limited without direct personal contact" (p. 60).

The third aspect contrasts with the mentioned interactionist argument. Some scholars argue that a role model's physical presence is not imperatively requested to influence youngsters (Gibson 2004). Keeping the continuum of interaction in mind, there is usually an explicit awareness of both parties in high-interaction relationships (with parents or mentors) who are often physically present. At a medium level of the continuum, interaction may be either reciprocal or one-way on the part of the observer. A staff member,for example, could be considered a role model because of his or her enthusiasm and attitudes, but not directly interact with children and youth. With celebrities or fictional figures, there tends to be a one-way awareness only on behalf of the observing individual. Thus, physical presence is not ultimately necessary to have an impact. Bandura (1986) describes an "increasing use of symbolic modelling" through the modern media, especially television. This tendency depicts that "parents, teachers and other traditional role models may occupy less prominent roles in social learning". However, its "tremendous multiplicative power" is acknowledged as strength of this kind of modelling (p. 39).

A fourth constraint to modelling and observational learning is identified by Bandura (1977): There may be "inconsistencies in behaviour of the same model over time" (p. 44). This change over time may be absorbed by a composite role model concept "formed by individuals as cognitive structures from the bits and pieces of multiple actual role models" (Gibson 2004, p. 142). Drawing on different role model traits is thus understood as a dynamic

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[113] This quote has been translated by the author from the original German version into English.

process which does not coercively result in a linear deconstruction, change and reconstruction (Singh et al. 2006).

Demographic and personal parameters such as self-esteem, age, talent, etc. form the fifth aspect which determines the influence of a role model. Depending on "development of expertise in a particular area" another kind of guidance and challenge is needed. A specific role model may be helpful during a certain phase, while another person is more significant at a later stage. Even though these sequential phases described as "initiation, development and perfection" (MacCallum & Beltman 2002, p. 27) may not be relevant for every setting, a need-oriented approach focussing on the young person is always indicated.

And lastly, there could be discrepancies between what models verbally communicate and how they really act (Bandura 1977; Bryant & Zimmermann 2003). The proverb by Ralph W. Emerson[114] "Your actions speak so loudly I can't hear what you say" (quoted in: Doty 2006, p. 3) demonstrates that this maxim is particularly proper for teaching virtues. Lickona (1983) specifies this standpoint relating to children who "need to see us lead good lives, but they also need to know why we do it. For our example to have maximum impact, they need to know the values and beliefs that lie behind it (...). We need to practice what we preach, but we also need to preach what we practice" (p. 22). Actions of responsibles with a daily interaction are influencing behaviours and attitudes of children and youth even more: "Character, notions of fair play, and morals are learned by youth when the goals, attitudes and behaviour of the coach or teacher, and therefore, the program, are moral" (Mulholland 2008, p. 35). According to Berkowitz (2002) adults should verbally express their expectations of good behaviour and provide opportunities to practice and acknowledge it.

3   Gender Dimensions of Role Modelling

For young people it is suggested that "having access to role models who share their gender may be especially beneficial" (Hurd et al. 2009, p. 779). Based on the similarity and relevance discourse, it would stand to reason that girls favour women as role models while boys look up to men. Are same-sex role models really more effective than role models of the opposite sex? Various scholars consider such questions to be crucial for adolescents who are developing their gender identities and adopting social roles (Erikson 1964; Biskup & Pfister 1999; Zirkel 2002). Processes of puberty may also significantly influence adolescent gender development. For females living in developing contexts, a girl's menarche has not only personal implications with regard to gender identity, but often imply radical changes of social gender role expectations (Mensch et al. 1998).

The nexus 'gender and role models' will be examined and categorised in this study referring to three dimensions coined by Reimann (2002). Following the socio-ecological approach (Bronfenbrenner 1979), the complementary nature of gender dimensions and their interactions becomes obvious.

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[114] Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882) was an American essayist, lecturer, and poet.

3.1 Gender Identity

This first dimension considers gender in terms of gender identity (microsystem) and how individuals handle socially constructed ideals and norms: How do I define myself as a woman/girl or man/boy in a given society? Who has which roles and needs? Identity can be divided into a personal and a social component. While characteristics such as personality, physical and intellectual traits are personally ascribed, social components are derived from affiliations comprising e.g. sex, nationality or race (Ashforth & Mael 1989). Gender identity is one aspect of social identity and refers to the significance that women or men attribute to their belonging to a 'female' or 'male' category (Ely 1994). Adding a dynamic factor, individual gender identity is defined by Reimann (2002) as "fluid and transformative construction derived from certain notions of femininity and masculinity" (p. 3). Some identity dimensions of young individuals and role models may affect their choices. Furthermore, these identity variables may determine role model types and the influence of role-modelling.

There is no substantiated evidence that children, if they can freely choose, rather pick same-sex models to imitate, but there is a tendency: "Boys tend to emulate the behavior of male models to a substantially greater extent than they emulate female models and are much less inclined to adopt behavior regarded as gender inappropriate, regardless of the gender of the models displaying it. Girls, on the other hand, are more inclined to emulate the behavior of both male and female models" (Bandura 1986; Gibson & Cordova 1999, p. 123). Interestingly, cross-sex modelling occurs among girls and boys depending on the power status of an adult. Generally speaking, children observe and learn from both sexes, but tend to be selective in displaying specific behavioural patterns (Bandura 1986).

3.2 Gender Structure

The second dimension of gender structure (meso- and exosystem) sheds light on the organisation and institutionalisation of social action in the public and private sphere and determines social, political and economic power status (Reimann 2002).

There is relatively consistent data on role model choices: While adolescent girls and women tend to pick both male and female models alike, adolescent boys and men usually avoid female role models (Gash & Conway 1997; Bromnick & Swallow 1999; Melnick & Jackson 2002; Yancey et al. 2002; Giuliano et al. 2007). Research conducted with US high-school students even found that "both males and females are more aware of hero than heroine role models" (Balswick & Ingoldsby 1982, p. 248). However, female choices of male role models – especially in gender-stereotyped areas or hierarchy structures – may be directly related to the unavailability, invisibility and scarcity of female role models in specific fields (Gibson & Cordova 1999; Singh et al. 2006). In a study on urban adolescents, the issue of sex congruence of chosen models was directly linked to the "figure category of models". For family members and other close persons, teenagers selected almost equally male or female models. But if the selected models were celebrities, 98% of the young men and 75% of young women chose same-sex models. Yancey et al. (2002) attributed this effect to the "greater availability of powerful male figures in the popular media and in sports, in particular, and to the greater status that our society affords to men" (p. 60). This line of argument is of course strongly related to 'gender identity'. But Ely's (1994) research on relationships among professional women has contributed towards a shift from individual-level explanations to

more structural and demographic variables to determine organisational gender issues and women's role model choices: "Compared with women in firms with many senior women, women in firms with few senior women were less likely to experience common gender as a positive basis for identification with women, less likely to perceive senior women as role models with legitimate authority, more likely to perceive competition in relationships with women peers, and less likely to find support in these relationships" (p. 203). These findings demonstrate the eminent importance of purposeful female employment in senior positions, and relativise a mere quantitative organisational increase of women per se. If such demographically balanced foundation is not laid, experienced women even in top positions are unlikely to be considered attractive and relevant role models for younger women. But even holding leadership positions is not enough for women to be perceived as role models. Murrell & Zagenczyk (2006) identified further prerequisites for women leaders to be considered role models: "(…) females needed to give (but not ask for) advice, earn organizational rewards, (…) and maintain strong ties with other employees. Males only had to have a number of friendship or advise ties to be seen as a role model" (p. 560). Such mechanisms need consideration to to explain the fact that women do not automatically select female role models, even if they were available (Gibson & Cordova 1999).

In a Kenyan context, gender structure and equal distribution of males and females had an impact on risky sexual behaviour among schoolgirls. In schools with poor gender equity in management personnel and attitudes, girls were more likely to engage in premarital sex potentially leading to an early pregnancy and/or a transmitted disease than girls attending more equitable schools (Mensch et al. 2001).

In contrast to role model selection processes, existing data on the influence of same-sex versus cross-sex models is rather equivocal. Various studies focussing on different aspects offer a broad range of mixed and at the same time domain-limited results. Zirkel (2002) found in her pedagogical research that students who reported having "race- and gender-matched role models" performed better academically. Students who reported having only non-matched role models or no role model at all, were significantly less interested in "achievement-relevant activities and goals" in the long-term (p. 374). One of the rare studies in francophone sub-Saharan Africa reports that fifth-grade girls who were taught by female teachers performed better than with a male teacher. The same positive influence was described for boys instructed by male teachers (Michaelowa 2001).

Bryant & Zimmerman (2003) analysed potential effects of role models in African American adolescents' social development in Michigan/USA. They found that young males with male role models were less likely to engage in noxious activities than their male peers without a male role model. Other findings suggest that "female adolescents who report they look up to their brothers may be particularly at risk for delinquency and negative health- and school-related outcomes" (p. 61).

Such results seem to indicate that same-sex role models may be associated with more positive outcomes than non-matched role models. However, this tendency supporting the 'similarity hypothesis' is not univocal. Lockwood & Kunda (1997) found in their study on the impact of role models on the self (focussing on attainability) that "participants' gender had no effects on any of the variables" (p. 96). The value of same-sex or cross-sex role models also depends on the studied area. Other decisive variables comprise socio-economic backgrounds, urban or rural settings or educational level which may determine different

needs and interests of adolescents. Due to the fact that social reality is not a laboratory, it is often difficult to isolate one variable such as 'gender' into a credible cause-effect relationship. Further implications of same-sex versus cross-sex role modelling can only be assessed through more research (MacCallum & Beltman 2002; Hurd et al. 2009).

3.3 Gender Symbolism

The third dimension comprises the symbolism of gender (macrosystem). A classification of stereotypical gender-dualisms is a typical feature of this dimension. Such dualisms are characterised by dichotomies which do not reflect biological or sexual reality. According to Reimann (2002), associations related to masculinity comprise e.g. "reason / autonomy / subject / production / culture" while femininity is equated with "subjectivity / feeling / dependency / object / value / reproduction / nature" (p. 3). Both male and female attributes seem to be mutually exclusive. How are masculinity and femininity defined in a given society? What are the social ingredients of 'ideal' female or male beauty? What normative gender roles are expected in different socio-cultural contexts? Impacts or transformation processes of 'gender symbolism' are often subtle and therefore hard to measure. Altering socially embedded systems of values and traditions necessitates a long-term vision. Many programmes that aim to tackle gender role stereotypes commonly expose girls or boys to non-traditional alternatives (MacCallum & Beltman 2002). The existence and visibility of outstanding females in traditionally male-dominated areas may indirectly result in a symbolic shift: "(…) by their very presence, they change the old gender schematic visions of status and power." This "changing schemata" through non-stereotypical women is based on a socio-contextual and structuralist perspective (Gibson & Cordova 1999, p. 125). There are scholars who doubt 'automatic effects' of, for instance, successful women scientists as guest speakers to encourage female students. Byrne (1989) emphasises the fact that an invited role model should be considered 'normal' and not too unusual. Otherwise, this outstanding person lacks relevance and is thus rather demoralising than motivating (Lockwood & Kunda 1997). This scepticism is mainly based on the conviction that mere demonstration and 'passive' observation do not change behaviour. Even with the most efficient change management, shifts and progress concerning 'gender symbolism' may take decades. Such transformations are fundamentally nurtured by bottom-up processes on an individual and structural level, but also need consistent top-down activism.

4   Summary and Relevance for this Study

This study mainly follows Pleiss & Feldhusen (1995) and MacCallum & Beltman (2002) utilising the three adapted categorising key-words 'Mentors', 'Role models', and 'Heroes'[115] which reflect different types of models situated on the continuum of interaction. Since many African children do not reside with their biological parents, and since teachers are not always well-disposed and caring, rather than attaching a degree of interaction to individuals and their 'functions' as such, three generic types seem more suitable. Within daily S&D programmes, the interaction between a coach and a child might be more intensive than between a child and his or her father working far away at the copper mine. Besides 'traditional' relationships,

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[115] The capital initial letters distinguishes these three terms as 'types'.

this continuum may also accommodate informal relations such as guardians, caregivers, or other significant adults closely attached to youngsters in deprived African communities. This trichotomy accommodates some level of inevitable overlap by providing over-arching 'model types' for given parameters (Tab. 2). Furthermore, this categorisation allows for the use of the term 'role model' either on an abstract level (representing type 2) or as a more common 'umbrella term'.

Model Types ('key-words')	<= Role Modelling Continuum =>		
	Type 1 'Mentors'	Type 2 'Role Models'	Type 3 'Heroes'
Intensity of Interaction	high degree	medium degree	low/no degree
Length of Interaction	long-term	variable	short-term / sporadic
Setting	formal	formal or informal	informal / virtual
Reciprocity	bilateral	limited bilateral	unilateral
Potential Representatives	parents	teachers	superstars
	siblings	coaches	celebrities
	relatives	youth workers	idols
	peers	clergy	media-figures
	mentors	staff	champions
	etc.	etc.	etc.
Sport Context	'Sporting Role Models' (SRMs)		

Tab. 2: Categorisation of 'Model Types'
(adapted from MacCallum & Beltmann 2002; Gibson 2004)

The continuum and the three 'model types' represent a structural framework of this study. Inherent dynamic features of role modelling are also embraced by following Gibson's (2004) definition of role modelling as "a cognitive process in which individuals actively observe, adapt, and reject attributes of multiple role models" (p. 136). Each type provides positive and negative attributes and could potentially offer both coping and mastery models. Of course, the boundaries of this classification and its representatives such as coaches or teachers are not set in stone, but always depend on the context. This study turns major attention to 'Role models' (type 2) with a considerable focus on Heroes (type 3) as well. Since a predominant significance of a personal one-to-one support by parents, close family members (and mentors) is fairly uncontested, this study gives less coverage to this first type. Derived from this terminological framework and adapted to a sport context, the concept 'Sporting role model' (SRM) is going to be used as 'umbrella term' involving all three types.

Besides terminological clarity, this sub-chapter provides relevant basics on role models and role modelling. From a socio-cognitive perspective, the common 'similarity theory' has to be considered. Nevertheless, it needs to be emphasised that cross-sex modelling occurs among both girls and boys depending on the power status of a model. Despite this fact there is a tendency to select only certain aspects of a specific male or female model. Thus, displayed behavioural patterns do not always reflect all observed or learned elements (Bandura 1986). Furthermore, mainly the work by Bandura (1977, 1986) and Lockwood & Kunda (1997, 1999) indicate the importance of 'attainability and relevance' with regard to role modelling. In contrast to sporting 'heroes/heroines' (type 3), local coaches do seem attainable. And football is relevant to the target group under study. At the same time, these approaches caution against inconsiderate use of inappropriate role models which may even entail counterproductive effects such as demoralisation and frustration. Another argument which sustains the interest in sport coaches (type 2) as a main target group consists of the widely shared mastery vs. coping model approach (Schunk & Zimmermann 1996; Bandura 1997; Weiss et. al. 1998; Kitsantas et al. 2000; Vescio et al. 2005; Singh et al. 2006). Sharing the same socio-economic background with most participants, local coaches are not only similar, but had to tackle obstacles to succeed in life and/or sport enhancing their credibility as motivating coping models.

The following Chapter V builds on this generic frame of reference adding the 'sport component' and presents various facets of SRMs and their (de-)construction.

V   SPECIFIC FRAME OF REFERENCE: SPORTING ROLE MODELS AND HEROISM

After exploring role models and their functions as well as processes of role modelling with respective gender implications, this sub-chapter will take on the sport setting. The main focus is top-level athletes, their status as potential 'sporting role models' (SRMs) and the underlying complex interrelations between sport, media and society. Thereby, emerging issues on ethics, morality, and especially gender are covered.

The question of whether SRMs influence children and youth will be explored, specifically those that have medium and low/no degree of mutual interaction.

There is an almost univocal agreement among scholars that family members have the strongest influence on children and youth. This study will thus not further explore 'Mentoring' (type 1), but rather concentrate on 'Role models' (type 2) and 'Heroes' (type 3). The SRM concept will be used as 'umbrella term' involving all three categories adjusted for the sport context (e.g. parents, coaches, champions).

1   Particularities of Sporting Role Models

It is generally assumed that sport stars are potentially influential figures (Whannel 2002). Populist books such as "They Did You Can: How to achieve whatever you want in life with the help of your sporting heroes" (Finnigan 2007) suggest an idealised and direct causality between the messages of sport stars and personal happiness. This surely well-intentioned approach assumes that sporting heroes are automatically wise and trustful advisers. But to what extent does the 'sport star system' provide role models and how do high-profile athletes become heroes?

1.1 Choice and Influence of Sporting Role Models

The British newspaper 'Sunday Mail' (Jan. 25th 2004) reported on psychologists at Leicester University who asked more than 2'500 British teenagers to name their most admired celebrities. Football star David Beckham came out first, followed by Nelson Mandela, Tony Blair, and Brad Pitt. Consistent with these results, research in New Zealand additionally found that "both sexes showed a decided preference for athletes as heroic public others" (Melnick & Jackson 2002, p. 442). This equivocal sport enthusiasm among male and female youth, however, remains rather exceptional. Despite this seemingly univocal trend towards the choice of personalities from the sporting world, several scholars point to considerable differences in respect of sex and age. A German study with children (aged 9-12) revealed that boys primarily named sport models, while girls preferred musicians and entertainers (Biskup & Pfister 1999). These findings were confirmed by an Australian survey in which only a minority of females (aged 12-18) chose sportspersons as role models (Vescio et al. 2005). Several studies provided similar results emphasising that sport figures – being the predominant choice - were more popular with younger (aged 11-13) than older (aged 14-16) teenagers (Bromnick & Swallow 1999; White & O'Brien 1999). Besides the age factor, a gender imbalance was also noticed by these scholars. An older US study indicated slightly

diverse choices based on the "race of respondents" who were high-school students: "Given the importance of sports in American society, it should not come as a surprise that sports heroes rank first for Black males, Black females, and White males, and third for White females" (Balswick & Ingoldsby 1982, p. 246). Various researchers found a considerable percentage of young people who did not want or were not able to nominate a role model. Some of them instead preferred to simply name certain model traits or "were happy to be themselves and whilst they were able to identify a hero that person did not necessarily represent their ideal self" (Bromnick & Swallow 1999, p. 117; Biskup & Pfister 1999; White & O'Brien 1999).

In a study mainly targeting advertisers, Bush et al. (2004) confirmed the trend among youngsters that chosen models were often athletes: "Regardless of their public behavior, teenagers do consider athletes as important role models" (p. 114). But do adolescents nominate stars who are then featured by advertisers or is it vice-versa? Are young people impressed and influenced by top athletes because of their public omnipresence (TV, internet, posters, etc.)? This mutually nurtured process primarily reflects the "socio-historic moment [and] particular state of discursive formations" (Whannel 2002, p. 8). Recalling the 'socio-ecologic system' and its inherent interactionism, Maguire (2009) is right to draw a holistic picture: "In order to understand why champions mean so much to us and what impact they have, we have to consider the role sport plays in society" (p. 1261). And any society has its own - formal and informal - norms, roles, rules, structures, customs, hierarchies, etc.

There is a tremendous interest in sport celebrities by the media and the private sector. May (2009) noted that "companies spend millions of dollars using athletes to serve as public spokespersons thus supporting the idea that athletes are role models" (p. 445). The corporate sector's interest goes way beyond sport equipment and merchandise. Besides the sport label 'Nike', tennis star Roger Federer was for example contracted by the Swiss chocolate company 'Lindt & Sprüngli' and is furthermore sponsored by prestigious brands such as 'Credit Suisse', 'Mercedes-Benz', 'Gillette', 'Rolex', etc.[116] Athletes like Federer stand for much more than outstanding sport performance and serve as trustworthy, decent and impressive figureheads. Ironically, capitalist marketing strategies look for celebrity endorsements of products so that these well-known images can be used "to market these products in media-saturated cultures" (Meier & Saavedra 2009, p. 1170).

Transcending mere assumptions of the potential of SRMs, the UK based 'Committee on Culture, Media and Sport' (CMSC) consulted experts on 'drugs and role models in sport' concluding "that sporting heroes are likely to exert more influence on young people than anyone other than their immediate family" (CMSC 2004, p. 44). The British Psychological Society commissioned by CMSC further specified: "Due to their success and prominence in the public domain, sports heroes are likely to act as role models to a wide range of individuals, from those who have only a causal interest in sport activities to those with aspirations to achieve greatness" (CMSC 2004, p. 42).

The Swiss Federal Sport Office in cooperation with Swiss Olympic[117] drafted the 'Charter for Ethics in Sport'. The fifth principle thereof claimed 'teaching fairness' which was expected from athletes, coaches and officials: „Responsible people in sports have an important role model function to promote prosocial and fair behaviour. A good role model is a person who

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[116] See http://www.rogerfederer.com (accessed 10-08-2011).
[117] For more information see http://www.swissolympic.ch (accessed 23-08-2011).

really exemplifies his or her own believes and requests from others through living accordingly. Physical performance should not only be emphasised during training sessions and competition, but outstanding fair and respectful behaviour should also be a consideration."[118]

Besides this governmental activism, there are several private initiatives which use the assumed "power of sporting role models" to promote social change. An example is the already mentioned 'Laureus Sport for Good Foundation'[119] which is strongly endorsed by its Academy consisting of former international sport stars such as Edwin Moses, Nawal El Moutawakel, Sergey Bubka, Boris Becker, Mark Spitz, Martina Navratilova or Franz Beckenbauer to name a few.

Penner & Fritzsche (1993) demonstrated the influence of sports heroes by describing the example that no university students volunteered when asked to assist an AIDS victim to carry out a school project. One week later (Nov. 1991) the famous basketballer Magic Johnson announced being HIV positive and his withdrawal from professional sport (Gutman 1992). In consequence of this news, the support rate for the above mentioned project soared from zero to 83% (Penner & Fritzsche 1993).

In their study on the impact of parents, peers, teachers and sporting heroes on children's goal orientations, Carr & Weigand (2001) specified developmental domains as being potentially affected: "Youngsters are likely to be impressionable and open to influence by sporting role models, with that influence possibly extending to affect the quality of their intellectual, moral, emotional and psychosocial development" (p. 310).

1.2 (De-)Construction of Sporting Role Models

Not every famous athlete or coach is considered as a 'Role model' or 'Hero'. This statement could also apply to well-known actors, singers or politicians. What are the particularities of SRMs compared to role models from other domains? What are the preconditions, major traits and qualifications to select credible ambassadors from the sporting arena above all for advertising or campaigns?

Firstly, to grasp diverse notions such as champions, superstars, heroes, idols, etc. a basic distinction is made between celebrity and heroes. Both representatives share the fact that they are not famous or heroic per se, but socially constructed and dependent on their environment and era. Boorstin (1992) coined some distinctive statements: "The celebrity is a person who is known for his well-knownness. (…). The hero was distinguished by his achievement; the celebrity by his image or trademark. The hero created himself; the celebrity is created by the media. The hero is a big man [sic]; the celebrity is a big name" (pp. 57-61). In contrast to superstars and champions, "heroes challenge us to think about what makes them special, in a certain social and historical context. Whether they come from the cinema, media, sport, history or literature, heroes are the product of the society in which they are born. They embody and reinforce its values" (Moeschler 2009, p. 19). While heroes are characterised by being remembered over a considerable time period – sometimes even outliving generations – celebrity and champions are generally more ephemeral: „Celebrity

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[118] For original German version see http://www.spiritofsport.ch/desktopdefault.aspx/tabid-2677 (accessed 11-12-2009). Translation into English by the author.
[119] Laureus promotes the use of sport as a tool for social change and celebrates sporting excellence, see www.laureus.com (accessed 23-11-2011).

needs the oxygen of publicity. (…). Heroes may be temporarily forgotten, but they can and do endure in the collective psyche that is the memory of a people" (Smart 2005, p. 14). This study categorises champions, outstanding athletes and superstars as 'sporting celebrity', thus contrasting with 'sporting heroes'.

After a more generic approach of heroism, this concept is applied to sport contexts. What elements distinguish 'sporting celebrity' and 'heroes' from other public and mediatised domains such as music, aristocracy, politics or cinema? Andrews & Jackson (2001) identified three qualities which are positively defined as "tangible benefits derived from sport's historically configured social positioning and implicit structure" (p. 8). Firstly, sport is said to possess an instrinsically meritocratic character. Following the common saying 'No sweet without sweat', sporting success and bravura is often associated with hard work, strain, assiduity, innate talent, enthusiasm and devotion. This generally assumed and often justified meritocracy based on individual efforts in the world of sports contrasts with, for example, politicians who achieved prestigious positions owing to inherited wealth, lobbyist connections or political strategies (Andrews & Jackson 2001; Kaufman & Wolff 2010). The second distinction is derived from the conviction that "sport is a uniquely valued cultural practice" (Andrews & Jackson 2001, p. 8). For instance Olympic tournaments have the power to mobilise masses and capture the attention of millions of people around the globe for one key game or decisive race at the same moment. Maguire (2009) furthermore emphasises patriotic as well as cross-cultural particularities: "It is precisely because sports are a separate world that suspends the everyday world, that they are able to celebrate shared cultural meanings that are expressed through, and embodied by, champions. The anthem, the emblem and the flag associated with sporting contests highlights how champions represent the nation" (p. 1262).

The third element which distinguishes sporting celebrity and heroes from, for example, movie stars is linked to authenticity and a sense of reality. While actors and entertainers usually epitomise fictional characters, there is a common belief that sport audiences are "confronted with real individuals participating in unpredictable contests" (Andrews & Jackson 2001, p. 8; Maguire 2009). If an actor is bleeding onstage, it is an artificial injury. But if an athlete gets hurt, he or she has to go to the hospital or – worst case – abandon his or her career.

Adding up to these three sport-specific distinctions suggested by Andrews & Jackson (2001), this study proposes two characteristics of 'sporting celebrity' and 'heroes' in contrast to personalities from other areas. The fourth particularity concerns an often perceived incompatibility between sport and femininity, thus fostering a "gendered heroism" (Hargreaves 2000, p. 3). The fifth quality which is deeply rooted in the sport context comprises philosophical concepts such as 'fair-play' or 'sportspersonship'. These two important issues of morality and gender will be dealt with later on.

Definitions of heroism are ambiguous and offer variations regarding locations, times and individuals: "For some people, the hero is a person with outstanding courage and merits; for others, the hero stands out because of his excellence, success or charisma" (Moeschler 2009, p. 19). Delaney & Madigan (2009) tried to systemise sporting heroes and identified eight different categories: The first type of hero is the winner who is "determined by outcome assessment" and does not really care about the process. For example football striker Filippo Inzaghi or the NBA 'crunchtime-killer' Robert Horry belong to this group. The second category is called "skilled performer" and comprises athletes who "give off an aura of

invincibility" such as Michael Jordan or Mohammed Ali. A third category is focussing on the "heroes of social acceptability" who are admired for upholding social values and "good sportsmanship and dedication" such as Jesse Owens or Lance Armstrong. The "group servant" represents the fourth category who puts collective above individual needs like a martyr. Dirk Nowitzki is exemplary for this category: as team captain the German athlete won the US 2011 NBA championship with his Dallas Mavericks playing fevered and with an injured finger. The fifth type of heroes are "risk takers" mainly involving extreme sport athletes such as the Swiss free-climber Ueli Steck. The sixth category deals with "reluctant heroes" who are rather quiet and modest like marathon runner Tegla Loroupe, whereas the seventh type is called "charismatic hero" displaying "unique qualities that distinguish him or her from the rest of the group" such as Roger Federer or Maria Mutola. Category eight is perhaps the most fascinating type focussing on the "anti-hero" which is the opposite of the group servant. The anti-hero "does not demonstrate the desired values and norms of society and yet still possess a fan following". Representatives of this last category comprise e.g. Dennis Rodman, Mike Tyson or Tonya Harding (pp. 70-72). Even though this categorisation is an interesting attempt, it is not to be set in stone. In fact, an athlete can change category literally over night. Recent examples are Tiger Woods, Lance Armstrong, and Oscar Pistorius. Whereas Delaney et al. (2009) categorised Woods in the skilled performer category, the golf star suddenly mutated into an anti-hero in 2009 when rumours turned out to be true regarding his multiple extra-marital affairs. Sharing a similar doom, Armstrong's heroic reputation was destroyed after his doping confession in January 2013. Shortly after, the admired 'blade runner' Pistorius was charged with murdering his girlfriend.

There is broad consensus that the 'sporting hero status' is made up of different components: "Winning often helps to make a sports hero. But winning alone is not enough, and has to be accompanied by other 'ingredients', such as public admiration and media coverage" (Moeschler 2009, p. 14). Due to the fact that sport may also offer "idiosyncratic instabilities that can impact upon the process of celebrity manufacture" (Andrews & Jackson 2001, p. 8), some athletes achieved their heroic status without winning gold medals. At this point, Paula Barila Bolopa or Eric Moussambani, two non-experienced swimmers representing Equatorial Guinea at the Sydney Olympics 2000, may serve as vivid examples. The manner in which occurrent adversities are tackled or victories are achieved may often be more decisive than exceptional performance. Additionally, "sometimes bad luck or injustice can also help champions to stand out and become heroes" (Moeschler 2009, p. 19).

However, most champions and famous sportspersons do have a celebrity rather than heroic status. Since victories are mostly short-lived events in today's fast moving and lurid media scene, athletes and coaches need to pass "the test of time" (Maguire 2009, p. 1261) to obtain access to the realm of heroism. In addition to this commonly acknowledged time factor, Whannel (2002) emphasises that many sport performances and events do not cut across socio-cultural settings. Hence, a potential outreach of SRMs is often locally or regionally limited. Thus, crucial characteristics of sporting heroes are closely linked to contextual myths, tradition, popular memory and value systems. If a champion wants to be considered a hero, he or she has to "embod[y] the elements that a society holds most dear" (Maguire 2009, p. 1261). In order to fully grasp the socio-historic 'construction process' of sporting heroes, the key role of media coverage and public acclaim needs to be stressed once more (Horne et al. 1999; Moeschler 2009).

1.3 Media Coverage of Sporting Role Models

SRMs are individualised attributions resulting out of a triangular interaction between recipients, athletes/coaches and the media (Kruse 2006). In recent years, the global significance and industry of sport have grown and media coverage intensified. Within this development, the media sport market has conferred a central role to "the sporting star system". According to Whannel (2002) "the images of sport stars become the point of convergence of social anxieties over morality and masculinity" (p. 1).

Referring to the continuum of interaction, it may be assumed that media influence and its interventional functions generally increase as the interaction degree between model and 'observer' becomes lower. Based upon abundant media and internet information, youngsters are led "to feel that they know their icons". Carr & Weigand (2001) refer to this phenomenon as "parasocialization [which] suggests that through media transmission of their heroes, children engage in a form of interaction where they begin to deduce the values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours that they think their heroes aspire to" (p. 310). Usually, with a higher degree of interaction, the intrinsic 'mediator role' of media is not necessary anymore. There is personal or indirect exchange between a SRM (such as a local coach or player) and a young individual who is thus even able to verify and critically reflect press releases.

As already outlined, the media is a crucial player in the construction of athletes/coaches as 'role models' and 'heroes', but it is also strongly involved in deconstructing them. Nowadays, there is a growing media intrusion shedding light on every angle of a sport star's private life. While drunken excesses, drug abuse or extra-marital relationships of famous athletes used to be rarely known to a broad public, today's transparency destroys the often idealised heroes and discloses their weaknesses and vices: "The notion of the impeccable sporting hero becomes increasingly difficult to maintain in a media culture that thrives on scandal and sensationalism" (Lines 2001, p. 300). Other authors refer to this phenomenon as the "hero crisis" outlining the loss of "traditional conceptions of heroes and heroines as people who embody noble values and ideals" (Pleiss et al. 1995, pp. 166-167).

The UK based social enterprise 'Pinkstinks' which aims to promote positive gender roles, comments on the biased role of the media towards models: "One of the problems over recent years is that the press and media seem to have decided that in order to be a role model, you not only need to be famous, rich and beautiful, but you also need to be a saint."[120] Such an image of perfect heroism nurtures media reports disclosing deficits of exceptional individuals. Accordingly, Whannel (2002) argues that "sport stars in the age of media spectacularisation and tabloidization do not typically serve as exemplars of moral worth. More typically, it is the indiscretions and misdemeanours of their private lives that become the focus of headlines". Sport journalists – on their part obligated to please the audience – do have a share in deciding whether an athlete is going to be celebrated, shunned or ignored: "Either they are praised as a good example for the young or alternatively they are castigated as being a bad example" (p. 7). This arbitrariness becomes obvious with regard to controversial issues such as for example homosexuality in sport. Wenner (1993) describes the extremely scarce media coverage when tennis star Martina Navratilova was honoured in anticipation of the Gay Games IV 1994 in New York: "In San Francisco, a city with a large and open gay population, the event received small play in the back pages of the news section, but nowhere did it appear in sports. Perhaps, for now, gay sports are not sports, and Navratilova's story is not

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[120] See http://www.pinkstinks.co.uk (accessed 23-08-2011).

the story of an athlete's struggle against adversity" (p. 76). Thus, the tennis star - being female and gay - was subject to a 'double discrimination' which seems to be common in conservative, patriarchal and heteronormative sport settings. Heteronormativity, homophobia or sexism will be dealt with in the upcoming subchapter.

Mass media actively contributes to 'produce' sporting heroes and to define beauty ideals of masculinity and femininity. According to such gender stereotypes "the 'ideal' male shape is mesomorphic (muscular) and the 'ideal' female is ectomorphic (lean)" (Horne et al. 1999, p. 137). Therefore, male attractiveness is compatible with being a sportsman. A successful male athlete becomes a hero, an idol or even a sex symbol. However, a successful sportswoman is often ridiculed as she is disturbing the social order and risking her status as 'real woman'. As a consequence female athletes are "marginalized, trivialized and objectified" in the media coverage and public discourse (Lines 2001, p. 286; Anders & Braun-Laufer 1999; Hargreaves 2000; Cox & Thompson 2000; Vescio et al. 2005; Elling & Knoppers 2005; Duncan 2007; Giuliano et al. 2007). While impressive female athletes of course do exist and perform, the neglect and invisibility of such credible female role models in the media forms a vicious circle, thus fortifying existing gender stereotypes.

However, the mere media presence of sportswomen does not automatically create empowering female role models, since they are often restricted to "heterosexual feminine appropriate images" (Lines 2001, p. 290). Heroines are presented either as nice, hard-working and humble girls who perform outstandingly in a brave way, or as sexualised pin-ups (Hargreaves 1994, 2000; Lines 2001). Both kinds of constructed sporting heroines are intended to please the "male gaze, with men positioned as the dominant audience of mediated sport" (Lines 2001, p. 291). Based on demand and supply, "people want to see a feminine woman achieving great sport performances, otherwise they lose interest or they criticize female athletes for being masculine or lesbians" (Kolnes 1995, p. 74). To put it bluntly, media sport coverage is mainly produced by men, about men and for men.

In terms of generations, media coverage distinguishes "stars of the past" who receive generally more 'moral credits' and contemporary stars who are said to act more selfishly (Whannel 2002, p. 129). If former heroes really did live up to moral principles, if journalists at that time were more reticent or if recipients were less interested in private life details, remains to be seen. The following sub-chapter explores moral implications of SRMs and the ethical value of sport.

2   Sport Ethics and Moral Considerations

In consequence of being in the public eye and having potential influence on young people, some scholars argue that SRMs (type 3) "must be expected to have higher moral standards than people in everyday life" (Whannel 2002, p. 7). But compared to other public figures, why is this claim particularly outspoken in sport? Why do celebrated athletes have a particular responsibility to be positive role models? Is it because sport is said to build character? The expression 'to be a good sport' does virtually implicate a connection between sport and moral concepts such as fairness, compassion or truthfulness. How do morality and prosocial behaviour relate to sport and its protagonists whether they are famous (type 3) or part of daily life (type 2)?

2.1 Moral Development and Sport

As soon as human well-being is influenced by the behaviour of other humans, the domain of ethics and morality is entered. SRMs who display virtues of courage and fairplay or act prosocially seem to be moral exemplars. Prosocial behaviour and virtues both belong to moral development, but they touch on different roots.

Berkowitz (2002) identifies seven psychological components of a moral person which he called 'moral anatomy'. His multidimensional model integrates moral identity, behaviour, values, emotion, reasoning, and personality.[121] This holistic approach is very useful to grasp the complexity of moral development.

2.1.1 Promoting Moral and Prosocial Education

In the last decades many people deplored a sneaking decay of values which has been further encouraged by the media and increasing sensationalism. Reports on violence, drugs, fraud, corruption, etc. accommodate this demand. As religion, literature, politics and other formal or informal social authorities steadily lose their force of influencing young people in terms of ethics and moral development, omnipresent sport heroes offer alternatives to replenish this vacuum: "Our champions as our heroes express both the myths and revered social values of a society, and the sports ethic that underpins involvement in sport. They have to take risks, to exhibit the hallmarks of bravery and courage and show integrity" (Maguire 2009, p. 1263).

It is generally agreed that families bear the main responsibility for the moral and character formation of children. As Turiel (1998) notes, it seems that every society wants children and youth to become less aggressive, more empathic, more charitable, and more respectful of self and others. Since well-educated and morally reliable citizens form the basis of democracy, ethical values are of public interest. Narvaez (2006) refers to contrary opinions which state "that parents should be the ones to teach values, not teachers" (p. 704). Bandura (1977) clearly rejects this sole parental claim: "Parents of course are not the exclusive source of children's moral judgements and conduct. Other adults, peers, and symbolic models play influential roles as well" (p. 44). Potential 'role models' (type 2) such as coaches or teachers are "representatives of the community and the primary liaison between the child and the society", and therefore "must be given the authority to help children develop character skills that promote active and positive citizenship because the community, like the family, is responsible for raising good citizens" (Narvaez 2006, p. 705).

Berkowitz et al. (2006) label teachers as "adults with supervisory, caretaker responsibility for children [who] provide an opportunity for emotional attachment". Sport coaches also belong to this category of adults who "provide children with feedback regarding their competence, likeability, and worth, and sometimes dramatically influence children's self-esteem. They strongly impact the broad developmental outcomes of children not only through what they teach explicitly and what they model, but also through their relationship itself" (p. 694).

Even if moral education is not an explicit part of most school curricula, "values education is embedded in the fabric of classrooms and instructional practice" (Narvaez 2006 p. 705). The same principle applies to sport pitches or gyms where coaches set standards, treat players

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[121] The seventh component is focussing on 'metamoral' characteristics which might not be inherently moral (such as optimism or self-control).

and opponents in a certain manner, respect cultural differences, etc. Moral considerations, encouragement of virtues and values are intrinsically tied to any kind of education, instruction, coaching or mentorship.

2.1.2 Moral Character Development

Jean Piaget[122] and Lawrence Kohlberg[123] considerably influenced the discourse on moral character development in the 1970s and beyond.[124]

Kohlberg (1981, 1985) postulates six ways in which people argue about moral issues. This sequential typology begins with punishment based on obedience and evolving through instrumental hedonism, approval-seeking conformity, respect for authority, contractual legalistic observance, and culminating in private conscience. An individual can only proceed from one stage to another when the preceding stage has been accomplished (Kohlberg 1981). This mechanism is sustained by Bandura's (1977) presumption that "modelling of moral standards that are too discrepant from one's dominant stage has little impact because they cannot be assimilated" (p. 42).

Psychological and behavioural elements are connected by Lickona (1991): "Good character consists of knowing the good, desiring the good, and doing the good - habits of the mind, habits of the heart, and habits of action" (p. 51). However, just knowing how to behave does not coercively mean that a person really will demonstrate the desired behaviour in a specific situation (Mietzel 1998; Nucci 2006). Eisenberg & Mussen (1989) agree that "moral judgment and moral conduct are associated", but do not believe in a "one-to-one correspondence between them. An individual with mature, sophisticated concepts and judgments about moral issues may or may not ordinarily behave in prosocial ways" (p. 6). Therefore, even committed and morally outstanding models do not guarantee desired behaviour.

2.1.3 Prosocial Behaviour and Virtues

What does it mean to behave in a prosocial manner? Eisenberg et al. (1989) define prosocial behaviour as "voluntary actions that are intended to help or benefit another individual or group of individuals". Thereby, various intentions to behave prosocially are specified ranging from "selfish reasons (reward), gaining approval of others" to truly other-oriented motives (p. 3). Prosocial behaviour and altruism are often used as synonyms, but they are two distinct concepts. Prosocial behaviours include activities such as sharing, comforting, rescuing, and helping. Altruism, in contrast, is the motivation to help others out of pure regard for their needs. Prosocial behaviours are moral actions and behavioural patterns, such as telling the truth. Another component which is relevant for SRMs involves 'moral identity' and its virtues. Virtues are defined as "habitual ways of thinking, feeling, committing, and acting that reflect moral character" (Vessels et al. 2005, p. 19). Arnold (2001) establishes a direct connection between good moral character and the range of virtues a person is willing to act upon. Concerning good moral character in sport, Bredemeier & Shields (1995) name four

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[122] Jean Piaget was a Swiss developmental psycholgist (1896-1980).
[123] Lawrence Kohlberg was an American psychologist (1927-1987).
[124] This cognitive-developmental theory proposes: "All children are predisposed to engage in moral and ethical thinking, feeling, choosing, and behaving. Morality is viewed as the result of the development of moral thinking based on a concept of justice. Moral schemas are thought to guide thinking about moral issues with thinking providing a guide to behaviour" (Vessels et al. 2005, p. 15).

crucial virtues which facilitate consistently displayed moral action on playing fields: "compassion, fairness, sportspersonship, and integrity" (p. 194).

Following the 'moral anatomy' model, a courageous sporting hero does not necessarily exhibit prosocial behaviour. And a generous sport star promoting a charity is not automatically fair and respectful. Other distinctions comprise differences between off-field and on-field behaviour and potential influences depending on the degree of interaction.

2.2 Parameters of Moral Influence within Sport

The famous French author Albert Camus used to say "that it was from sports that he learned all that he knew about ethics" (quoted in: Keating (1964), p. 141). People engage in sport activities for various reasons including health, fitness, fun, social contacts, relaxation, etc. One other factor is moral development. Concerning inappropriate behaviours in sport such as cheating, fouls, violence, verbal abuse, etc. which seem to be tolerated (or even expected) to a certain extent, what kind of socio-moral context are we talking about? Does sport really build character?

2.2.1 Sport and 'Bracketed Morality'

Schwier (1990) differentiates between constitutive and regulative sport rules. The constitutive rules consist of compulsory and standardised rules which are inherent of any game and discipline. Regulative rules, on the other hand, are rather informal and exceed constitutive rules. Schauerte (2007) argues that breaking or sticking to regulative rules implies direct consequences. Depending on respect or disregard of these rules, actions of a player are morally judged and classified. Media and the public commonly refer to regulative rules in terms of 'sportspersonship' or 'fair play'.

Bredemeier & Shields (1984, 1995) distinguish between the morality within the realm of sport and everyday life. In his classic 'Homo Ludens' Huizinga (1955) already noted that playing was "stepping out of 'real life' into a temporary sphere of activity with a disposition all of its own" (p. 8). Bredemeier (1994) coined the term "bracketed morality" to describe the morality in sport. She furthermore states that "play, games, and sport are important socialization contexts that frequently have been described as conceptually and emotionally distinct from everyday life" (p. 2). This morality is only valid on the pitch and has no real world consequences (Bredemeier et al. 1984, 1986a, 1986b, 1995). Sport legitimates, for instance, aggressive behaviour in boxing which would be considered immoral and unacceptable in everyday life. Shields (2001) supports this approach with empirical findings: "When people reasoned about the moral dilemmas set within a sport context they tended to use (…) a stage of moral reasoning that was lower on the developmental continuum than when the same people reasoned about similar issues in everyday life. In short, their reasoning become more egocentric" (Shields 2001, unpaged). If athletes want to be successful, they need to suspend their usual level of morality (Bredemeier & Shields 1986a, 1986b; Bredemeier 1994). In line with this argumentation Kaufman & Wolff (2010) state that "sport does not necessarily increase one's moral or ethical reasoning, and, in fact, it may even diminish such traits" (p. 158).

Bredemeier et al. (1986a) use the term 'game reasoning' to describe the process of moral reasoning that mainly occurs in the context of competitive sports. However, Shields (2001, unpaged) distinguishes between competition and "de-competition" and uses these two distinct archetypes as "conceptual tools to examine the dynamics of contrasting social processes". Pure competitors or decompetitors do not exist, but form two extreme poles. Both of these ideal types want to win, because this is the catalyst of every game or tournament. But Shields (2001) differentiates: "For true competitors, one cannot win without winning fairly; for decompetitors, the concluding scoreboard is the only arbiter of winning". In summary, the difference between competition and decompetition consists of "contrasting views of all the elements involved in a contest: the opponents, the officials, the rules, the goal, and the process". Competition and decompetition share only "the external, structural arrangement of mutually exclusive goal attainment", but are "defined with reference to the subjective orientation of the participants". These differences easily become obvious when participants play the game (Shields 2001, unpaged).

Two particularities of "bracketed morality" need further consideration: Firstly, personal freedom from daily hassles is an attractive and motivating aspect of sport enabling participants to relax and 'step out of real life' for a defined period of time. It reduces relational responsibility, and egocentrism is – in many cases - not only accepted, but legitimately expected. Secondly, there is a limitation stating that "not all action supportive of self-interest is morally appropriate, even in sport". Morality in sport is just bracketed, but not abolished. Mitigating circumstances related to moral behaviour are considered, but there is no pure moral anarchy: "Bracketed morality is a form of moral action that is nested within a broader, more encompassing morality. It is set apart by its relative leniency, yet it remains connected to basic moral presuppositions. It is a playful deviation, not a serious detachment" (Shields 2001, unpaged). When this freedom is used to gouge minimal criteria, "bracketed morality ceases to be a nonserious and playful deviation from the morality of everyday life and loses its legitimacy" (Shields 2001, unpaged; Bredemeier & Shields 1986a, Bredemeier 1994).

2.2.2 Influence on Moral Development by Significant Others

After having marked out drawbacks and opportunities of moral behaviour, potential influences of significant others within the sport context will be depicted. Thereby, the main focus is not on sporting heroes and celebrities (type 3), but on type 2 SRMs with a medium degree of interaction; and to a lesser extent on type 1.

According to Narvaez (2006) virtues are not innate, but "patterns of behavior developed with practice, effort and guidance from parents, teachers, and mentors, until external guidance is unnecessary. In other words, virtue development requires apprenticeship under guidance of the community" (p. 719). This means that significant others as well as their values and behaviours considerably influence the moral development and prosocial behaviour of children and youth. For example a Kenyan study found that boys performed better than girls in primary schools where teachers openly stated that female pupils were less capable than male pupils (Appleton 1995).

Considering degrees of interaction, the following three North American examples emanate from regular and personal relationships between athletes and significant others: Stephens et al. (1996) noticed in their study on aggression in girls' soccer that "youth sport participants' self-defined likelihood to aggress [SLA] was best predicted by players' perceptions of how

their team-mates would act in a similar situation" (p. 169). Unfair game tactics by team-mates would therefore increase an individual's likelihood to behave unfairly as well. Guivernau et al. (2002) confirm these results and report on a "significant positive correlation between athletes' team pro-aggressive norms and their SLA" (p. 79). Besides the influence of team-mates, sport specific research has also identified a link between parental influence and aggression. Stuart & Ebbeck (1995) investigated the social approval of parents to act aggressively. As a result, mothers had the highest impact on moral development of children, while team-mates' approval was most relevant to teenagers.

Other studies agree that athletes are significantly more influenced by their coach when faced with a moral decision than by any other individual (Stephens et al. 1996; Guivernau et al. 2002; Kavussanu et al. 2006). Especially among females, the "players' own ego orientations were less predictive of likelihood to aggress than the players' perceptions of their coach's ego orientation" (Stephens et al. 1996, p. 170). Studying the moral functioning of male youth footballers, Kavussanu et al. (2006) found: "[If coaches] (…) encourage engagement in behaviours such as verbally or physically provoking an opponent, diving to seek an advantage (…), it has a strong effect on the manner players viewed these behaviours, their intention to engage, as well as their reported engagement in the behaviours over the course of the football season" (p. 17). Thus, it has become obvious that coaches indeed are SRMs and do impact "on young athletes' acquisition of certain values, such as fair play and respect for the rules or cheating and aggressive/injurious play" (Guivernau 2002, p. 81).

There is consensus that any adult – independent of his or her interaction degree with a young person - has some kind of moral responsibility "to encourage virtue and discourage vice". However, the often formulated claim that "celebrated athletes have additional moral reasons to behave well" (Wellman 2003, p. 335) is contested. The following chapter will discuss this controversy on moral obligations of type 3 SRMs.

2.3 Morality and Responsibilities of Sporting Role Models

Does exceptional athletic performance necessarily entail exemplary behaviour in every-day life? Do outstanding athletes have to change their attitudes, if they realise their conferred role model status?

Harris (1994) argues that true heroes have moral and social responsibilities and that they "compensate for qualities perceived to be missing in individuals and society and display ideal behaviors that people strive to emulate" (p. 1). Other authors also associate heroism with patriarchal moral attributes such as bravery, courage or loyalty. Lines (2001) applies this logic to the sport arena and points out that "sporting heroes [are] admired for high morals and exemplary sporting behaviour" (p. 286). According to Delaney et al. (2009), "a hero is usually someone who is admired for his or her achievement, courage, skill, dedication, or integrity" (p. 67). Furthermore heroes are supposed to "serve as agents of social control" which prominently include for example the anchoring of traditional gender stereotypes (p. 69). As previously displayed, heroic virtues in sport are often exclusively associated with masculinity.

Sporting heroes are often portrayed and perceived as moral exemplars by the media, advertisers and society. Feezell (2005) is very sceptical about celebrated athletes being moral exemplars, and proposes a useful distinction between role models in a descriptive and a normative sense: "A role model in a descriptive sense is one whose conduct (or life) is

actually the object of imitation or is at least believed to be worthy of imitation. A role model in a normative sense is one whose conduct or life is worthy of being imitated or worthy of being some kind of exemplar. Is a celebrated athlete a role model? Yes, apparently, in a descriptive sense, but not necessarily in the normative sense" (p. 22). But regardless of outside judgements of displayed behaviour, a key aspect of the whole SRM discourse remains the self-perception, sensibility, motivation, and awareness of an outstanding athlete himself or herself.

2.3.1 Scepticism and Exemplarism

It is generally agreed that "sports have an enormous influence in our culture, and celebrated athletes can really make a moral difference in the lives of some people, especially children" (Feezell 2005, p. 20). But what are the consequences, if a sport star consciously denies to display exemplary behaviour? The former NBA All-Star Charles Barkely raised this issue 1993 in a 'Nike' commercial advertisement: "I am not a role model. I'm not paid to be a role model. I am paid to wreak havoc on the basketball court. Parents should be role models. Just because I dunk a basketball doesn't mean I should raise your kids" (quoted in: May 2009, p. 443). Barkley explicitly refused to adhere to the widely shared premise that all high-profile athletes should be role models. Feezell (2005) refers to such an anti-social and self-centred attitude as "skepticism" and contrasts this concept with "exemplarism" (p. 20).

The fallacy that sporting excellence automatically results in exemplary moral behaviour turns out to be a problem, when admired star athletes do not care and spurn social or legal rules. Contrasting with this passive interpretation of role modelling, active SRMs would voluntarily assume their responsibility.

Lyle (2009) argues that role models are "defined by the observer's attention and identification" (p. 26). Accordingly, Delaney et al. (2009) state that a role model is constructed by choice of the recipient: "A hero is someone that we admire. Consequently, heroes are chosen, whether they want to be or not. Conversely, someone cannot claim to be a hero. Such status needs to be conferred by others" (p. 68). Exemplarism – the willingness to assume status and responsibility purposefully - does not necessarily guarantee an impact by an outstanding personality, but rather emphasise his or her intention and awareness.

Many top athletes are expected to adhere to this exemplary ethical code and are even proud of it. A former British athlete[125] said that "sportsmen and -women are in a very privileged position – they are living the dream – and have to conduct themselves in a proper manner because of their very powerful and influencing effect on the younger generation" (CMSC 2004, p. 43). Many politicians point out that athletes are often "recipients of public funding" and should therefore "be role models in terms of their conduct within the sporting arena" (CMSC 2004, p. 44).

Both advocates and opponents of exemplarism acknowledge "that there is nothing intrinsic to athletic participation that makes celebrated athletes more suited for being good role models". Special responsibility is thus not expected 'as an athlete', but solely derived from the uncontested influence of well-known stars over a young public (Wellman 2003; Feezell 2005, p. 24). However, sceptics are convinced that celebrated athletes should better use their influence to direct fans and young people to 'real' and legitimated moral models. They should

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[125] Mark Richardson who mainly competed in the 400m track competition.

not try to act as moral exemplars and change behaviours, but actively reject to be considered morally outstanding human beings. Feezell (2005) cynically criticises exemplarism as mere window-dressing, since misperceptions of moral capacities are not rectified: "The dilemma for exemplarism is that it requires either dishonesty or the denial of itself. Barkley's skepticism is morally preferable" (p. 26). This statement leads to the ironic conclusion that passive and selfish behaviour and the denial of being a SRM seems to be more honest and realistic than 'just acting' as a morally better person.

2.3.2 Paradoxes of Athletic Excellence and Moral Dualism

Heroic attributes and virtues combined with characteristics of successful athletes evoke a few contradictions. Spencer (1996) specifies one paradox: "Perhaps this is the real dilemma – not whether athletic heroes still exist, but whether the qualities needed to attain athletic excellence actually prevent the development of true heroic qualities" (p. 48). She uses the trial against the former top athlete O.J. Simpson as example and differentiates between a "football hero" and an "American hero" (p. 48). Goodman (1993) stresses 'hero qualities' such as selflessness, modesty, loyalty or integrity and identifies a contradiction: "These [qualities] are precisely the opposite of those needed to transform a talented but otherwise unremarkable neighborhood kid into a Michael Jordan (...). Becoming a star athlete requires a profound and long-term kind of self-absorption, a single-minded attention to the development of a few rather odd physical skills, and an overarching competitive outlook" (p. 103).

Another paradox comprises various privileges of celebrated athletes who are elevated to heroism. Besides wealth, fame and the "assumption of morality", a social privilege exclusively attributed to "(heterosexual) men in hegemonic sports" is a sub rosa "access to the bodies of numerous women". Such common practices lead to contradictions "between 'moral' standards of heterosexual monogamy and how to attain high status under dominant norms of masculinity" (McKay et al. 2000, p. 60).

Egocentrism which is displayed and often expected by successful athletes signifies a rather low level of moral judgement according to Kohlberg (1981, 1985). Is it therefore not hypocritical to equate star athletes with individuals of exemplary moral?

The approach by Shields (2001) concerning 'competitors and decompetitors' is suitable to resolve this paradox. While both ideal types adhere to sportspersonship, competitors are "fundamentally guided in their actions by the ideals of fairness, respect, and noninjurious play". This viewpoint contrasts with decompetitors who "tend to adopt a conventional or nonmoral view of sportspersonship". Decompetitors consider sportspersonship as "behaviour that conforms to the minimal demands of politeness, civility, and rule obedience" (Shields 2001, unpaged). Potential competitors can be distinguished from potential decompetitors when moral norms conflict with strategic game interests. Competitors want to win, but minimal moral norms are upheld regardless of rules and requirements. Thereby, athletic excellence is combined with "true heroic qualities" (Spencer 1996, p. 48). For decompetitors, in contrast, "rules are partially tolerated restraints, and circumvention of rules is to be expected when detection is unlikely. Thus, rather than rules providing the minimal floor for sportspersonship, they provide its maximal ceiling" (Shields 2001, unpaged). Moreover, the perception of officials and referees is a decisive difference between competitors and decompetitors. Competitors respect referees as persons who ensure "equality of opportunity

and treatment and minimization of risk". For decompetitiors, in contrast, officials are part of the adversary (Shields 2001, unpaged).

Relating to 'bracketed morality' (Bredemeier et al. 1986a), there seems to be another contradiction when Lines (2001) suggests that the sporting hero is "embodying values that learnt on the playing fields will readily transfer into everyday life" (p. 285). Due to inconsistent on-field and off-field behaviour, athletes often find themselves confronted to a moral dualism. Is there not a risk to transfer sporting egocentrism into daily life? Nowadays, sport metaphors are eagerly used in business, economics, advertisement or politics. If games are compared to politics, sensitive issues can lose a certain degree of seriousness through 'bracketed morality'. However, 'game reasoning' (Shields 2001) should be reserved for the realm of sport and not euphemistically be misused to justify politics. Bredemeier (1985) understands morality as "a process of balancing one's own needs and interests with those of others" (p. 120), and this should not be trivialised at the expense of public welfare.

2.3.3 Sporting Role Models and Moral Education

Of course, not everything that happens on a sport pitch is driven by egocentric morality. When Lines (2001) proposes that sporting heroes can transfer on-field values into everyday life, SRMs may really be influencing the moral development and prosocial behaviour of children and youth to a certain extent.

One of the major problems of exemplarism is the lack of consistency. Due to the mentioned media influence, it is not sufficient to display exemplary on-field behaviour which is in total contrast to athletes' off-field behaviour or vice-versa (Shields 2001). If SRMs do have an impact on children and youth, their messages are only convincing if they are authentic and consistent (Lyle 2009).

As the saying 'Cobbler, stick to your last' suggests, sporting heroes are most credible SRMs, if they display exemplary on-field behaviour in their very domain of athletic excellence. Feezell (2005) sums it up as follows: "Celebrated athletes are role models, not moral exemplars. They are lusory objects whose meaning and significance are internal to the world of the sport in which they excel. The major error of exemplarism is a confusion about the proper meaning of our sports heroes as lusory objects, inhabitants of a world set apart from the ordinary world by virtue of the conventions without which their heroic efforts would have no meaning or significance. (…). Our sports heroes deserve to be imitated, qua athletes, because of what they have done in the public arena of athletic competition, filtered through our imagination and reconstituted in light of these categories" (p. 32).

There are, for sure, sporting heroes with laudable and authentic attitudes inside and outside sport which make them positive SRMs for young people. But from an educational point of view, how can noxious conduct of celebrated athletes (such as doping, violence, racism, sexism, etc.) be filtered and kept away from youth?

While media coverage and advertisers tend to mingle private and professional life of celebrated athletes, educational efforts related to sport and ethics should discern these two spheres. For example the famous US basketballer Kobe Bryant who was accused of sexual assault remains "a great basketball player, not necessarily a great human being. (…). Admire the athlete as a player, but withhold judgment and the disposition to imitate the player when he leaves the arena. On the court, Kobe's feats are filtered through the imagination

and merit our admiration; in the courtroom, Kobe is just a guy" (Feezell 2005, p. 34). Furthermore, evaluation and discussion of exemplary careers and profiles of type 3 SRMs may offer valuable entry points to tackle ethical issues and promote moral education (Moeschler 2009).

Research findings suggest that young people are critical and well aware of faults, vices and weaknesses of their SRMs. Ingall (1997) conducted a study targeting adolescents' heroes and role models. Thereby it was noticed that "adolescents are more impervious to popular culture than we think" (p. 19). In their exploratory study on students' conceptions of heroes, White & O'Brien (1999) found "that students are in fact identifying with those people who demonstrate moral excellence, and not those who have been lifted up by society through glitz and glamour" (p. 93).

Referring to sport settings, May (2009) reported on black male basketball players who were chosen as SRMs by several youngsters, because of their contribution to the community: "Michael Jordan is a good person, and he gives back to his neighbourhood and does stuff for the kids" (p. 451). Some high-profile athletes seem to overcome the moral dualism and paradox of athletic excellence by arranging their off-field behaviour in an exemplary way. The young males interviewed by May (2009) generally had a complex and critical view of SRMs, and some teenagers emphasised that "giving back is an important part of one's role as a professional athlete" (p. 458). These findings suggest that young people are able to discern 'good' and 'bad' behaviours of the same SRM or between different athletes. This observation corresponds with Lines (2001) who is convinced that "young people can make informed and articulate judgements about sport stars as villains, fools and heroes" (p. 301). The English footballer Paul Gascoigne who repeatidly hit the headlines with alcoholism, assaults, bankruptcy, etc. represents a similar example. Horne et al. (1999) assessed this case: "There is every reason to hypothesise that young people are very well able to distinguish between Gazza the football genius, Gazza the clown and Paul Gascoigne the man who allegedly beats up his wife. Sport stars are somehow being asked to follow the footsteps of the Victorian heroes of Empire and yet we live in different times when heroes are frequently knocked from their pedestals and the very concept of male heroism is fragile" (p. 174).

Adolescents were able to describe certain skills or character traits they admired, and simultaneously disapproved certain off-field behaviours such as doping, reckless driving or violence. Furthermore, the SRM choice remains a dynamic process underlying to change over time. May (2009) recalls that young people "might actually select multiple role models that represent examples to be followed in the various realms of their everyday lives (…) and have varying degrees of influence" (p. 459).

In fact, any celebrity has to reckon with the possibility of being picked as someone's role model for whatever reason. The potential influence of an athlete is mainly linked to his or her awareness and conviction of being a passive or active SRM. But even the willingness and dedication does not guarantee that exemplary behaviour will be noticed, appreciated and reproduced by young people who are deciding themselves which characteristics of which role model they want to emulate or not.

3   Gender and Sporting Role Models

Historical associations between masculinity and sport have been demonstrated. These roots affect also the prevailing predominance of male SRMs at the expense of female protagonists. While these imbalances are decreasing in most 'developed' countries, there is still a considerable lack of female SRMs in Africa.

This subchapter combines role modelling with 'sport and gender' especially emphasising African female SRMs. Thereby, recurrent issues related to patriarchy, sexism, homophobia and heteronormativity are interrogated.

3.1   Patriarchal Ideology and Gender Theory

It has been argued that interpretations of masculinity and femininity are largely determined by socio-cultural contexts: "A culture is remembered for its heroes and heroines, and sport constructs them and influences our perceptions of them continuously" (Hargreaves 2000, p. 1). Contrasting with such constructivist perspectives and their moderating factors, sporting heroes are traditionally often perceived "as epitomizing social ideals and masculine virtues" (Griffin 1998; Lines 2001, p. 285). This patriarchal definition inextricably links an exceptional performance or attitude to specific gender affiliation: "The persistence of patriarchy in sport means that sexism and homophobia have been central elements in the role of sport in the construction of gendered identities" (Whannel 2002, p. 11).

This patriarchal ideology which often prevails in Africa, "divides the social world into dualistic gendered spaces, positions, traits and dispositions that are presumably clear and natural" (Shehu 2010, p. ix). This fact has already been stressed (Chap. III) referring to many developing countries in which availability of safe public space simultaneously increases for boys and decreases for girls as they both grow older (Mensch et al. 1998; Brady 2005). Besides gendered spaces, certain tasks and behavioural patterns are strictly divided into distinct male and female domains. For example leisure time activities outside the house are commonly reserved for boys: "While it has historically been accepted that young black men in South Africa play for their physical pleasure in the late afternoons, young black women have been expected to be at home, cleaning and making preparations for the evening meal" (Naidoo & Muholi 2010, p. 109). Next to the gendered division of domestic work, certain values which are intrinsically linked to competitive sport such as "competition, aggression and physically dominating the opponent in pursuit of victory" do also constitute patriarchism: "These values are at the heart of patriarchal gender norms that justify inequalities between women and men on the basis of 'natural' differences between dominant, aggressive males and submissive, passive females" (UN 2008, p. 33). Thus, the world of sport with its historically patriarchal structures and norms entails exclusion by definition: "It goes without saying that this naturalization of sport as male territory for nurturing hegemonic masculine qualities tends to exclude from the sport arena other bodies that are marked, gendered, sexed or classed as female or feminine" (Shehu 2010, p. x). The fact that the 'naturalness' of patriarchal ideology is repeatedly mentioned, underlines the popular assumption based on "biologism" that gender roles and sex always correspond. In contrast, Hargreaves (1994) advances an interactionist view underlining the dynamism, constructivism and arbitrariness of perceived gender roles: „We understand our gender because we are given names, colour coded, dressed, talked to and treated in particular ways which accord with our sex" (p. 147).

In the patriarchal African context, the already evoked 'double dimension' of sport related to gender equity and equality needs to be considered as obstacle and opportunity. On the one hand, these challenged traditional social hierarchies and norms offer promising entry points and potential shifts by athletic females symbolising 'quasi-contradiction in terms'. On the other hand, as suggested by Shehu (2010), "age-old patriarchal principles embedded in sport, reinforced at every turn by the mass media and gendered socialisation, remain a major obstacle to personal fulfillment and advancement in sport for many African women" (p. x).

Pelak (2005b) draws on two major theoretical traditions within sport and gender studies to discuss "micro-level experiences of South African women soccer athletes with macro-level structures and historical dynamics" (p. 65). She describes how liberal feminist research of the 1970s and early 1980s primarily emphasised female discrimination, thus reducing women's and girls' sporting activities to an act of opposition. Liberal feminism has been criticised for perceiving men and women as homogenous groups (Hargreaves 1994). Despite weaknesses of a liberal feminist approach, Pelak (2005b) found evidence in her investigation on South African female footballers that "gender-based discrimination still shapes athletes' identities and experiences at the turn of the 21st century. While male soccer athletes enjoy the lion's share of school resources, public support, and financial subsidies from soccer governing bodies in South Africa, girls and women struggle to keep teams together and to raise money for basics such as equipment and transportation" (pp. 65-66). A second line of argument involves hegemony theories (Bryson 1990; Kolnes 1995; Hargreaves 1994, 2000; Theberge 1997; McKay et al. 2000) which acknowledge a limited transformative power of female activities in the male-dominated world of sport and even advert to potential counterproductive effects: "The insistence on marking the female athletic body as an ultimately feminine body, reinforces a patriarchal ideology of gendered bodies, through the continued maintenance of a feminine body-beautiful regime (…). It reinforces the tendency of valuing women for what they look like, rather than what they achieve" (Engh 2010, p. 74). Hegemony theories are predominantly valid in competitive organised sport and less relevant for recreational activities: "Institutionalized sport forms have often been dismissed as empowering contexts because they are viewed as reproducing male domination, as well as patriarchal gender relations and social structures" (Blinde et al. 1994, p. 52). Structure and philosophy of major sport entities, which were established by men and for men, symbolise for many scholars and activists a fortress of traditional norms (Mennesson & Clément 2003). For example in South Africa, Naidoo & Muholi (2010) describe the national Football Association SAFA as "riddled with the contradictions of our patriarchal, capitalist society that is upheld by a heterosexist normative" (p. 136).

Recalling such implications, if sport is used with boys and young men to raise gender awareness, it is crucial to emphasise which values are to be "promoted and which values are to be challenged. One means for improving impact on gender equality is to challenge the gender segregation in sport that helps to strengthen the association between sport and patriarchal gender identities" (UN 2008, p. 33).

The practical 'gender spectrum' (Von Hagen & Willems 2011) offers an additional less polarising perspective. Five gender approaches are collocated along a continuum: 1) gender negative and exploitative, 2) gender blind, 3) gender aware and sensitive, 4) gender appropriate/adequate and 5) gender transformative (p. 13). The advantage of such a continuum is that limited transformative power is not perceived as a failure, but as an intermediate step. Furthermore, this 'gender spectrum' involves all societal levels and allows

for constructivist and dynamic processes related to 'sport and gender'; bearing in mind that such processes are not linear.

Whereas this theoretical strand transcends classical structures of patriarchy, the question needs to be raised whether the predominantly 'Western' concept of patriarchism is valid in the African context. Some scholars question "the applicability of patriarchy as a concept in African research because it does not take into consideration the kinship and age hierarchies of African communities". Other authors disagree with this claim and define patriarchy as "global concept that takes different forms, it is not fixed or limited to the model of white Euro-Western communities" (Kabwila Kapasula 2010, p. 28). The Malawian researcher further refers to the "theory of double patriarchy" which involves indigenous as well as colonial forms of patriarchy mutually influencing one another. With respect to her African home country, she describes gender hierarchies as follows: "Even though Malawi is made up of matrilocal and patrilocal communities, it is largely a patriarchal nation state because the gender relations in either system define man as superior to woman even though there are differences in the forms and degrees of the definitions" (pp. 28-29). The Malawian scholar Tizifa was quoted in the 'The Nation' (March 1st, 2003) talking about female impediment to enjoy socio-economic freedom in her country: "The Malawian society is organized along the patriarchal ideology, an ideology which values men more than women, where men dominate women, and what is masculine more than what is considered feminine". Analysing the etymological roots of 'man' and 'woman' in Chichewa, Kabwila Kapasula (2010) provides insightful linguistic implications: "Man (…) is defined as the universal breadwinner and hunter whilst woman (…) is the national nurturer, caregiver, recipient and homemaker. These categories are however not monolithic. They are fluid and they change when one compares different Malawian spaces such as the urban, peri-urban, rural and peri-rural". Despite distinctive terms for diverse areas, definitions of gender relations have a common denominator: "The language that denotes power, mobility and success is associated with 'man' (…), the one who wins these contests of power, achievement and privilege is the 'superman', the real man" (p. 29).

Summarising above depicted reasoning and linguistic derivation, Kabwila Kapasula (2010) coined a definition of Malawian patriarchy which comprises "the male supremacy principle that is anchored in and propelled by the polarization of sex, denial of transgendered and homosexual identities and defining man as more powerful, successful and braver than woman" (p. 29). Even if socio-cultural contexts are hardly comparable, many aspects of the Malawian patriarchal concept is applicable to Zambia, but to a lesser extent to South Africa.

Even though these insights on patriarchal and gender concepts are not directly linked to role modelling, the use of sport as an instrument in rural and peri-urban African settings requests a thorough conceptual explanation. Having set this stage, the following subchapter will explore opportunities and obstacles for protagonists who are actively involved in this gender-biased world of sport.

3.2 Sport and 'Gendered Heroism'

In analogy with the already displayed contradiction between 'being a woman' and 'being successful sportswoman' (Palzkill et al. 1991), the discourse on male and female heroism involves the symbolic gender dimension comprehending socio-cultural and traditional beauty ideals.

The following subchapter will shed light on the construction of male and female heroism using linguistic, historical, fictional and sociological arguments. The second subchapter deals with 'heroines of sport' and why they differ from 'female heroes'.

3.2.1   Heroic Status Construction

Outstanding athletes can only be uplifted to a heroic status through their environment. They are produced by the society of which they embody norms and values (Moeschler 2009; Maguire 2009). The public - influenced by media - picks its heroic figures: "The concept of heroism requires a degree of homogenisation in audience response. Such consensuality does not simply exist, it has to be produced. A view of audiences as fragmented must lead us to ask 'heroes for whom'? Black and White audience attitudes to figures such as Carl Lewis, Mike Tyson, Tiger Woods, etc. may be strikingly distinct. (…). Given the overwhelmingly masculine focus of media sport – whom are sporting heroics for?" (Whannel 2002, p. 45). This question is linked to different perceptions of 'heroes' and 'heroines'.

Usually, the majority of English nouns of occupations do not differentiate between male or female. Unlike other languages, a teacher, a cook, a singer, a coach, an athlete, etc. can be a man or a woman in English. Exceptions to this rule are for example 'actor and actress', 'steward and stewardess', 'waiter and waitress'. This pattern is also found for religious or mythical creatures ('god and goddess', 'demon and demoness', etc.), aristocratic titles ('prince and princess', 'king and queen', etc.). In British English, a mayor can be a woman or a man, but "a mayoress is the wife of a male mayor. Similarly, a governess is the wife of a male governor".[126] Some authors purposefully use 'heroes and heroines' while others criticise the use of a distinctive female form as sexist. The female version is considered an inferior duplicate of the male archetype (Munt 1998). The same discrimination operates inversely for men who are engaged in historically feminine domains such as nursing or prostitution.[127]

While heroic attributes such as bravery, courage or muscular strength can directly relate to the world of sport, they seem to be unsuitable for sportswomen. Outstanding female performances do not seem sufficient to deserve the status of heroine: "Female elite athletes setting world records through strength and aggression may not get heroic status" (Vescio et al. 2005, p. 157). But is it not enough or are heroines simply associated with other qualities? Traditionally, heroines are associated with "caring, kindness, motherliness and morality" (Hargreaves 2000, p. 2). Historical female figures were celebrated as idols of 'domesticity and motherhood' which was considered a female contribution to patriotism (Kreis 1991). Thus, they were symbolising feminine traits such as being submissive, reserved, gentle and acting in the background (Twenge 1997). Therefore, the term 'heroine' is not a properly gendered translation of 'hero', but is based on different concepts. Related to the world of sport, the term 'heroine' thus seems inappropriate: "Indeed, in considering heroes in relation to heroines and to the female, it appears that sport characteristically provides a space for eradication, marginalisation and symbolic annihilation of the feminine" (Whannel 2002, p. 45). Thus, if female performance wants to be publicly acknowledged, the term 'hero' – understood in a neutral sense such as 'teacher' or 'athlete' – seems to be more adequate and follows a pattern of equity through uniformity. French sociologists coined the notion 'iso-sexism' referring to the historical trend towards an increasing uniformity of male and female

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[126] See http://www.englishpractice.com/writing/references-males-females-part-2 (accessed 11-03-2012).
[127] See http://wiki.feministsf.net/index.php?title=Marked (accessed 12-03-2012).

roles in sport and P.E. They describe the shift of physical activity in the 20th century from being a privilege to a self-evident expression of individual freedom (Arnaud & Terret 1996). However, this paradigm change has not (yet) reached developing countries.

3.2.2 Heroines of Sport

Following above described reasoning, the title of the influential book "Heroines of Sport" (Hargreaves 2000) would seem like a contradiction in terms. However, the author is well aware of this potential "inconsistency in becoming a sporting heroine". A sportswoman has to display – besides extraordinary performance or courage - traditional female qualities to be a real 'heroine of sport' (p. 2). This ambivalence is demonstrated by public and media reactions to the first woman who wanted to climb both Mount Everest and K2 in the same year (1995): "On both occasions, the fact that Alison Hargreaves was a mother of two young children was highlighted in the British media. However, whereas following the successful Everest climb her identity as a mother did not prevent the media from constructing her at the same time as a national (British) heroine, (…), her death on K2, (…), began a furious debate about 'motherhood, ambition and risk'. Her heroism was conditional upon her safe return to her children. No such condition is placed upon men – their deaths are the purest symbols of heroism. No comparable comments about fatherhood were made in the (…) press about the four men who died on the mountain the same day" (Hargreaves 2000, p. 3).

Being reliant on public response, sporting heroes can also be compared to protagonists in action movies since they both need "dominant, aggressive, competitive, independent, ambitious, self-confident, adventurous, and decisive" (Gilpatric 2010, p. 735) behaviour to succeed. Gilpatric's (2010) research targets "violent female action characters (VFAC)" which basically face the same prejudices as female athletes in traditionally male sports. Since movies need to sell, they have to please and elate as many people as possible: "It is no accident that the most successful films adhere to gender stereotypes and strive to be non-offensive in order to appeal to a mainstream audience" (p. 743). Gilpatric (2010) analysed if the emergence of the VFAC potentially shifted traditional gender norms and roles. She found that female protagonists of action movies were frequently involved in romantic affairs with the male hero and rather portrayed in submissive roles. This female necessity of a love attachment contrasts with the masculine "sport heroes" portrayed by Whannel (2002) who "are often self-sufficient heroes – heroes without a need for women – male egos resplendent and narcissistic, confirmed in their victory by admiring (male) team-mates and (male) fans, with no fear of symbolic castration by unsatisfactory encounter with the other. Heroes, in a sense, transcend sexuality – they become immortal – their memory lives on" (p. 45). Furthermore, research findings suggest that female action characters "do not draw upon their femininity as a source of power, and they are not (…) operating outside the boundaries of gender restrictions. Instead, they operate inside socially constructed gender norms, rely on the strength and guidance of a dominant male action character, and end up re-articulating gender stereotypes". Thus, VFAC as such are not "empowering role models", but rather a "market-driven commodity" (Gilpatric 2010, pp. 743-745).

Since violence – like sport – is traditionally linked to masculinity, the evident parallels of this research targeting fictional characters are not really surprising. However, if real human beings such as female elite athletes have to comply with marketing mechanisms, adverse effects may occur: "The modern-day popularized heroines of sport are trained and marketed

for entertainment and spectacle, they are the products of a system which consistently induces them to abuse their bodies, tempts them to use unsporting and damaging performance-enhancing agents, and produces them as sexualized commodities for a global audience" (Hargreaves 2000, p. 4). Therefore, the mere emergence of sporting females – analogously to VFAC – is not automatically indicating gender equality and equity. Visible female SRMs can even reinforce existing forms of implicit depreciation: "Rather than challenging the underlying structures and beliefs that posit femininity as foreign to and incompatible with, professional athleticism, professional sports participation can further subjugate women through an intensification of feminine expectations" (Engh 2010, p. 75). Feminist scholars like Lenskyj (1994) deplore the competitive, profit-oriented and thus destructive effects of today's dominant sport culture. In an elitist setting, female athletes are only accepted and promoted, if they adhere to minimal criteria of prevailing gender norms. Hargreaves (2000) states that "constructing heroines removes guilt" (p. 5) by masking inhibiting structures or norms which prevent 'deviant individuals' to fully participate and excel in sport and physical activities at all levels. The inclusive 'development through sport' approach strives for welfare, empowerment, well-being and ethical values featuring women and men regardless of class, physical ability, sexual orientation, age, etc. Thus, traditional 'gendered heroism' still marginalises the 'real heroines of sport' such as for example paralympic, queer, overweight, elderly or HIV positive sportswomen who excel physically and challenge existing social norms. Somehow ironically, such impressive SRMs go against the tide and thereby display archetypical heroic attributes such as bravery, selflessness, honesty, and loyalty, but do not receive (adequate) credit for it.

3.3 Heteronormativity, Sexism and Homophobia in Sport

Bearing in mind that homosexuality - as in most African countries - is illegal in Malawi and Zambia, a subchapter of this study dealing with this apparent 'non-issue' seems to be awkward at a first glance. However, three predominant reasons buttress the necessity to scrutinise this very domain: First of all, as previously outlined, patriarchal structures are strongly based on heteronormativity which often entails implicit or explicit stigmatisation and homophobia. Secondly, it has been demonstrated that women who transgress male-dominated boundaries - such as the realm of football - are openly or not readily apparent 'suspected of being lesbians'. Of course, similar mechanisms with opposite signs apply to men who enter female-dominated domains as well. Thirdly, the nexus 'coaching, football and homosexuality' frequently emerged as 'sensitive issue' in the South African setting of this exploratory study. This subchapter presents theoretical background on heteronormativity, sexism and homophobia in sport which exhibit considerable implications for female SRMs. Since homosexuality is a delicate topic in Africa, respective research and available sources are strongly driven by 'Western' scholars and ideas. Whereas these concepts are applicable for the African context to a certain degree, Saavedra (2004) has drawn attention to the fact that, for instance, in Senegal "muscles, femininity and sexuality (…) is not (yet) an issue about suspected lesbianism, but about fertility and socio-economic status" and reported on "competing femininities" which consider physical as as well as demographic properties: "the rural, muscled, toiling agrarian woman versus the more privileged, urban woman who need not labour physically. In the urban milieu where sport is most common, there exist two idealized femininities that are decidedly non-muscular: the disquette (young, slim, Western-

oriented) and the drianke (large, soft, round and economically established). Beauty contests extolling both ideals are popular. Athletic women have to navigate around these images" (p. 236). This example from Senegal illustrates the utmost importance of considering socio-cultural peculiarities which may vary over time and space. Perceptions related to homosexuality tremendously differ between African contexts and the 'Western' world or the 'Northern' hemisphere which usually adopt a more liberal and permissive position. As a reaction to a homophobic campain in Nigerian women's football, an exiled activist stated that a "knee-jerk outcry from the West" might not only have limited effects, but even be counterproductive in many African countries. [128] Recalling the risk of ethnocentrism, theoretical approaches on interactions between patriarchism, sport, bodies, sexual identities as well as gender stereotypes are relevant to depict the context of female SRMs in Africa.

Most professional and high-level sport domains are associated with heterosexual values and norms of masculinity (Griffin 1998, 2002; Hargreaves 2000; Whannel 2002; Elling et al. 2003; Shehu 2010). Therefore, three major groups of individuals may disturb this traditional male hegemony based on heteronormativity: straight and lesbian sportswomen as well as gay male athletes. Of course, bisexual, intersex and transgender individuals are also perceived as a threat to this patriarchal sport system which understands "gender and sexuality as fixed, immovable and preordained human characteristics that fit into either oppositional group 'male/female' and 'gay/straight" (Gray 2011). Recent research uses the inclusive 'queer' terminology which transcends dichotomic discourse and claims conceptual fluidity (Butler 1993; Hargreaves 2000; Gray 2011). Furthermore, "queer theory has been successful in highlighting the tensions which exist within normative understandings of categories such as sexuality, gender and race". These tensions also persist in sport, but they are predated by physical performance and body experiences which again "highlight the dominance of heteronormativity" (Wellard 2009, p. 4). Derived from queer theory, the premise of heteronormativity assumes that heterosexuality is 'normal' which automatically degrades any other sexuality to deviancy (Hargreaves 2000).

Homophobic discrimination puts pressure on both heterosexual and queer sportswomen and is thus "deeply divisive". But there is an additional division between queer athletes and coaches who openly disclose their sexual preference and those who prefer to keep this personal issue secret (Hargreaves 2000, p. 140).

Many feminists agree that lesbian and female sport participation threatens patriarchal structures of a heterosexist and sexist society (Messner & Sabo 1990; Bryson 1990; Lenskyj 1991; Griffin 1998, 2002). In terms of female sport involvement, feminist philosopher Young (2005) puts it provocatively: "Women in sexist society are physically handicapped" (p. 42). In an effort to preserve societal status quo and protect traditional privileges, homophobia – like other forms of discrimination such as racism, Islamophobia or anti-Semitism – involves an irrational fear of 'deviant others'.

The following subchapter will illustrate how this 'double division' of sportswomen is not only challenging, but also reinforcing heteronormativity and perpetuating patriarchal structures. Then, attention is turned to masculinity and queer implications, before pecularities of football and sexual identity are identifed in a third sub-chapter.

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[128] See http://madikazemi.blogspot.com/2011/06/nigeria-coach-i-never-said-i-banned.html (accessed 23-03-2012).

3.3.1 Compulsory Heterosexuality of Female Sporting Role Models

At the beginning of the 20th century, according to Griffin (2002), the negative image of a "mannish lesbian as a pathological condition" was created and indirectly used "to define the boundaries of acceptable female behaviour in a patriarchal culture". Thus, the 'lesbian label' entails a history of being discredited by medicine and "most women are loathe to be associated with [such an] extreme negative social stigma" (p. 194). In some socio-cultural contexts - like for example Zambia or Malawi - aversion against homosexuality is also vindicated by religious, moral and even patriotic arguments (Hargreaves 2000). Homophobia is also nurtured by the social concern that women's sport participation "will encourage homosexuality or even convert female athletes into lesbians and prevent them from fulfilling their stereotypical domestic and maternal roles" (Knight & Giuliano 2003, p. 273). Myths about lesbianism as a contagious evil may also be used to justify homophobic sanctions against coaches, staff or players in order to 'protect' children and youth from potential noxious influence and bad role modelling (Lenskyj 1992; Griffin 2002; Mennesson & Clément 2003). Many deeply entrenched prejudices are based on the concern that lesbian athletes or coaches are "predators who will seduce and corrupt girls and young women" (Hargreaves 2000, p. 139). This attitude again suggests a natural feminine helpness facing unnatural and dominant 'deviant forces' (Griffin 1998). Especially in terms of role modelling, this "sexual-predator stereotype is a particularly pernicious slander on lesbians in sport". In fact, there are "numerous closeted lesbians in sport who are highly admired role models. It is the perversity of prejudice that merely knowing about sexual identity of these admired women instantly turns them into unfit role models" (Griffin 2002, p. 202). The 'outing' of Sheryl Swoopes, one of the world's best basketballer, illustrates possible consequences and fears of lesbian SRMs. She was concerned about negative response in her home state Texas: "I worry about the reaction throughout the country, but I really worry about Brownfield and Lubbock. (…). Because they're both small towns and Sheryl Swoopes is a local hero. Now what? I hope it doesn't change".[129]

As already mentioned, both straight and queer sportswomen are affected – however to a different extent - by homophobic manifestations which Griffin (2002) categorised in six subgroups: silence, denial, apology, promotion of a heterosexy image, attacks on lesbians, and preference for male coaches (p. 195). The first defensive mechanism consists of remaining silent which is often considered as 'safest way' to deal with queer identity in sport and its prevailing "mythical culture of heterosexuality" (Hargreaves 2000, p. 137). Writing on female experiences of sexual harassment in P.E. and University sport in Northern America, Lenskyj (1992) stated that "most lesbians, whether athletes, coaches, administrators or faculty, remain invisible for reasons of simple survival (p. 27). The same silent path is also chosen by top athletes who fear that 'coming out' would ruin their career: "Female elite athletes are exposed to constraints and paradoxes in which the message is that they may participate in elite sports, but only as long as it does not weaken their heterosexual attractiveness" (Kolnes 1995, p. 61). This leads to the second manifestation of homophobia coined by Griffin (2002) which is 'denial'. If athletes, coaches, managers, etc. are confronted with questions related to homosexuality, the existence of queer team members is often contested. This strategy is used for outside as well as inside communication: "In some cases, parents and athletes who suspect that a respected and loved coach is a lesbian either deny

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[129] See http://seattletimes.nwsource.com/html/sports/2002585923_wnba27.html (accessed 18-03-2012).

or overlook her sexual identity because they cannot make sense of the apparent contradiction: a lesbian who is competent, loved, and respected". A third reaction to manifested or potential homophobia is very common and consists of an 'apology' (p. 196) to behave in an inappropriate manner by featuring feminine beauty standards and attractiveness which appeal to straight men: "To compensate for displaying the seemingly unfeminine trait of playing elite sport, some of these athletes actively emphasized what they considered symbols of heterosexuality by having long hair and by dressing in feminine ways outside the sporting arena, particularly when dealing with the media" (Cox & Thompson 2000, p. 8). Several international studies on female elite sport, and especially on women's football, corroborate the importance of purposefully presenting "characteristics and insignia of heterosexuality – to display to the world that they were 'real' women - to wear make-up, nail polish, pretty clothes, jewellery, and to show off boyfriends and husbands" (Hargreaves 2000, p. 135; Kolnes 1995; Cox & Thompson 2000; Mennesson & Clément 2003; Harris 2005). The style and length of hair is and was most frequently used to accentuate a 'truly feminine look' and to distinguish themselves from both men and stereotypically short-haired queer women (Cox & Thompson 2000). This 'compulsory heterosexuality' and pressure to conform to conventional mainstream femininity – while eradicating any doubts about it - , apply to both heterosexual and queer sportswomen. It is based on the heteronormative assumption "that everyone is 'straight' or 'normal' unless explicitly stated otherwise. So, although sexuality for most people is intensely personal, lesbians are forced either to 'make a statement' about their sexual preference or to assume a heterosexual identity" (Hargreaves 2000, p. 137). For some women, this apologetic approach – besides emphasising gender identity – might as well symbolise "a strategy for reducing the distance between cultural expectations of femininity and the unfeminine necessities for athletic excellence" (Kolnes 1995, p. 74). Not surprisingly, this vindicatory attempt of (hyper-) feminisation "was most powerfully applied in traditional male sports, where women most dreaded the stigma of muscularity and implied lesbianism" (Hargreaves 2000, p. 135). Football represents one of these male sports in Africa and will be scrutinised later on.

This apologetic reaction to homophobia is closely linked to a more recent homophobic manifestation in women's sport which involves the "promotion of a heterosexy image". Against the background of steadily growing women's sport markets and corresponding media coverage, this fourth strategy is described as "representing an intensified effort to purge the lesbian image" and goes beyond mere presentation of a standardised feminine image (Griffin 2002, p. 197). This promotional approach is rather sexist and provocative emphasising and thus selling heterosexy features of sportswomen. Thereby, sport performance is reduced to negligibility status, while the main focus lays on salacious pin-up style videos, commercials, calendars, photographs, etc. (Anders & Braun-Laufer 1999). In the run-up to the 2011 FIFA World Cup in Germany, for example, five female footballers from the German national squad revealingly posed on the front-cover of the 'Playboy' magazine (May/June 2011), whereas numerous sexually explicit photographs illustrated the athletes' interview. Asked about their motivation to pose naked, all of them mentioned their desire to prove that female footballers could be 'beautiful and feminine' while exclusively and explicitly alluding to heterosexual femininity.[130] This promotion of a heterosexy image of sportswomen for marketing purposes is as well documented by Gilpatric's (2010) research on 'violent female action characters'. In order to sell movies which appeal to a mainstream public, heterosexual preferences of the

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[130] See http://bundesliga-livestream.blogspot.com/2011/06/alle-playboy-bilder-der-deutschen.html (accessed 15-03-2012).

female action stars were assured by involvements in romantic affairs with the male hero. At this point it would be bold and misleading to depict sportswomen as mere victims of market-driven commercial interests: "Female athletes contribute to the creation of themselves as social persons, they are not passive subjects in this process and some women exploit their sexuality to get media attention and public interest" (Kolnes 1995, p. 73). Research in different countries demonstrates the "Kournikova syndrome" in media coverage: "The 'prettier' and 'sexier' the players, the more column space female athletes are likely to occupy". Sportswomen or female journalists with a sense for business and PR, self-confidently and purposefully use their feminine charms to reach their goals (Rulashe 2004, pp. 137-139; Kugelmann 2005).

The fifth manifestation of homophobia consists of blunt verbal and even physical "attacks on lesbians in sport" (Griffin 2002, p. 197). While sexual identity of female coaches, staff and athletes were mostly discussed sub rosa, increasing popularity of women's sport does as well entail more pressure on queers. Griffin (2002) reports on many cases in which lesbian coaches or athletes were defamed, taunted or dismissed by clubs, schools, sport associations, etc. (p. 198). Public denunciation of lesbian footballers occurred as well within the 2011 FIFA World Cup in Germany. Eucharia Uche, the first female coach of the Nigerian women's football team, stated in several newspapers that she had removed all lesbians from her squad. She told the Nigerian 'Sun News' (March 16th, 2011): "Yes, lesbianism used to be a big problem in the team, but since I took over as the chief coach of Falcons, I think the problem has been dealt with. Lucky, some of the girls played with me and they know my dos and don'ts. They know that I cannot tolerate such a nasty practice".[131] It is characteristic of the still prevailing heteronormative sport and football culture that major governing bodies such as FIFA tried to downplay this controversy and failed to take an outspoken stance against homophobia. As previously described, other forms of literal 'attacks' against queers in Africa - where homosexuality is still considered as 'Western' decadence - involve beatings, legal persecution, rape, murder and even stoning to death (Nigeria).[132] The sixth homophobic mechanism identified by Griffin (2002) consists of the "preference for male coaches" which she describes as "lethal mix of sexism and homophobia (…) based on gender and lesbian stereotypes, that men are better coaches than women" (p. 199).

To summarise, the ideal female SRM which is socially admired needs to be a heterosexual, and if possible really 'good-looking' athlete or coach. In case this personality is not straight and does thus not conform to 'compulsory heterosexuality' which reigns in the world of sport, the same talented, competent and popular person loses her legitimacy as SRM and turns into a 'persona non grata'. However, there are options to maintain a female SRM status, but at the expense of a restricted personal freedom: "The way for lesbians to acquire normalcy and avoid deviancy is to present an image of acceptable feminine behaviour" (Hargreaves 2000, p. 141).

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[131] See http://www.sunnewsonline.com/webpages/sports/2011/mar/16/sports-16-03-2011-001.htm (accessed 11-04-2012).
[132] See http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/23/sports/soccer/in-african-womens-soccer-homophobia-remains-an-obstacle.html?pagewanted=all (accessed 11-04-2012).

3.3.2 Masculine Perspective of Homophobia in Sport

As initially mentioned, homophobic mechanisms in sports which are based on patriarchal structures also affect boys and men (Brackenridge 2002). Since a 'masculine man' involved in male-dominated sports 'normally' assumes a heterosexual identity, reference to a 'feminine man' participating in physical activities associated with femininity such as gymnastics, synchronised swimming, netball, dancing, etc. raises doubts about his sexual orientation. Compared to girls and women who steadily succeeded to conquer traditionally male domains, involvement of boys and men in female-dominated sports remains very limited (Elling & Knoppers 2005). Even though prevailing hegemonic power structures and gender ideology are based on male dominance, strength and independence (Messner 1990, 1992; Hargreaves 1994; Whannel 2002), not all boys and men benefit from this social system: "Dominant social groups have more power to (re)construct and convey particular meanings and ideologies, but paradoxically, these groups can also encounter more restrictions in transgressing social boundaries. In most western European countries it is more acceptable for girls and women to play sports associated with males like soccer, than for boys or men to participate in sports associated with females like figure skating" (Elling & Knoppers 2005, p. 259). This gender asymmetry is featured in the British movie 'Billy Elliot' (2000) by Stephen Daldry. This story of a boy who wants to dance ballet, but is compelled to perform as a boxer, illustrates ruthless social pressure exerted on a 'deviant' individual.

Since "the gender definition of sports emphasizes virile, heterosexual masculinity" (Mennesson & Clément 2003, p. 312), conventional codes of 'how to behave and think as a real boy or man' are unambiguously defined: "The cultural capital of sporting knowledge serves both as the cement of male bonding, and as a weapon, colonising, holding and controlling social space. It is also founded on the oppressive heterosexist assumption that all men are interested in sport, which many men, both straight and gay, must experience as alienating" (Whannel 2002, p. 11).

Considering the enormous pressure of 'real male athletes' to live up to the patriarchal and heteronormative expectations of athletic excellence and its media image, it is not astonishing that the number of officially gay athletes – especially in team sports such as football or rugby – is evanescent. Whereas lesbian athletes – to a certain extent – follow the dichotomic logic of a hegemonic gender ideology (Fechtig 1995), queer male athletes challenge traditional structures, cause uncertainty and are thus perceived as traitors. Until today, only one active European top footballer, the British-Nigerian Justin Fashanu, came out publicly in 1990. His outing ended in a tragedy and Fashanu committed suicide.[133] In 2011, the US soccer star David Testo made his homosexuality public.[134] As self-protection, most gay top athletes or coaches remain 'in the closet' or come out only after retiring from professional sport such as the former Welsh rugby star Gareth Thomas.[135] The lack of openly gay top athletes reflects as well the intolerance of media, sponsors, clubs, associations and fans which constantly reinforce and strengthen this hegemony of "institutionalized (capitalist, patriarchal, white) power" (Elling & Knoppers 2005, p. 258). Within this system, Whannel (2002) argues that "the ideological work that is performed through the representation of sport stars has precisely to do with the normalisation of hegemonic masculinity and the marginalisation of alternative masculinity" (p. 64).

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[133] See http://derstandard.at/2618068/Dieser-Bericht-ist-schwul (accessed 12-03-2012).
[134] See http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/story/2011/11/10/david-testo-comes-out.html (accessed 13-03-2012).
[135] See http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/vault/article/magazine/MAG1168953/index.htm (accessed 12-03-2012).

As a matter of fact, sport activities - on and off the pitch - involve a considerable degree of sociability, more than ever in team sports. Since long travels with over-night stays, cheering and hugging after victories, body contacts, changing clothes and showering, etc. belong to most team sport contexts, certain measures seem necessary to reject any homoerotic assumption: "Sports represent a homosocial environment in which the negation of homosexuality is necessary to define locker room relations between athletes as masculine and not 'too close'" (Messner 1992, p. 36). Besides homophobic statements or gestures, sexism is another common strategy to celebrate male straightness: "Rodman [former eccentric NBA star] adheres to masculine conventions that make women's bodies passive objects of men's desire, thus solidifying notions about his own heterosexuality that he brings with him by virtue of his basketball star status" (p. 278). In a nutshell, prevailing gender asymmetry with regard to power and heteronormativity are socially constructed. This male hegemony may be tolerated, reinforced, or challenged by women, by 'queerness' as well as by various forms of masculinities.

3.3.3 Stigmatisation of Women's Football and Sexual Identity

Related to the conflict between 'being a woman' and 'being successful sportswoman' (Palzkill et al. 1991), prejudices also exist regarding gender-specific sport codes and sexual orientation: "Like the boxers, the football players are viewed as challenging the social construction of femininity. This (…) is construed as a rejection of heterosexuality as if to say women who are real boxers are mannish and thus are not real women, so they must be gay" (Harris 2005, p. 190). Whereas sportswomen in traditional female-identified or 'gender neutral' sports gain increasing public acceptance and admiration, female athletes who excel in activities traditionally associated with 'the other gender' are equated with 'sexual deviance' or even stigmatised and confronted with homophobia (Lenskyj 1991; Blinde et al. 1994; Fechtig 1995; Griffin 1998; Hargreaves 2000; Elling et al. 2003, Engh 2010).

Since this study's investigated NGOs mainly use football as a tool, gender stereotypes and homophobia related to this sport will be specifically explored.

Football is the prime example of male sport in Africa whereby female players have "to prove legitimacy as women, because playing football is seen as a signal of non-compliance with the heterosexual paradigm. South African women footballers are constantly faced with challenges to their capability, skill, appearance and sexuality; and negative stereotypes of women footballers as 'butch lesbians' are widespread" (Engh 2010, p. 67). As a measure against such prejudices, the women's football chairperson of SAFA, for example, wanted to stipulate female dress codes and compulsory etiquette classes for all 'Banyana Banyana' players (Saavedra 2005b).

In many countries, acceptance of or opposition against female football are linked to the 'age factor'. This indicator is confirmed by Dutch research findings: "It is not youth soccer (age 18 and below) but women's soccer that has been labelled 'lesbian' in the Netherlands" (Elling & Knoppers 2005, p. 264). The same permissive tendency in respect of preadolescent female sport involvement has been observed in South Africa: „While many young girls start out playing soccer in boys' teams, often showing as much potential as their male counterparts, adolescence and pressures to conform to the heteronormative development of 'a woman' often lead to girls being excluded from the world of football completely. (…). Many successful women footballers start out playing in male teams, and tell of how they begin to be

ostracised, by both young men and women as they enter adolescence, for being different. In these experiences of adolescence, discrimination based on sex and sexuality occur" (Naidoo & Muholi 2010, p. 129). Concerning women's football, some authors refer to the "game's perceived association to lesbianism" explicitly or implicitly as 'image problem' (Harris 2005, p. 184; Knight & Giuliano 2003). In her research on women's football in the UK, Caudwell (1999) unearths common stereotypes surrounding the image of the 'butch lesbian' and how this stigma affects football. Research findings demonstrate that "the existence of the butch, an identity read as an overt masculine lesbian sexual identity, clearly disturbs notions surrounding women's identity" which affects both straight and queer female footballers (p. 400). But of course the 'butch identity' is only one facet of female homosexuality, since there is no homogenous lesbian culture as such (Munt 1998). Whereas individual characteristics such as sex, race or a physical disability are visible, other traits such as sexual preference or the HIV status are not easily detectable 'from the outside' which may entail suspicion, rumours, fears and stigmatisation. These lacking signals of 'queerness' lead to the erroneous mainstream assumption that all lesbian athletes are identifiable by their 'butch appearance', since "it is the most easily read (…) [and] the most easy to use as a symbol of opposition" (Hargreaves 2000, p. 150).

As in many other sports, there are both heterosexual and queer women playing, coaching, administrating, and watching football at all levels (Hargreaves 1994; Caudwell 1999; Mennesson & Clément 2003; Naidoo & Muholi 2010). Even though Harris (2005) emphasised the problematic image of women's football due to the presence of lesbians, he acknowledged that "the image of women's football as being solely an activity for lesbians is wrong, and although a number of lesbians do play the game (…), it must not be overlooked that a lot of straight women play as well" (p. 195). Despite homophobia and stigmatisation which affects both heterosexual and queer women in "numerous historically, quantitatively and symbolically 'male' team sports", Mennesson & Clément (2003) argue that this trespassed territory offers a surplus value compared to individual sports. In contrast to the appearingly adamant heterosexual nature of men's sociability, these authors suggest that "women's teams accentuate the very communal and strongly homosocial nature of a type of sociability that does not exclude homosexual relationships". Research has shown that this "permissive homosociability with regard to homosexuality" represents an inviting, open-minded and safe environment within some female teams (pp. 312-313). According to Elling et al. (2003), these settings "have also turned out to be a relatively 'safe' haven for lesbians where they can be 'out', socialize with other lesbian and straight team mates and transgress traditional gender boundaries" (p. 443). However, despite this outlined atmosphere of 'permissive homosociability' within women's football teams, some heterosexual players condemned lesbianism as an act of self-protection "when their own individual sexuality was questioned" (Harris 2005, p. 194). This fear of "sexual deviancy" is the product of "the conflict that many women feel between sports and their preferred concept of femininity" (Hargreaves 1994, p. 171) which may entail homophobia. Besides an occasional rejection of queer teammates, self-protection mechanisms of sportswomen – straight and queer - do as well include an alienation of certain seemingly 'biased' topics. Many female top athletes and coaches could be excellent SRMs and powerful ambassadors to raise awareness on gender equality and women's rights. But since feminist activism is historically often equated with homosexuality (Lenskyj 1991), many sportswomen – trying to protect themselves - "disassociate from feminist concerns or women's issues [which] might intensify

the already present lesbian labeling of women athletes" (Blinde et al. 1994, p. 57). It is a noteworthy and ambiguous phenomenon that numerous female footballers themselves perceive "the male game as real football (…) accepting that the male (…) teams were more important". Simultaneously, however, they were "challenging male hegemony through their very participation in the game" (Harris 2005, p. 191).

Therefore, the question must be asked whether female footballers do really have the potential to "challenge hegemonic and patriarchal notions of feminine subordination and compulsory heterosexuality" or not (Engh 2010, p. 75). Despite some considerable barriers and restrictions, female football steadily increases on an international level in terms of participation rates, proficiency, appreciation and public visibility. This trend has also affected many - mostly Black – South African communities where 'girls-only teams' were set up: "However, the separation of women into a space apart from men does not seem to have addressed the problems that begin to emerge in adolescence with girls playing in boys' teams. Instead, women tend to have to conform to certain normative gender stereotypes in order to be included in the world of women's football. For many players, playing the game is a constant negotiation of how they are seen and/or read as gendered beings, and of how they are able to make their bodies functional to the dominant patriarchal, heterosexist, capitalist order" (Naidoo & Muholi 2010, p. 130).

Theoretically speaking, there are possibilities for female SRMs not to adhere to heteronormative gender standards. However, in most cases "in order to survive as an elite athlete the woman's strategy is to conform to the patriarchal and new standards of femininity" (Kolnes 1995, p. 73). Some authors' arguments, such as Engh (2010), transcend the concept of 'failed challenge of the status quo' and notice even a drawback effect: "(…) professional sports participation can further subjugate women through an intensification of feminine expectations. Women in male domains and occupations, such as football, are threatening the 'naturalness' of the current gender order, and as a result face heightened pressures to prove their womanhood and heterosexuality. In this way, the ideologies and discourses that limit women's access to sport remain unchanged" (p. 75).

Therefore, following Bronfenbrenner's (1979) 'ecological model', mere female sport participation in male-dominated sports alone does not really affect meso-, exo- and macrosystems (Kolnes 1995; McKay et al. 2000; Engh 2010). But at this point, the importance of female sport needs to be emphasised on a micro level. Relating on research on South African women's football (Naidoo & Muholi 2010; Engh 2010), the most tangible surplus value for female players consists of "opportunities for socioeconomic mobility and physical freedom of expression" (Engh 2010, pp. 74-75). Of course, coordinated and long-term bottom-up and top-down efforts as well as sufficient ressources and infrastructure are needed to substantially challenge hegemonic structures and ideologies at all societal levels.

3.4 Attributes of Female Sporting Role Models

As emphasised on several occasions, chosen SRMs are subject to change over time. Furthermore, the selection process is influenced by socio-cultural factors, age, media access as well as personal and idiosyncratic priorities (Bailey et al. 2005; Giuliano et al. 2007). Most often specific role model attributes are picked rather than selecting 'entire' role models with all their strengths and weaknesses (Biskup & Pfister 1999; Gibson 2004). Additionally, there

is broad consensus that youth and predominately children mostly select 'outstanding individuals' who adhere to traditional gender stereotypes (Bandura 1986; Biskup & Pfister 1999; Gibson & Cordova 1999; Gilpatric 2010). Thereby, a different tendency between boys and girls to nominate role models can be noticed: While the male choice rather focuses on public figures, girls and young women tend to pick role models from their family and personal surroundings (Bailey et al. 2005; Meier 2005; Vescio et al. 2005). When asked about role models in general, female responses rarely contain sport personalities, but – depending on media access – mostly enumerate music or movie stars. Generally speaking, if SRMs are mentioned, female athletes or coaches are rarely selected by girls and (almost) never by boys (Biskup & Pfister 1999; White & O'Brien 1999; Meier 2005; Vescio et al. 2005). This SRM choice reflects the relatively consistent findings that adolescent girls and women tend to select both male and female SRMs alike, while adolescent boys and men usually avoid female role models (Bandura 1986; Gash & Conway 1997; Bromnick & Swallow 1999; Gibson & Cordova 1999; Melnick & Jackson 2002; Yancey et al. 2002; Giuliano et al. 2007).

3.4.1 Female Choice of Male Sporting Role Models

Based on the 'model-observer similarity' (Bandura 1977, 1986) and the findings that role model successes need to be judged both attainable and relevant by an observer (Lockwood & Kunda 2000), one might assume that only female athletes performing in a specific sport can be considered as inspiring role models for girls and female youth. But why do girls and young women frequently nominate male SRMs, while inversely boys and male adolescents rarely mention female SRMs? To answer this question, two lines of arguments can be followed: availability and status.

First of all, the lack of appropriate female SRMs is widely recognised (Harris 1994; Ochman 1996; Bailey et al. 2005; Huggins & Randell 2007; Meier & Saavedra 2009). Relating to the African context, special emphasis is given to the shortage of visible and publicly known Black sportswomen (Burnett 2002; Rulashe 2004; Engh 2010). Especially in gender-stereotyped areas such as sport, female choice of male SRMs may be directly related to the unavailability, scarcity, and invisibility of female SRMs (Balswick & Ingoldsby 1982; Ely 1994; Gibson & Cordova 1999; Singh et al. 2006).

A mere quantitative increase of women per se is insufficient, if they are, for example, not covered seriously in media reports or do not hold key positions. Furthermore, prerequisites for women to be considered role models – even displaying similar proficiency levels - are not identical with their male counterparts. Despite broad theoretical support for the availability hypothesis, mere availability and visibility of women do not guarantee a nomination of female role models (Gibson & Cordova 1999; Murrell & Zagenczyk 2006). For the sport context, the availability hypothesis was empirically supported by Giuliano et al. (2007) who found that "young female athletes [who were] the first members of a generation exposed to a wide variety of female sport celebrities, such as Mia Hamm (soccer), Lisa Leslie (basketball), and Serena and Venus Williams (tennis), reported having more female than male public athletic role models; their most influential public athletic role model was also more likely to be female than male" (pp. 15-16). The apparent lack of female athletes and coaches is closely related to 'gendered heroism' (Hargreaves 2000), and thus rather an invisibility of female SRMs than an absence per se. But in the end it leads to the same result that "girls would not know them" (Vescio et al. 2005, p. 164).

The second argument which may explain the frequent female selection of male SRMs relates to "the greater status that our society affords to men" (Yancey et al. 2002, p. 60). It is paradoxical that even if female SRMs were visible and girls knew them, the fact that sportswomen – especially those excelling in 'unusual' disciplines - are socially marginalised, belittled and not taken seriously, does not improve their attractiveness to be admired and picked as SRMs (Vescio et al. 2005). As sustained by Bandura (1986), both girls and boys generally observe and learn from both sexes, but often display selective behavioural patterns. Thereby, the power status of an adult represents a key factor of same-sex or cross-sex modelling. Therefore, adapted to the sport setting, "both males and females would be drawn to male athletes as role models, given the higher status afforded to men in sports, a hegemonically masculine domain" (Giuliano et al. 2007, p. 15). Referring to the still marginalised status of women's football in Germany, Biskup & Pfister (1999) demonstrate the connection between valued sport attributes in society and children's choice: "The players easily become branded 'viragos', they are known only in their relatively small circle of fans, and the mass media scarcely shows any interest in them at all. It is hardly surprising that most girls do not rank soccer as one of their favourite sports" (p. 213). At this point it needs to be acknowledged that media and public interest in German women's football increased in the last decade culminating so far in the successful implementation of the 2011 FIFA World Cup tournament.

3.4.2 Incongruent Male and Female Perceptions

Various researchers corroborate the influence of 'gendered heroism' on the role model choice of women, men, girls and boys (Harris 1994; Gash & Conway 1997; Biskup & Pfister 1999; Vescio et al. 2005; Giuliano et al. 2007). There is a gender-based difference between appreciated attributes of admired role models. A German study targeting pupils (aged 9-12) asked children about their role models. Thereby, role models selected by boys "symbolize in equal proportions superiority, determination and fighting strength – in sum, masculinity", while girls preferred models in relation to their social behaviour and appearance. The authors summarise their findings: "As a rule, boys admire sporting/physical abilities, which lend themselves to comparison especially since they are frequently demonstrated in sporting or combative contests. Attributes which are highly estimated by girls, such as attractive appearance and social competence, are much harder to compare" (Biskup & Pfister 1999, p. 207). Similarly, in a cross-cultural research study between Ireland and the USA, Gash & Conway (1997) described role model qualities which girls and boys associated differently. Based on the results by Williams & Best (1990) who identified international 'sex stereotypes' in a multinational study involving 30 countries, Gash & Conway (1997) found that the "qualities chosen overall by girls rather than boys (beautiful, caring, gentle, honest, kind, and loving) are clearly like gender stereotypes" enumerated in the above mentioned multinational study. In contrast to the female choice and in accordance with male stereotypes identified by Williams & Best (1990), boys mentioned characteristics like "fights, adventurous, and strong" (Gash & Conway 1997, p. 365). Consistent with this research, Harris (1994) described the importance which boys primarily ascribed to their model's skills and competence, while girls were mainly interested in social accomplishments.

Another study targeting adults investigated gender similarities and differences related to desired qualities in public athletic role models (Giuliano et al. 2007). The authors found – in

consistency with both sport and non-sport research domains (Harris 1994; Gash & Conway 1997) – that "both men and women placed the highest value on the extent to which an athletic role model gives maximum effort". But at the same time "women also placed premium value on athletic role models who are good people off the field or court" contrasting with men (Giuliano et al. 2007, p. 18).

Summing up, there is a clear tendency that female and male perceptions of wishful role model characteristics are incongruent. This male focus on performance and achievements versus a female emphasis on prosocial behaviour and personal character can as well be demonstrated in the world of sport.

3.4.3 Profile of Sporting Role Models

As previously outlined, male sport stars are celebrated idols of masculinity symbolising strength, power, competitiveness, self-confidence, etc. Since girls and women are picking male and female SRMs alike, what characteristics do, for example, male superstars need to display to be considered SRMs? Following an Australian study targeting female high-school students, a male athlete or coach "needs to display feminine qualities such as being kind, modest, caring and fair (…) to be adopted as a sport role model by a teenage girl (…). In other words, sports men can be role models for adolescent girls as long as they demonstrate essential feminine characteristics" (Vescio et al. 2005, p. 164). Similar results were found in Zambia where a study on S&D coach characteristics was conducted. Thereby, 47% of questioned girls and 40% of questioned boys stated that an "understanding coach who cares about people" was the most important 'coach quality' closely followed by 'sport skills and know-how' (Meier 2005, p. 13).

After portraying male SRM qualities which need to be displayed to be attractive for girls and women, this paragraph will identify most common characteristics of female SRMs. Based on theoretical arguments of 'gendered heroism' (Hargreaves 2000) and the 'model-observer similarity' (Bandura 1977, 1986) including subsequent key concepts of 'relevance' and 'attainability' (Lockwood & Kunda 1997, 1999), there is no contradiction for boys and men with regard to SRMs "as they get both similarity and status in the same (male) package" (Giuliano et al. 2007, p. 16). However, if sporting females – especially those performing in male-dominated domains - want to be socially respected and admired, achieving outstanding athletic results and winning gold medals is not enough: "Sportswomen, too, can be stylized as stars, but they are faced with the problem that the competitive sport they practise also has its negative side and that turning athletes into idols necessarily follows the logic of the market. Consequently, (…), the effect of sports stars being taken as models is frequently quite ambivalent. The message can also be: even if you are an athlete, try to be sexy" (Biskup & Pfister 1999, p. 213). This recommendation recalls the "promotion of a heterosexy image" as an apologetic reaction to homophobia in sport (Griffin 2002, p. 197). Thus, feminine symbols and obviously displayed heterosexuality are necessary to counterbalance the traits of stereotyped masculinity associated with certain sports. The mentioned Australian survey (Vescio et al. 2005) tried to establish a 'SRM profile' appealing to female teenagers. However, only a small number of adolescent girls in this study chose a sport personality as role model. Among the young women who did pick a SRM, the following key attributes were identified by the researchers: "mostly female, under 40 years of age, similar sporting background with a combination of essential feminine and masculine personal qualities"

(p. 166). In this Australian case, especially the 'model-observer similarity' (Bandura 1977, 1986) as well as the 'relevance' concept (Lockwood & Kunda 1997, 1999) seem to be influential. Similar to this survey, Gilpatric (2010) outlined a demographic profile of 'violent female action characters' (VFAC) who share many commonalities with sportswomen actively involved in male-dominated areas. The author's investigation resulted in a "profile of the VFAC as being young, white, unmarried, and highly educated". In this case the similarity between the VFAC model and the young audience is not obvious, but the "young viewers (…) identify with the normative social codes that are embedded in these films - social codes that reflect what is valued in American culture" (p. 744). Again, these codes include compulsory heterosexuality and socio-culturally defined ideals of femininity which both justify and smoothen a violent woman as a successful and marketable action protagonist.

Research not directly linked to sport depicts women who look for role models as aptly balancing their professional careers and private family lives (Gatenby & Humphries 1999; Gibson & Cordova 1999). Men traditionally combine these two domains. In a research investigating the extent to which elite athletes are adopted and chosen as role models by adults, Giuliano et al. (2007) described the attributed characteristics: "women reported preferring athletic role models who work hard, who are good people, who are team leaders, who are self-confident, and who balance personal and professional life well". Moreover, compared to their male counterparts, "they [women] placed significantly less value on their athletic role models having star qualities, dominating other players, and being of the same gender as themselves" (p. 12).

Thus, 'ideal SRMs' for girls and women seemingly need to display both masculine and feminine qualities. This essential combination implies an ideological contradiction according to which socio-culturally expected sex roles as woman and SRM with corresponding sex-trait stereotypes need to merge (Vescio et al. 2007). The fact of behaving in a prosocial, caring and empathic way does not exclude outstanding performance: "A coach can be a caregiver, a role model for giving back, and still be highly successful" (Stoll & Van Mullen 2009, p. 10).

So far, different mechanisms of role model selection have been presented: Besides choosing 'the one' admired sport personality, there is also the possibility to pick specific SRM attributes from similar models (Biskup & Pfister 1999; Gibson 2004) or to select totally different SRMs. In order to overcome the alluded 'ideological contradiction', Giuliano et al. (2007) "argue that women tend to have both male and female athletic role models because they cannot meet all of their needs with one or the other. They are drawn to men for their higher status and ready availability, and they seek out women for the similarity that same-gender role models can provide" (p. 16). Same-sex similarity is sometimes even considered to be marginal. In the case of the Zambian boxer Esther Phiri, for example, effects of model-observer similarity with respect to socio-economic, ethnical and cultural background seem to be much stronger than same-sex similarity. The international boxing star is not only respected by girls and women, but also by boys and men who admire the athletic fairy-tale career realised by 'one of them'. Furthermore, her success was covered accordingly by local and national media (Chap. III). However, not conforming to socio-cultural expectations and sex-role stereotypes are risky endeavours, since positive outcomes such as "wealth, fame, power, [and] social impact" are not predictable, but often serve as justification for 'deviant' behaviour. Retrospectively, the role model status is attributed to courageous personalities – such as Esther Phiri, Maria

Mutola, Nawal El Moutawakel or Portia Modise[136] – who dared to push and tresspass certain boundaries doing "something unusual [and taking] a path different from the previously accepted 'ideal-type' " (Meier & Saavedra 2009, p. 1169).

Certainly acknowledging the "evident lack of female [SRMs] available to girls", it needs to be stressed that sport personalities who have the potential to influence and inspire observers must not coercively be high-profile athletes or coaches. Derived from Bandura's concept of 'model-observer similarity' (1977, 1986) and his work on 'self efficacy' (1995, 1997), it can be argued that "'stars' are most likely to inspire imitation when they are perceived by observers as having some connection with their lives, and when their success seemed attainable. So, effective role models need not be the most outstanding sporting individuals, but rather, may come from within the school (other pupils or teachers) or at home (parents or siblings" (Bailey et al. 2005, p. 6). Since women and girls often nominate role models from their family or community – which can be considered as sign of 'gendered heroism' – this choice should be taken seriously. Wiese-Bjornstal (2007) as well as Vescio et al. (2005) emphasise the "pertinence of mothers as role models" who could be proactively involved in sport and physical activity sessions joining or even coaching girls (p. 166).

Summing up, women who set new standards by performing in tradionally male domains must show the ability to successfully balance and fulfill career aspirations, domestic tasks and display heterosexual feminine appearance in order to be attractive and acceptable role models. The less 'famous' and well-known the sportswoman, the more heteronormative attractiveness needs to be displayed to counterbalance athletic activities. For male athletes and coaches, in contrast, there is no need to juggle several roles and domains, since they are not challenging the prevailing patriarchal strcuture: "In the world of sports, men are free to concentrate on emulating role models' athletic achievements, such as dominating other players, because they have been socialized from the beginning that sports can fit comfortably into their lives. By contrast, women are challenging traditional gender role stereotypes about the appropriateness of playing sports as well as how to reconcile a commitment to sports with the prescribed responsibility to family, and thus by necessity they seek role models who 'do it all'" (Giuliano et al. 2007, p. 18). These facts lead to the simplistic, but traceable conclusion that men prefer 'athletic celebrities' focussing on sport skills and excellence, while women are rather interested in 'athletic heroes' "who are admired not only for athletic performance but also for their moral, socially responsible behavior outside of sport" (p. 18).

Having presented a range of considerations and contradictions, there is no global recipe to cushion the lack of female SRMs or to 'construct' them. However, top-down and bottom-up approaches are suggested for progress and change: the social status of women's sport is slowly, but constantly gaining recognition in many parts of the world, entailing more media coverage, visibility, financial support and kudos. Thus, female athletes and coaches are more likely to become well-known and respected SRMs. Since these 'top-down mills' grind very slowly, immediate 'bottom-up measures' need to be implemented within educational and recreational frameworks. Such motivating alternatives, in the absence of female type 3 SRMs, may include inspiring family members, local or regional athletes, peers, teachers, or formerly marginalised people (type 2) who matter and are connected to the observers' reality.

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[136] See Chap. III (African Inventory of Female SRMs) for more details on these famous sportswomen.

4   Summary and Relevance for this Study

This fifth chapter differentiated between SRMs and idols from the music and entertainment world. The role of sport in society is linked to media coverage, marketing, infrastructure access, ethical values and gender issues which are again interrelated. Following an interactionist approach, all protagonists have to deal with and form this system, whether wanted or not. Everybody needs to take a stance and either support and corroborate prevailing structures and rules, or challenge them at the expense of being criticised, marginalised or even discriminated against.

As a matter of fact, not every athlete or coach is per se a positive SRM possessing superior moral values. Due to the fact that sport is closely linked to concepts such as 'fairplay' or 'sportspersonship', a common assumption entails the expectation that top athletes (type 3) or grassroot coaches (type 2) are automatically 'better people' and thus need to display exemplary moral and prosocial behaviour. It has been demonstrated that due to extensive media coverage of well-known sportstars or intensive cooperation with grassroots staff, SRMs are visible and play an important role in many young lives. However, omnipresent SRMs are not 'imprints of reality', but appealing 'social constructions' which underline prevailing values and norms.

Besides the visibility and public appreciation of mostly mainstream SRMs, the lack and absence of sport personalities who do not exactly apply to gender roles, heteronormativity, exemplary body forms or health status, reflect the level of open-mindedness, permissibility, and tolerance of a society. Next to patriarchal, conservative or religious ideologies, the existence respectively non-existence of publicly visible and admired 'deviant sportspersons' is also related to poor socio-economic and educational situations.

If an athlete or coach wants to achieve heroic status, he or she has to "embod[y] the elements that a society holds most dear" (Maguire 2009, p. 1261). But these elements are not identical for men and women which confirms the existence of 'gendered heroism' (Hargreaves 2000). While sportsmen can easily combine their athletic and private life with socially expected masculinity, female athletes need to find compromises to cushion inconsistencies between heterosexual femininity, moral values, and sport. These requirements for female SRMs need to be cumulatively met, since a respected, empathetic, successful and skilled female coach, for example, can still lose her position, reputation and legitimacy as SRM, if she 'comes out'.

While egocentrism, cheating, aggressivity, and even violence exist on certain pitches and relate to certain sports, SRMs are excused of their socially undesired behaviour – which would be immoral in 'real life' – due to the 'bracketed morality' in sport (Bredemeier 1994). Otherwise, even in men's sport, deviant behaviour is not tolerated: Boxers, for instance, who continue to punch outside the ring or rugby players who tackle off the field are not displaying socially acceptable behaviour and risk their their heroic status.

This 'bracketed morality' is also expected in African communities related to gender issues. Thereby, wearing inappropriate clothes such as trousers, for example, might be permitted for girls and women during a sport session. However, after the activity, 'decent clothing' needs to be put back on right away. Of course, potential female SRMs (type 2 and 3) in such areas need to set good examples of socially desired behaviour to be respected. Furthermore, constant negociations on female sport involvement are needed to assure safe settings. Usually, international kudos and success influence communal acceptance and permissivity in

terms of 'deviant' individuals who challenge exisiting norms. Thereby, well-known athletes (type 3) may pave the way for future generations.[137] However, the less famous, but more easily accessible female SRMs (type 2) either need to conform to expected gender roles or endure more social resistance on the ground. In most cases, these 'everyday SRMs' are directly connected to children's lives which may even increase their value through quality relationships which are scrutinised in the following Chapter VI. Furthermore, pedagogical interventions and insights on empowerment and SRMs are presented.

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[137] Caster Semanya and Natalie du Toit (South Africa), Nawal El Moutawakel (Morocco), Tegla Loroupe (Kenya), Maria Mutola (Mozambique), or Esther Phiri (Zambia) are just a few African examples to sustain this statement.

VI   PEDAGOGICAL APPLICATION: EMPOWERMENT AND SPORTING ROLE MODELS

After presenting the generic and specific frames of reference, this chapter will deal with the pedagogical application of the 'empowerment concept' and SRMs resulting in this study's 'Heuristic Framework'. Thereby, final theoretical implications related to the research question of this study are depicted. For this purpose, first of all, the concept of 'empowerment' is thoroughly scrutinised. Then, major premises of pedagogy and empowerment are explored focussing on youth empowerment as well as on adult and peer role models. As a third step, role modelling and empowerment are situated in a S&D context involving the double-track concept 'empowerment of SRMs' and 'empowerment through SRMs'. Subsequently, a fourth subchapter will highlight pedagogical interventions through which SRMs may enhance empowerment. Finally, most relevant aspects of chapter are summarised.

1   Theoretical Framework of Empowerment

This study's contextual background (Chap. III) dealt with 'empowerment' in general and common links to gender issues in particular. Peculiarities of empowerment related to sport, physical activity and the body will be discussed in this subchapter. Moving from a 'micro level' approach to a broader spectrum, empowerment is then examined in a developmental context. Ultimately, major aspects of female empowerment in a development setting are identified.

1.1 Components and Measurement of Empowerment

The extremely complex and controversial concept of 'power' forms the basis of any attempt to define and operationalise 'empowerment' (Oxaal & Baden 1997; Kvinnoforum 2001). Therefore, any theoretical or practical 'empowerment' implication directly reflects ideological perceptions and discloses underlying development paradigms. The concept 'power over' is characterised by dominators who "coerce and influence the actions and thoughts of the powerless" (Luttrell et al. 2009, p. 9). Within this 'power over' approach, the increase in power of one group or individual automatically results in a decrease or loss of power of another group or individual, thus resulting in a zero-sum (Oxaal & Baden 1997). 'Power-over' requests a static either/or duality (focussing on differences) and can only be maintained through constant social sanctions (Oxfam 1994). From a feminist perspective, empowerment does not imply a replacement of power at the expense of another group, thus creating new social inequalities (Sen & Grown 1985; Kabeer 2001a). Based on counselling psychology, this collaborative aspect is formulated by McWhirter's (1994) in her definition of 'empowerment' as "process by which people, organizations, or groups who are powerless or marginalized: (a) become aware of the power dynamics at work in their life context, (b) develop the skills and capacity for gaining some reasonable control over their lives, (c) which they exercise (d) without infringing upon the rights of others, and (e) which coincides with supporting the empowerment of others in their community" (p. 12). This useful approach is applicable to both developing and developed settings and paves the way for the three power

concepts suggested by Rowlands (1997). These following perceptions offer alternatives to the initially presented Hobbesian 'dog-eats-dog' concept of 'power over'.

'Power to' refers to the (re-)organisation and change of existing structures and hierarchies and "involves decision-making authority". Thereby, it "can be translated into access to decision-making structures at family, group, community and national levels". The concept 'power with' comprises collective benefits and strengths of e.g. building networks or organising groups to strive for common goals. The essence of 'power with' lays in the awareness that power sharing and social cooperation - implying social and structural access - can improve everybody's situation. The fourth concept 'power within' is based on an individualistic approach and involves "internal dimensions of the ability to influence one's own life" (Kvinnoforum 2001, pp. 15-16). Increasing personal consciousness and focussing on self-esteem and self-confidence are main characteristics of the 'power within' which entail a sense of dignity and agency in a broader context (Rowlands 1997; Luttrell et al. 2009). 'Power within' is crucial to tackle internalised oppression by realising that certain power structures are not 'natural' or God-given and inhibit personal growth (Rowlands 1995; Oxaal & Baden 1997). These last three concepts are rarely stand-alones, but mutually influence and reinforce one another in empowerment processes.

Understanding 'empowerment' involves a detailed revelation of implicit and explicit power relations between all stakeholders including structural factors. A useful model to grasp different dynamics of power is Gaventa's (2003, 2005) 'Power Cube'. Thereby, exercised power is perceived within three continuums containing spaces, places (global, national, local) and the degree of visibility of power. It is an interesting analytical tool which allows for various parameters of power to be unfolded.

Alsop & Heinsohn (2005) present a framework which aims at measuring "degrees of empowerment". The authors claim to obtain "direct measures of empowerment" through the assessment of the following indicators: "1. Whether an opportunity to make a choice exists (existence of choice), 2. Whether a person actually uses the opportunity to choose (use of choice), 3. Whether the choice resulted in the desired result (achievement of choice)" (p. 10). Since the measurement of empowerment is an extremely complex endeavour, an assessment needs to focus on "different domains of a person's life (the state, the market, society) and (…) different levels (macro, intermediary and local). Each domain can be divided into sub-domains, which will indicate where and in what areas of their lives actors are empowered". Additionally, "the agency of the actor and the opportunity structure within which that actor operates" are considered as interdependent factors (p. 14).

A difficulty of coherent measurement is linked to aggregation levels, since power relations - and therefore as well empowerment – function at different levels which are variously defined. For example economists, in contrast to sociologists, make different association referring to the 'micro level' (Malhotra et al. 2002). Furthermore, since empowerment is an "ongoing process rather than a product (…) [with] no final goal (…), [and no] stage of being empowered in some absolute sense" (Mosedale 2003, p. 3), any assessment framework is an approximation.

1.2 Empowerment as Embodiment of Power

Compared to other leisure time activities, three main particularities of gender and sport (especially football) have been previously identified: historical link with masculinity, a special emphasis on the body and its functions, and claiming public space (Chap. III). While many definitions of 'empowerment' would deserve a more in-depth exploration, this study prioritises the embodiment of power, motility and spatiality. Another noteworthy factor, even though not exclusively bound to sport activities, is 'group empowerment'.

As already outlined, sport and physical activity have the potential to offer opportunities in which participants can really feel their own bodies and explore movement patterns. In this sense, the 'power component' in the term 'empowerment' is almost to be taken literally and mainly corresponds to the concept of 'power within'. Arguing from an interactionist perspective, this discourse is based on a commonly assumed connection between physical skills and self-confidence on a 'micro level'.

Despite the rather constructivist stance of this study emphasising socio-cultural influence, it still needs to be acknowledged "that body and movement are both 'biologically grounded' and, to a large extent, shaped by culture. This means that on the one hand the sexual hierarchy 'embodies' itself in men and women and that, on the other [hand], body and movement cultures play a role in constructing the gender order" (Pfister et al. 2002, p. 66).

Sport and physical activity – due to their traditionally masculine connotation - possess a transformative potential in terms of gender roles and values (Chap. V). Playing football, for example, involves running and jumping, being noisy, kicking, getting muddy, shouting, tackling, acting in an assertive and powerful way. Such behavioural patterns are not only allowed within sport settings, but even expected and fostered as functional elements of performance and success (Kugelmann 1996, p. 109). These activities, however, contrast with traditional feminine body movement and subtle comportment habits such as "walking like a girl, tilting her head like a girl, standing and sitting like a girl, gesturing like a girl, and so on. The girl learns actively to hamper her movements. She is told that she must be careful not get hurt, not get dirty, not to tear her clothes, that the things she desires to do are dangerous for her. Thus she develops a bodily timidity that increases with age" (Young 2005, p. 43). As repeatedly mentioned, such behavioural patterns strongly depend on and vary according to socio-cultural settings. However, in most contexts, the addition 'like a girl' referring to physical activity requiring muscular strength is usually alluding to weakness, insufficiency, incompetence or ridiculousness. This mechanism hints at a basic incompatibility of power and femininity based on a traditional perception of masculinity which "defines the 'real' man as a person of few words, but with a powerful sense of his own abilities and the toughness and physical competence to handle any difficulties or challenges" (Whitson 2002, p. 231). But what are major differences between men and women or boys and girls to throw, hit, catch, swing, run, kick, climb, push, lift or jump? Young (2005) suggested two characteristics related to various female athletic activities: "They have in common first that the whole body is not put into fluid and directed motion, rather, in swinging and hitting, for example, the motion is concentrated in one body part; and second that the woman's motion tends not to reach, extend, lean, stretch, and follow through in the direction of her intention". Furthermore, the author emphasises the fact that many women do not use the full space available to them, but cautiously move within imaginary constricted boundaries on a pitch or court (p. 33). Even though a "general feminine style of body comportment and

movement" can be described, it is, of course, far from being applicable to all women, to the same degree, all of the time, and does not inherently reflect "being a female person". According to Young (2005), these comportment styles rather develop "from the lack of practice in using the body and performing tasks" (p. 35).

Whereas many definitions of 'empowerment' which are located on a more abstract level envisage medium-term or long-term effects, conceiving 'empowerment' in terms of literally 'embody-ing power' is more tangible and also entails a short-term perspective. Progress in motor skills and physical strength can more easily be defined, monitored and measured than, for example, self-confidence or changed attitudes. Following the concept of 'embodied power', Whitson (2002) understands 'empowerment' as "learning how to move in coordinated and increasingly skillful ways and often how to coordinate your own movements with those of others. It may mean learning how to use equipment, like sticks, racquets, or skis, as extensions of your limbs (…). It may even mean how to generate force and power and to take advantage of these in competitive games. But the pleasure and the sense of accomplishment are in the skills and a competent, confident sense of self, rather than in the domination of others" (p. 232). Even though this perception of 'empowerment' does for sure not exclude men and boys, it is often directly associated with female "inhibited intentionality" in respect of spatiality and motility (Young 2005, p. 36).

Due to prevailing patriarchal norms and values in many sub-Sahara African contexts, appropriate feminine body comportment and radius of mobility are closely related to safety concerns (Mensch et al. 1998; Brady 2005). Furthermore, it needs to be stressed again that female education and empowerment entailing girls with increased skills, self-confidence and changed attitudes are not always welcome in every socio-cultural context since they may become insubordinate and thus, for example, less desirable for marriage (Simwapenga 2003; Forde 2008). To be publicly active and move in an 'untraditional' way – besides the risk of getting hurt, sweaty or dirty - may endanger females and lead to severe consequences reaching from threats to physical violence in many development settings (UNODC 2002).[138] From a theoretical point of view, striding in a powerful way, claiming public space, and moving freely may reveal counterproductive effects: "To open her body in free, active, open extension and bold outward-directedness is for a woman to invite objectification. The threat of being seen is, however, not the only threat of objectification that the woman lives. She also lives the threat of invasion of her body space. The most extreme form of such spatial and bodily invasion is the threat of rape" (Young 2005, p. 45). In certain settings, female adolescent participants "may be encouraged to view their bodies as sexual and reproductive resources for men, rather than sources of strength for themselves" (Bailey et al. 2005, p. 2). This risky behaviour may especially apply to traditional patriarchal societies as well as deprived contexts in which "the body is working 'capital' for many girls and women, particularly those with little education and few economic advantages" (Brady 1998, p. 80).

To understand 'empowerment' in the sense of embodying power related to female sport and physical activity, this study emphasises five major components without being exhaustive: First of all, the patriarchal and sexist perception of a female body as mere 'object', has to be challenged and replenished by a self-conscious and active 'subject' (Young 2005, p. 44). This means to overcome 'inhibited intentionality' and to perceive the own body as "medium for the enactment of our aims" (p. 34). A second important facet of female empowerment

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[138] The relevance of safety issues related to female sport activities in Zambia, Malawi and South Africa was outlined in Chap. III.

through sport as 'embodiment of power' is a self-determined awareness of full body control: "Physical activities may help them [adolescent girls] develop a sense of ownership of their bodies and access the types of activity experiences traditionally enjoyed by boys. This may be because participation augments girls' self-esteem, or because being an athlete carries with it a strong public identity. Some female athletes report having a stronger sense of identity and self-direction (…)" (Bailey et al. 2005, p. 2). Besides the awareness that no person or authority has the right to decide on other bodies, a third component comprises the knowledge and physical capability to take defensive measures against any form of harassment and body intrusions: "It may even be that for many women today, a confident, less vulnerable sense of self will require knowledge of how to mobilize force in self-defense" (Whitson 2002, p. 232). A fourth factor involves the capability to move and enjoy bodily freedom sampling the pleasures of safe space. In this sense, claiming space and 'empowerment' means to "make full use of the body's spatial and lateral potentialities" (Young 2005, p. 32) which may then, over time, also entail progress on a meso-level ('power with') or even macro-level ('power to').

A fifth component consists of the fact that "sport provides a context where women can bond with one another, develop a group identity, and work toward common goals" (Blinde et al. 1994, p. 57). Even though this form of 'group empowerment' transcends 'personal power' and is for sure not exclusively contrivable through physical activity, it represents a crucial factor of female empowerment through sport. Involvement in team activities, group games, or membership in a sport programme can foster a sense of belonging which allows for a better social inclusion and cooperation which is the essence of 'power with' (Kvinnoforum 2001). The mutual influence of different empowerment levels is demonstrated by Bailey et al. (2005): "Whatever the reasons, increasing the numbers of girls' participating in sports and physical activities does seem to open up routes through which they can acquire new community affiliations and begin to operate more openly and equally in community life. In doing so, girls' participation can challenge and change social norms about their roles and capabilities" (p. 2). However, 'participation' in this sense needs to be understood as a sum of self-determined individuals who actively contribute, develop, and implement. This perception transcends mere female inclusion into predefined structures which is not empowering and contradicts the concept of 'embodied power'.

1.3 Female Empowerment in a Development Setting

After a generic positioning of 'empowerment' and a focus on embodiment and 'power' in a literal sense, this term will be covered on a more abstract level. Contrasting with other disciplines, 'empowerment' is often directly associated with (dis)empowered girls and women in development settings. Thus, this subchapter is going to provide an overview of 'empowerment' in a development context emphasising female empowerment. Nevertheless, this study perceives 'empowerment' as holistic concept including all individuals who are marginalised or disadvantaged for whatever reason.

According to Oakley (2001) the notion 'empowerment' in terms of development is used in five different manners: "empowerment as participation, empowerment as democratisation, empowerment as capacity building, empowerment through economic improvement and empowerment and the individual". Thereby, the connection of empowerment and

participation is considered most relevant in practical project-oriented development work (p. 43). This rather instrumentalist approach, however, is contested by advocates of transformativism who emphasise the importance of tangible outcomes and question that mere participation can possibly be empowering (Luttrell et al. 2009). Furthermore, a narrowly constructed instrumentalist approach may mask unequal power structures such as those between, for example, experts working for a wealthy donor and local project participants: "The outside professional cannot expect to control the outcomes of authentic empowerment. (…). Real empowerment may take unanticipated directions" (Rowlands 1995, p. 104). Thus, it is not possible to bestow empowerment upon marginalised or poor people, and neither can disempowerment be resolved by outsiders (Oxaal & Baden 1997). Programme goals, strategies and activities of development organisations must accommodate these facts and their employees and volunteers have to be trained accordingly. Mosedale (2003) notice in this context: "Development agencies cannot therefore empower women – the most they can achieve is to facilitate women empowering themselves. They may be able to create conditions favourable to empowerment but they cannot make it happen" (p. 3). This standpoint is confirmed by Talbot (2002) who emphasises the importance of "community development" involving non-directive capacity-building and 'bottom-up empowerment' in contrast with prescribed top-down strategic planning (p. 279). Even though these examples target only women, they are of course transferable to other disempowered groups or individuals.

Many efforts in developing areas rightly target economic activities, but empowerment is not automatically fostered with income generating assets, land property and financial strength: "Economic relations do not always improve women's economic situation, and often add a layer of extra burden" (Rowlands 1995, p. 104). As noted, empowerment is widely perceived as both outcome and process (UNIFEM & UNGC 2010). From an operational point of view, development work which is focussing on economic advancement and resource availability is rather outcome-oriented. Contrasting this transformative approach, development efforts which are process-oriented and instrumentalist entail "a focus on organisational capacity building or an increase in participation of previously excluded groups in the design, management and evaluation of development activities" (Luttrell et al. 2009, p. 5). Ideally, empowerment should combine or at least consider both outcome and process.

There were many attempts to identify key components of empowerment which may foster understanding and application in the development setting. Batliwala (1994) who conducted research in South Asia characterises empowerment as "control over material assets, intellectual resources and ideology". Furthermore, her perception of empowerment involves "the process of challenging existing power relations and of gaining greater control over the sources of power" (pp. 128-130).

The Zambian feminist Sara Longwe (1991) presented a concept which became known as the "Women's Empowerment Framework" used by UNICEF and others. Longwe's framework consists of "levels of equality" representing women's development (Oxaal & Baden 1997, p. 28). Thereby, she identifies five empowerment degrees which consecutively build on each other comprising 1. welfare and basic needs, 2. access to resources, 3. awareness-raising, 4. participation and mobilisation, and 5. control, choice and recognition (Longwe 1991).

Another interpretation of ‚empowerment' components which is widely spread because of its applicability in development work, is suggested by Kabeer (1999). In a first place, she

understands power as "ability to make choices". Thereby, a hierarchical distinction is made between „first order and second order choices". First order choices involve strategic life choices concerning, for instance, marriage, children, friendships or livelihood which "are critical for people to live the lives they want". Kabeer (2001b) divides the "ability to exercise choice" in three inter-dependent dimensions: "resources, which form the conditions under which choices are made; agency which is at the heart of the process by which choices are made; and achievements, which are the outcomes of choices" (p. 19). She does also refer to the second dimension of 'agency' as "ability to define one's goals and act upon them" (Kabeer 1999, p. 3). Kabeer's (2001b) perception of empowerment is that "it is inescapably bound up with the condition of disempowerment and refers to the processes by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such an ability. In other words, empowerment entails a process of change" (Kabeer 2001b, p. 19; Mosedale 2003).

Empowerment - as often assumed - is not automatically linked to gender issues. However, if the focus is specifically put on women's empowerment some "unique additional elements" need special consideration. Malhotra et al. (2002) enumerate three distinctive factors: First of all, "women are not just one group amongst several disempowered subsets of society (the poor, ethnic minorities, etc.); they are a cross-cutting category of individuals that overlaps with all these other groups" (p. 5). It is important to realise that women and girls do not represent a societal minority to be allocated to a specific zone or socio-economic status. Despite historically rooted female disadvantages, in most regions of the world "women are a majority, with the potential to catalyze enormous power and progress" (Grown et al. 2005, p. 33). The second particularity concerns "the household and interfamilial relations [which] are a central locus of women's disempowerment in a way that is not true for other disadvantaged groups". The third component comprises the fact that "women's empowerment requires systemic transformation in not just any institutions, but fundamentally in those supporting patriarchal structures" (Malhotra et al. 2002, p. 5) which is emphasised by many scholars (Sen & Grown 1985; Batliwala 1994; Kabeer 2001b; Bisnath 2001; Mosedale 2003).

Furthermore, since 'empowerment' is a dynamic process, proper measurement and definition of indicators considering their "shifts in relevance (…) over time" is difficult (Malhotra et al. 2002, p. 19; Mosedale 2003). Whoever wants to seriously assess and measure female empowerment needs to consider Kabeer's (2001b) arguments: "To attempt to predict at the outset of an intervention precisely how it will change women's lives, without some knowledge of ways of 'being and doing' which are realisable and valued by women in that context, runs into the danger of prescribing process of empowerment and thereby violating its essence, which is to enhance women's capacity for self-determination" (Kabeer 2001b, p. 52).

Summing up, assessing 'states of empowerment' is an extremely challenging and ambitious, but important task which necessitates, continuity, methodological and socio-cultural open-mindedness as well as the ability to think out of the box.

2   Empowerment as Pedagogical Premise

In accordance with many scholars (Rowlands 1995; Oxaal & Baden 1997; Talbot 2002; Mosedale 2003), a pedagogical premise related to 'empowerment' consists of the fact that nobody can really be empowered by outside instruction or command.

At this point, the term 'Positive Youth Development' (PYD) - which is mainly used in Northern America - is reintroduced because of its substantial similarities with the outlined concept of empowerment: "PYD, unlike deficit-oriented approaches to understanding adolescence, focuses on the protective and resiliency factors all young people need to lead a healthy life" (Schulman & Davies 2007, p. 2). Therefore, PYD is a more specified form of 'empowerment' relating to a certain age range; in sum 'youth empowerment'. Since most participants of the three NGOs under study are youth and children, PYD research offers valuable theoretical frameworks. However, since the SRMs (specifically coaches) are the main target group of this study, an exclusive focus on PYD concepts is too narrow.

As previously stated, empowerment requests an active participation and involvement based on existent skills and capacities rather than on weaknesses and deficits (Scales & Leffert 1999; Herriger 2006; Gould & Carson 2008) that exceeds mere participation adding the dimension of 'having part' (Liebau 1999; Sancar & Sever 2005).[139] This concept entails shared and adequately distributed responsibilities, rights and power within a given community in which every person can develop his or her resources through self-determined individual experience in contrast with 'top-down preaching'. Despite these consistent research results, McCallister et al. (2000) often found the assumption that being involved in sport and physical activity does automatically 'empower' participants and supply them with life skills. This observation is confirmed by Fraser-Thomas (2005): "Sport is often recognized for providing skill-building opportunities (…), but again, this occurs only through developmentally appropriate program designs and coaching" (p. 31). Potentially both positive and negative outcomes derived from sport involvement are commonly acknowledged, but "the promotion of PYD through sport is contingent upon the way it is delivered and experienced" (Holt & Neely 2011, p. 310). Summing up, it needs to be emphasised once more that "life skills are taught not caught" (Gould & Carson 2008, p. 75) which reflects the value and importance of thoughtful pedagogical work.

The following subchapter is presenting various factors which facilitate psychosocial development and life skills promotion for children and youth through sport and physical activity. Derived from these PYD research findings, the subsequent second part will emphasise the pedagogical roles and tasks of adult and peer role models. Lastly, special attention is dedicated to peculiarities of SRMs and empowerment.

2.1 Prerequisites and Assets for Youth Empowerment

Sport activities may provide ideal settings for children and youth to socialise, have fun, remain healthy, learn life and motor skills, etc. But of course, it can also "create a negative environment that may have a detrimental effect on participants' self-esteem, confidence, and physical self-efficacy" (Petitpas et al. 2005, p. 76). This potential of sport as a mixed blessing is confirmed by many other authors (Brettschneider et al. 2002; Bailey et al. 2005; Goddar 2006; Conroy & Coatsworth 2006; Gould & Carson 2008; Mulholland 2008; Holt & Neely 2011). Therefore, what are basic requirements and decisive factors for youngsters to be 'empowered'? To start with, the following theoretical suggestions are not specifically targeting sport programmes, but they were developed for extracurricular youth activities which also include sport and play.

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[139] The original German term for this participatory pedagogical approach is 'Pädagogik der Teilhabe' proposed by Liebau (1999).

Many scholars attempt to summarise and categorise features of efficient settings for youth development (Eccles et al. 2003; Fraser-Thomas et al. 2005; Petitpas et al. 2005; Schulman & Davies 2007). As Benson (2007) states: "Context matters and contexts can be changed" (p. 39). The 'National Research Council and Institute of Medicine' (NRCIOM 2002) presents eight features of programmes aiming at PYD: "1. Physical and psychological safety; 2. Appropriate structure; 3. Supportive relationships; 4. Opportunities to belong; 5. Positive social norms; 6. Support for efficacy and mattering; 7. Opportunities for skill building; 8. Integration of family, school, and community efforts" (p. 43). These listed conditions are commonly accepted in substance, but named and categorised differently (e.g. Hellison & Cutforth 1997; Pittman et al. 2003; Fraser-Thomas et al. 2005; Brook 2011; Weiss & Wiese-Bjornstal 2009). Additional suggestions for a fruitful development setting comprise "the importance of keeping program numbers small, focusing on the whole person, respecting individuality, empowering youth, encouraging courageous and persistent leadership, treating youth as resources to be developed, and helping youth envision their futures" (Fraser-Thomas et al. 2005, p. 21). Furthermore, responsible adults in leadership positions can enhance youth development by "providing clear expectations based on strong values" (Gould & Carson 2008, p. 65). Three basic inputs for youth development - services, supports, and opportunities - are suggested by Pittman et al. (2003): "Young people need places, services and instruction. But they also need supports — relationships and networks that provide nurturing, standards and guidance — and opportunities for trying new roles, mastering challenges and contributing to family and community. (…). Gangs offer young people protection, structure, personal ties and real challenges. We have to offer services, supports and opportunities to compete with the streets" (pp. 12-13). Thereby, she interestingly differentiates main actors for each input. The provider (e.g. NGO) is responsible for basic care and stable places (services). The individual together with partners are the driving force for healthy relationships, role models, resources and networks, expectations and standards (supports), whereas the main actor for quality instruction, training and informal learning, challenging roles and responsibilities (opportunities) is the individual himself or herself (p. 13). This participatory approach aptly combines a top-down and bottom-up strategy.

Another condition for the implementation of successful youth activities is to plan beyond programme boundaries involving various stakeholders. Such a "community strategy" does not only increase credibility and support of a programme within a community, but this interactive embeddedness may also "involve sustained contact with adults other than program staff" which may "provide young people realistic opportunities to assess interest in and potential for working or participating in vocations within the broader community" (Whitlock 2004, p. 2).

Benson (2002) presents a useful "theoretical framework and a research model" which lists assets nurturing youth development. These developmental nutrients are divided into a group of 20 external assets and a group of 20 internal assets: "The external assets refer to the positive developmental experiences of relationship and opportunity that adults offer young people. They emerge through constant exposure to informal interactions with caring and principled adults and peers, and they are reinforced by a larger network of community institutions. (…). The internal assets are competencies, skills, and self-perceptions that young people develop gradually over time" (p. 127). Each group includes four categories: External assets: (a) support, (b) empowerment, (c) boundaries and expectations, and (d) constructive use of time. Internal assets: (a) commitment to learning, (b) positive values, (c)

social competencies, and (d) positive identity (Benson 2007, p. 40). Concerning programme strategies, external assets can be provided by an organisation or community, whereas internal assets "do not simply occur; they evolve gradually as a result of numerous experiences". Therefore, NGOs should primarily focus on improving external assets, because "the growth of internal assets is a slower, more complex, and idiosyncratic process of self-regulation" (Benson 2002, p. 127).

Developmental assets may play protective, enhancing and resilient roles (Mulholland 2008). Specifically interested in youth sport programmes, Fraser-Thomas et al. (2005) point to the correlation between "protection, enhancement, and resiliency" and existing assets (p. 21). Relating to the considerable protective role, she states that "the more assets youth have, the less likely they are to engage in high-risk behaviours such as alcohol, tobacco, and drug use. Youth high in developmental assets are also less likely to be depressed or suicidal, and less likely to demonstrate antisocial behaviours, violence, and school problems" (p. 22). In consistency, the NRCIOM (2002) emphasises a regular involvement of youngsters into programmes which purposefully aim at PYD: "Research shows that the more settings that adolescents experience reflecting these features, the more likely they are to acquire the personal and social assets linked to both current and future well-being" (p. 43).

Similar findings were presented in the "framework for planning youth sport programs that foster psychosocial development" suggested by Petitpas et al. (2005, p. 80). Thereby, the researchers identify four major categories which pave the way for 'youth empowerment' through sport: "Based on this framework, value acquisition and positive youth development are most likely to occur when young people are (a) in an appropriate context for self-discovery, (b) are surrounded by positive external assets, (c) acquire internal assets, and (d) benefit from the findings of an on-going evaluation system" (p. 76). Here as well, one of the mentioned external assets of the second category refers to "close relationships with caring adult mentors" (p. 80).

In a nutshell, caring and supporting adults – who might be considered SRMs - are for sure not the only component of sustainable development, but a crucial one. At this point the value of peers as role models needs to be mentioned as well. As a matter of fact, imparting life skills through sport activities does rarely happen coincidently, but needs to be thoughtfully planned, implemented and evaluated.

2.2 Empowerment through Adult and Peer Role Models

As repeatedly outlined, the potential of sport to foster physical and psycho-social well-being, to increase cognitive performance and transmit cultural and moral values depends on pedagogical flair, skills and knowledge displayed by responsible coaches, teachers, athletes, parents, volunteers, peers or staff members. But what are potentials and limits of caring and supporting peers or adults related to 'youth empowerment'? First of all, it needs to be emphasised once more that nobody can truly and directly empower another individual. Empowering youth and having positive influence on young people are not identical. Responsible peers or adults may provide general conditions and serve as potential contact persons, but 'empowering another person' basically contradicts the essence of empowerment.

Many scholars (Benard 1997; Eccles et al. 2003; Fraser-Thomas 2005; Petitpas et al. 2005; Gould & Carson 2008; Mulholland 2008; Weiss & Wiese-Bjornstal 2009; Brook 2011) acknowledge the fact that "quality relationships are consistently conceptualised as the 'transmission mechanism' for effective youth development. Youth development happens *through* meaningful, reciprocal relationships with parents, friends, peers, and adult mentors" (Schulman & Davies 2007, p. 6). However, this widely accepted statement requests further exploration of the 'quality' of such relationships. What are indicators of such high quality standards? Under what circumstances can empowerment be built? The following seven approaches are neither exhausting nor exclusively targeting coach-athlete relationships in a sport context, but represent minimal criteria for programmes envisaging youth education and empowerment in its broadest sense, including sport and physical activity.

First of all, caring and supporting peers or adults need to be aware of their responsibility in these relationships which may involve 'power imbalance' in terms of age, experience, socio-economic status, etc. This awareness also includes ethical premises (Duffy 2010; Hardman & Jones 2010). Such 'transmission mechanisms' require adequate forms of leadership and instruction. Thereby, a pedagogically sound 'instructing' or 'teaching' involves a balanced set-up of self-responsible learning opportunities which requires well-trained facilitators (Petitpas et al. 2005).

A **second** crucial element of 'quality relationships' is consistency over time (Benard 1997). Based on mutual trust and reliance, empowering conditions are not likely to grow and flourish on short call: "Empowerment is built through daily experiences young people have, the numerous affirmations of their value and countless small gestures that communicate a desire for their contributions" (Scales & Leffert 1999, p. 71). The eminent relevance of timing and consistency was also identified within the Kenyan youth organisation MYSA[140]: "Over time, as girls grow more confident in their environment and begin to trust these individuals [female mentors and advisors], they will turn to them for guidance and assistance in problem-solving" (Brady & Khan 2002, p. 27). In an extensive US-based evaluation of more than twenty PYD programmes, Catalano et al. (2004) found that thoughtful interventions striving to foster empowerment should be conducted for at least nine months.

A **third** precondition for valuable relationships - closely related to the time dimension – is a sincere interest in and care for youngsters and their everyday life: "Youth psychosocial development is an ongoing process that often requires the support of adults and older peers who are not afraid to challenge and demand excellence from young people. Effective caring adult mentors are individuals who hold high and positive expectations for youth and who are willing and able to maintain regular involvement over time" (Petitpas et al. 2005, p. 69). Referring again to MYSA in the outskirts of Nairobi, Brady & Khan (2002) emphasise that "trusted female role models and leaders (…) should be aware of the challenges that girls face and be willing and able to act as advocates on their behalf" (p. 27). Despite an existing possible hierarchy, individuals who are striving for an empowering relationship need to be - to a certain extent - on par with one another and display mutual respect: "Thus, adults empower youth when youth feel they have meaningful roles to play in their families, school, and communities" (Scales & Leffert 1999, p. 50). However, such relationships and models choices in general, can be neither prescribed nor enforced (see Chap. IV).

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[140] For more information on Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA) see http://www.mysakenya.org (accessed 23-04-2012).

This commonly shared view (Benard 1997; Guggenbühl 2002; Kruse 2006**)** leads to the **fourth** 'quality reasoning' which concerns the absence of any form of coercion or constriction. Besides the 'free choice' of supporting adults or peers – which may in some cases only be limited by availability – delivery methods and content should mainly depend on characteristics of a facilitator and of course the target group. Every session and context requests flexibility for special adaptations, while stiff one-size-fits-all philosophies constrain both staff and participants: "Programs that rely on 'canned' content without considering who is facilitating the program or how the materials will be delivered are not likely to have success". In this sense, even though certain parameters need to be respected, content seems to be less relevant than the environment and its 'delivery channels': "(…), positive outcomes are not so much a factor of programmatic approaches, but evolve from the quality of the relationships, behaviors, and expectations of adults and mentors who interact in a consistent way with community youth" (Petitpas et al. 2005, p. 69). But the absence of coercion does not imply indifference, laisser-faire nor arbitrariness. Empowerment involves a demanding balancing act between 'the carrot and the stick' and "suggests the gradually increasing freedom and responsibilities young people should acquire as they mature" (Scales & Leffert 1999, p. 51). Acknowledging this difficulty to aptly navigate between these poles, Prohl (2010) formulates three interrelated pedagogical principles [141] : 1) intentional 'unintentionality', 2) unity of teaching and education, and, 3) equivalence of teaching process and goal (p. 349).

Moreover, reciprocity and active participation depict a **fifth** aspect of potentially empowering quality relationships. Thereby, young participants are not just mere consumers or recipients of skills imparted by positive adult and peer role models, but active protagonists: "Empowerment is built by those who believe that young people grow up in communities, not programs, and that young people are both the producers and the beneficiaries of community development. (…). Empowerment in this spirit is less about preparing youth for tomorrow and more about equipping them for engagement, conncetion, and contribution today. Empowerment then ultimately rests on the conviction that youth are truly empowered only when they contribute to their community and not just live in it" (Scales & Leffert 1999, p. 73).

A **sixth** dimension substantially defining the quality of a relationship comprises the motivation of getting involved: "Coaches and parents who place primary emphasis on external motivations such as winning, social comparisons, and public recognition, can create an ego-oriented or performance-focused environment. Coaches and parents who focus on effort, self-improvements, and intrinsic motivation create a task-oriented or mastery climate" (Petitpas et al. 2005, p. 65). Therefore, a relationship mainly based on pressure to succeed, profit and shine may neglect the genuine needs and interests of a protégé. The already described 'development of sport' approach is usually driven by external motivation, whereas intrinsic motivation characterises 'development through sport' (Chap. III). According to Gould & Carson (2008), an increasing professionalism of youth sport, "in which success and the attainment of extrinsic outcomes are the primary focus of involvement, diminish the likelihood of life skills development through the sport experience" (p. 62). Other scholars such as Petitpas et al. (2005) share this position and found "considerable support for the notion that youth sport participants in task-oriented or mastery climates are most likely to display a strong work ethic, persist in the face of failures or disappointments, and commit the time and

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[141] These principles have been translated by the author from the original German version into English.

effort necessary to foster intrinsic motivation and the development of positive life skills" (p. 65). Even though the arguments around this fifth 'motivation dimension' were so far exclusively related to sport, they are also transferable to other domains such as school, music, or arts.

A **seventh** component of promising interaction between adult or peer facilitators and young participants is a solid embedment of such relationships within everyday life structures of youth. Such open-minded tie-ins help to avoid potential interdependencies and may offer other support channels: "(…), programs that integrate family, school, and community create optimal environments for positive youth development, as this integration creates opportunities for meaningful communication between different settings in youths' lives" (Fraser-Thomas 2005, p. 31). Consistent with this study's interactionist approach, and referring to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological system, this seventh component is mainly reflecting the meso-system: "Development is facilitated when there are meaningful linkages between settings, when parents know a child's friends, teachers, and coaches, and good communication exists among them" (NRCIOM 2002, p. 323).

Whereas these seven components define quality standards of potentially empowering relationships between caring adults or peers and young participants in general, the next subchapter will specifically relate these characteristics to SRMs.

3   Empowering Sporting Role Models

Whereas the last two subchapters mainly focussed on adult or peer facilitators fostering youth development, this section broadens the spectrum of interest featuring needs and opportunities of these empowering adults or peers themselves. Since programmes can only function owing to dedicated and well-trained coaches and facilitators, the 'empowerment of role models' involving a personal added value - specifically related to the sport context – is a constitutive element of the 'empowerment through SRMs'. In this sense, the notion 'empowering' in the title of this section has a double connotation as verb and adverb. From an ethical perspective, any SRM needs to reflect his or her "ontological status as a coach" or famous athlete and clarify "how their activity makes a worthwhile contribution to their own lives and to the lives of others" (Hardman & Jones 2010, unpaged). This reciprocal effect reflects systemic theory and needs consideration, since well-being, motivation, and personal satisfaction of coaches and facilitators are directly linked to their work, and thus determine a potential 'empowerment through SRMs'. Therefore, 'empowerment of SRMs' is going to be discussed as a first step, before further exploring the impact of these SRMs on participants.

3.1 Empowerment of Sporting Role Models

Previous paragraphs have emphasised the importance of continuity, mutual trust and consistent relationships with supporting adults and peers over time to provide fertile grounds for potential youth empowerment. Therefore, staff fluctuation and frequently changing contact persons should be avoided. Since most coaches and facilitators in S&D programmes are not paid and receive at most gratuity and/or travel expenses, it is crucial to acknowledge some of their other personal needs and interests. The NGO 'Hoops for Hope', for example, who is actively promoting life skills through Basketball in Zimbabwe and South Africa declares "our

secret weapon is the coach" and defines their staff as 'most valuable players' (MVP).[142] From a scholarly point of view, the key-role of coaches, teachers and other facilitators to foster youth empowerment is broadly shared (Eccles et al. 2003; Fraser-Thomas 2005; Petitpas et al. 2005; Gould & Carson 2008) and specified by Mulholland (2008): "Adult role models are one of the key benefits sport offers young people and play an essential part in determining whether sport programs exert a positive or negative moral influence" (p. 35). Most S&D initiatives perceive participating children and adolescents as main beneficiaries and neglect interests, needs, and personal development of staff members who - often voluntarily - deliver programmes as 'agents of change' (Brook 2011). Coach-participant relationships may even be considered as fertilising win-win situation, since staff members are developing their talents and gaining experience in the interaction with participants and athletes (Hardman & Jones 2010). Because dedicated facilitators are at the heart of any NGO and decisive for potentially empowering youth, serious programmes striving for sustainability have a responsibility to provide decent conditions, ongoing training, and vocational perspectives for their valuable workforce (Brook 2011). This approach is exemplified by the Zambian organisation NOWSPAR and its 'Sheroes' campaign which promotes outstanding female SRMs (type 3), and, simultaneously, supports them "to enhance their skills and opportunities to continue their engagement in sport".[143]

Returning to type 2 SRMs such as coaches, intrinsically motivated staff are generally more likely to foster youth empowerment. While extrinsic motivational assets like money or material goods often entail short-lived engagements, desirable long-term commitments are nurtured by psychological support, social recognition as well as future-proof educational or vocational opportunities.

First of all, in order to live up to expectations related to coaching and delivery of life skills, adequate trainings are necessary. Contrary effects of insufficiently instructed staff consist of quality decrease which may potentially question and even endanger programmes: "Another barrier to positive youth development through sport participation is that the vast majority of youth sports coaches receive little formal coaching education in general, much less in life skills area" (Gould & Carson 2008, p. 63; Gilbert & Trudel 2004; Conroy & Coatsworth 2006). Furthermore, staff members who feel uncomfortable with their tasks are more likely to quit being overstrained. Newly gained skills and personal well-being can also foster a coach's self-esteem and self-efficacy. Moreover, ongoing education should be backed up simultaneously by regular supervision or de-briefing as psychological support.

Secondly, in terms of social recognition as an incentive, of course, there is no one-size-fits-all solution. Without being exhaustive, this study is going to describe two facets of social recognition: 1) giving back and belonging to a community and 2) 'inclusion'. Since family and community are of utmost importance for most people, especially in Africa, voluntary engagement for the communal benefit is perceived as socially rewarding: "Therefore, another important component of a strong external asset system is the availability of a community environment that encourages activities in which athletes can give back to their own neighborhoods. Planned and structured community service activities, particularly those that enable athletes to assume leadership roles with other youth, foster a sense of pride in one's community and enable participants to become external assets for others" (Petitpas et al.

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[142] See http://www.hoopsafrica.org/about-h4h/our-team/ (accessed 11-05-2012).
[143] See http://nowspar.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=16&Itemid=7 (accessed 23-03-2012).

2005, p. 70). This aspect of 'contribution' was even suggested as sixth element of the 'Five Cs' (competence, confidence, character, caring/compassion, and connection) proposed by Lerner et al. (2005): "That is, a young person enacts behaviors indicative of the Five Cs by contributing positively to self, family, community, and, ultimately, civil society" (pp. 22-23). In line with this reasoning, NGOs should provide formal structures and accessible entry-points for former athletes or other motivated people from various domains to 'give back to the community' as coach or staff.

A second facet of social recognition and coaching commitment is linked to the potential of "inclusion by bringing individuals from a variety of social and economic background together in a shared interest in activities that are inherently valuable; offering a sense of belonging, to a team, a club or a programme; providing opportunities for the development of valued capabilities and competencies; and increasing 'community capital', by developing social networks, community cohesion and civic pride" (Bailey et al. 2005, p. 2).[144]

Besides adequate know-how (involving psychological support and social recognition), a third incentive aiming at a long-term commitment and fostering intrinsically motivated staff involves educational or vocational opportunities. Because most African NGOs do not have financial means to offer 'decent work' as defined by the ILO[145] and pay their coaches and staff adequately, formal structures and programmes to at least improve their poor employment prospects are needed. Thereby, besides training sessions for coaches and staff on sport and life skills delivery, special attention should also be directed to individual development, personal growth, and a future inside and outside the S&D context (Brook 2011). Acknowledging and emphasising the importance of personal coach development, 'UK Sport International' launched an 'International Community Coach Education System' (ICES) in 2010 to assist NGOs and agencies in "educating and developing community sport coaches".[146] Increasing the 'employability level' of coaches and staff may imply additional vocational courses related to e.g. business, IT, or tourism. Other S&D initiatives strive for economic empowerment using coaching skills and experience as starting points. Another supporting option is the adaptation and validation of organisational coaching levels to certified regional or national qualification standards. The NGO 'Coaching for Hope'[147], for example, applies this promising accreditation strategy in South Africa (Brook 2011).

Similar to the depicted empowerment factors of young participants, existing resources of coaches and staff – who are often young themselves - should be carefully assessed and fostered. Pursuing an interactionist approach, only empowered and self-confident coaches, peers, and supportive adults may serve as credible role models for children/youth.

3.2 Empowerment through Sporting Role Models

Whereas opportunities of sport and physical activity were previously demonstrated (Chap. III), components of quality relationships between supporting peers/adults and participants were depicted in the previous subchapter. Nevertheless, substantiated

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[144] With regard to social inclusion, Erickson et al. (2007) explore pathways to coaching involvement of immigrant youth sport coaches in Canada differentiating between leisure-oriented and career-oriented coaches.
[145] See http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/decent-work/lang--en/index.htm (accessed 24-04-2012).
[146] See http://www.uksport.gov.uk/pages/ices/ (accessed 11-05-2012).
[147] See www.coachingforhope.org (accessed 11-05-2012).

explanations of life skills development and empowerment through sport and physical activity are in short supply (Fraser-Thomas 2005; Conroy & Coatsworth 2006; Gould & Carson 2008). Since the measurement of empowerment is a complex long-lasting process, potentially interfering or influencing factors cannot be fully excluded over time (Malhotra et al. 2002; Mosedale 2003; Alsop & Heinsohn 2005). Therefore, measuring effects of potentially empowering parameters such as teammates, content, coaches, infrastructure, delivery methods or the nature of sport in an isolated manner is tricky. Whereas inputs and outputs can usually be steered, assessing and controlling the outcomes of a programme is more difficult. Considering a long-term impact, immediate and causal influence of programme staff, content, methods, etc. related to change decreases even more and entails 'attribution gaps'.

Furthermore, various pre-existing internal and external assets of participants (such as skills, knowledge, self-esteem, socio-economic status, etc.) need to be taken into account. However, it is commonly agreed that inconsiderate sport participation may entail fun or fitness, but does not automatically foster empowerment and develop life skills (McCallister et al. 2000; Petitpas et al. 2005; Gould & Carson 2008). While possible factors of 'empowerment through sport' such as consistency over time, sense of belonging, etc. have already been outlined, the specific role of SRMs in this process will now be emphasised.

The following 'Heuristic Framework' (Graph 2) composed for this study draws from the 'model of coaching life skills through sport' and its "levels of social-emotional and life skills development through sport" by Gould & Carson (2008, p. 73). This study alters this approach and combines it with the SRM continuum (types 1, 2, and 3) adapted from MacCallum & Beltman (2002). As further axes, the 'empowerment concept' by Rowlands (1997) identifying types of power relations as well as the 'gender dimensions' (Reimann 2002) are added to this framework.
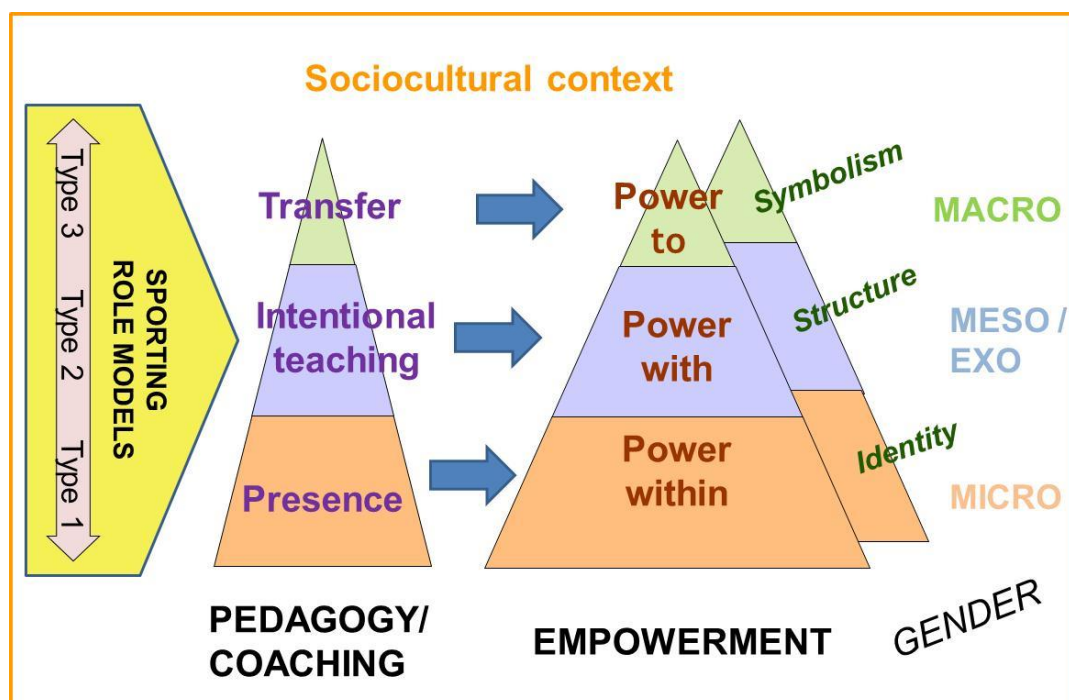
Graph 2: Heuristic Framework of Pedagogy/Coaching, Empowerment and Gender

(adapted from: Bronfenbrenner 1979; Rowlands 1997; Reimann 2002; MacCallum & Beltman 2002; Gould & Carson 2008)

This 'Heuristic Framework'It is essentially based on the interactionist socio-ecological approach (Bronfenbrenner 1979): the bottom zone of each pyramid refers to the microsystems, the middle to the meso- and exosystems, and the top triangles to the macrosystems. Even though it involves all three defined SRM categories, this study is mainly focussing on type 2 ('role models') and type 3 ('heroes'). Due to the fact that high quality S&D programmes request, among other essentials, caring and supportive adults/peers who offer sustained relationships over a considerable amount of time, most SRMs belonging to type 3 may therefore have difficulties to properly foster empowerment. But this limited or even absent interaction and availability of type 3 SRMs does not exclude a potential influence on young participants. As already outlined, female SRMs - especially those belonging to type 3 - may increase girl's and women's participation, advocate for specific messages, influence male perceptions, challenge gender roles and norms, feature leadership skills, provide sources of inspiration, address safety concerns, raise public awareness through media appearance, or promote ethical and moral values (Chap. III). However, from a pedagogical stance, the most sustainable effect of fostering empowerment is probably obtained through type 2 SRMs, if they are familiar with basic principles and ready to take on responsibility: "The difference between whether sports build character or character disorders has less to do with the playing of the sport and more to do with the philosophy of the sport organization, quality of coaching, nature of parental involvement, and participants' individual experiences and resources" (Petitpas et al. 2005, p. 63).

What are ideal and effective coaching characteristics and how do motivated individuals themselves frame their role as community-based coaches? Being aware that "consensual definition of an effective coach may never be attained" (Gilbert & Trudel 2004, p. 23), this study will highlight and summarise some parameters of a 'model sport coach' (in the sense of type 2 SRMs) displaying coaching effectiveness and striving for youth empowerment. Côté & Gilbert (2009) propose three basic interacting elements which define coaching effectiveness and expertise: "coaches' knowledge and athletes' outcomes in specific coaching contexts" (p. 309). Reviewing coach leadership models, Vella et al. (2010) adds 'athletes' characteristics' (including perceptions, beliefs and attitudes) as well as 'coaching behaviours' which represent "fundamental drivers of athlete outcomes" (p. 428).

For the purpose of this study, the following three subchapters will explore facets of sport contexts and ethical frameworks, coaches' knowledge and characteristics, and athletes' needs and outcomes.

3.2.1 Sport Context and Ethical Framework
The coaching context involves, for example, age of participants, infrastructure, gender issues, competition level, type of sport, and goals. Furthermore, ethical frameworks of coaching are presented as another influential factor. These contextual parameters fundamentally determine coaches' knowledge and associated athletes' outcomes (Côté & Gilbert 2009; Vella 2010).

First of all, a differentiation is needed between recreational, developmental, and elite sport coaches (Trudel & Gilbert 2006) who are main representatives of type 2 SRMs. An additional classifying coaching context is suggested by Lyle (2002) who differentiates between 'participation coaching' and 'performance coaching' depending on the competition level.

However, many community-based programmes offer both recreational and competitive activities (Gilbert & Trudel 2004), and therefore need staff who handle both domains. It is very important to match skills and know-how levels of coaches with the corresponding sport contexts either focussing on participation or performance (Lyle 2002; Trudel & Gilbert 2006).

This study focuses on voluntary S&D coaches with heterogeneous backgrounds and various degrees of sport expertise and knowledge. Therefore, coaching literature and research featuring competition on elite level does only apply to a limited extent. Whereas professional high-level sport offers ideal coaching settings, many community-based activities "lack sufficient time and financial resources to assess factors related to program implementation, which include staff training, ongoing supervision, as well as explicit program elements" (Petitpas et al. 2005, p. 74). Especially in socio-economically poor areas, such unsatisfactory contextual factors increase the complexity of a coach's role (Gilbert & Trudel 2004). In contrast to most teachers who undergo several years of systematic education and who have defined guidelines, recreational and volunteer sport coaches "often rely on common-sense behavioral repertoires" in the absence of adequate training.

However, common-sense coaching per se is not nocuous striving for youth empowerment and development (Conroy & Coatsworth 2006, p. 131). Even though national standards for coach education exist, for example, in the USA, Wiese-Bjornstal & LaVoi (2007) note that "90% of [US] youth sport coaches have no formal coach training or education in youth development (…); and when coupled with the high rate of coach and youth leader turnover, the positive benefits children can derive in and through sports are uncertain and dependent on the variant expertise of adults" (p. 83). But coaching should not happen coincidently and not exclusively depend on intuition and natural flair. Besides the mentioned 'classical' contextual factors which set the stage for coaches and athletes to interact (Becker 2009), ethical frameworks do also mark out expected operating spheres and modes.

Starting from a philosophical point of view, it is broadly agreed that "the role of the sport coach brings with it inherent ethical responsibilities" (Duffy 2010, unpaged). Since ethical values involve socio-cultural differences and similarities, the 'International Council for Coach Education' (ICCE 2012) analysed various 'Codes of Conduct and Ethic' around the world and identified seven cross-cutting core principles: Competence, Trustworthiness, Respect, Fairness, Caring, Integrity, and Responsibility. According to international standards, a 'model sport coach' – whether volunteer or paid staff – needs to operate within an ethical framework. The 'Coaching Association of Canada' (CAC), one of the spearheading forces in coach education, retains this aspect even in its 'coaching core concept' which is defined as "human interaction process whereby, through selected ethical practices, one person helps another to become better and to progress in a certain endeavour" (CAC 2010, pp. 33-34). This premise was contextualised within the 'National Coaching Certification Program' (NCCP) launched in 1974. The main focus of NCCP workshops exceeds gaining technical abilities, thus emphasising the importance of mentoring and decision-making skills. The fundamental values of the NCCP are formulated in five core principles which directly refer to standards of expected coaching behaviour: 1) Physical safety and health of athletes, 2) Coaching responsibly, 3) Integrity in relations with others, 4) Respect of athletes, and 5) Honouring sport (CAC 2011). Such guidelines have signalling effects and are relevant to secure certain coaching standards which are binding and determine a humanistic approach pursuing an athlete-centred ideology (Lyle 2002). Furthermore, explicitly defined parameters of a

consistent humanistic philosophy do as well provide reference points for coaches to handle difficult situations or ethical dilemmas (Duffy 2010; ICCE 2012). Basically in line with above enumerated principles, the US-based 'National Association for Sport and Physical Education' (NASPE 2006) defined eight domains of coaching competence: Philosophy and Ethics; Safety and Injury Prevention; Physical Conditioning (physiological training, nutrition education, and maintaining a drug-free environment); Growth and Development (enhancing the physical, social, and emotional growth of athletes and creating an inclusive learning environment); Teaching and Communication (instructional strategies and interpersonal behaviour of the coach); Sport Skills and Tactics; Organization and Administration; Evaluation. Notwithstanding the uncontested importance of such guidelines, the main difficulty is to assure a monitored implementation and provide adequate measures for practical enforcement (Duffy 2010; ICCE 2012).

Summing up, one fundamental aspect of adequate coaching behaviour and ethical responsibility is to identify, respect, and live up to the needs and interests of the target group considering participation-oriented respectively performance-focused contexts (Lyle 2002; Trudel & Gilbert 2006; Côté & Gilbert 2009). Whereas potential effects of contextual parameters were highlighted in this subchapter, coaches' knowledge involving appropriate education and training measures will be next.

3.2.2   Coaches' Knowledge and Characteristics

Second facets of coach effectiveness are coaches' knowledge and characteristics (Côté & Gilbert 2009) which involve "professional, intrapersonal and interpersonal knowledge, values, beliefs and goals" (Vella et al. 2010, p. 428). Whereas ethical issues were already discussed, the important holistic approach comprising technical knowledge combined with equally (or even more) relevant psycho-social skills will be explored (Smith & Smoll 2002; Becker 2009). In this sense, "effective coaches should be viewed as being instrumental in the overall development of athletes, not only of sport-specific skills" (Côté & Gilbert 2009, p. 310).

Considering the complexity of coaching, attributes describing a prototypical effective 'model coach' are never exhaustive. But there is some broadly acknowledged evidence of best practices involving "desirable and undesirable coaching behaviors". Such desirable behavioural patterns are summarised by Conroy & Coatsworth (2006) as "affirming, supportive, instructional, and autonomy-supportive", whereas undesirable behaviours are depicted as "punitive or hostile and controlling" (p. 140). As already noted, not every person in coaching is born to be a coach. Sport programmes which want their staff to foster interpersonal competencies and psychological assets, however, need properly trained coaches who are confident to live up to this demanding task. At this stage quality education becomes crucial: "Coaches, teachers, and parents are responsible for ensuring that youth glean positive developmental outcomes from physical activity participation. This means that best practices involve teaching broad-based competencies deliberately, systematically, and seamlessly" (Weiss & Wiese-Bjornstal 2009, p. 1). This approach coincides with the 'conceptual model of coach training effects' developed by Conroy & Coatsworth (2006) which features immediate connections between input and expected output with mediating coaches serving as 'agents of change': "In this model, coach training should have a direct effect on coach behaviors, which in turn should alter youth perceptions of coach behaviors *and* associated characteristics of the activity setting". Bearing in mind that youth tend to

internalise and "adopt as their own, the behaviors, values, and beliefs they see modelled by their coaches" (p. 134), thoughtful training programmes for coaches become even more relevant. Evidence has been provided that proper coach education affects participants' enjoyment degree and their motivation to stay involved in physical activity, thus determining long-term success of sport programmes (Smoll et al. 1993; Lyle 2002; Smith & Smoll 2002; Rodrigues et al. 2009; Falcão 2010). One of the most cited and tested tools to foster coach education is the 'Coach Effectiveness Training' (CET) developed by Smith et al. (1979) and based on techniques from cognitive-behavioural therapy. The major CET premise involves goal-orientation and an appreciation of efforts rather than promoting a 'winning is everything' mentality. Besides this focus on mastery skills, other CET principles comprise: providing immediate encouragement and reinforcement, fostering a positive environment, involving all participants in decision-making processes, and offering self-monitoring and feedback mechanisms. The impact of CET-trained coaches compared to untrained coaches was extensively tested: "Trained coaches differed from controls in player-perceived behaviors in accordance with the guidelines. They were evaluated more positively by their players, their players had more fun, and their teams exhibited a higher level of attraction among players, despite the fact that their teams did not differ from controls in won-lost records. Consistent with a self-esteem enhancement model, findings showed that boys with low self-esteem who played for the trained coaches exhibited significant increases in general self-esteem; low self-esteem youngsters in the control group did not" (Smoll et al. 1993, p. 602).

Whereas the input of specific coaching assets may have positive behavioural effects, Gilbert & Trudel (2004) argue that "simply lecturing to coaches about the importance of certain role frame components (e.g., equity, fun, personal growth, and development) will likely have little or no effect on a coach's approach to coaching". According to these scholars a self-reflexive "role frame analysis allows an individual to critically examine the underlying components that guide and influence his or her behaviors". It is not the aim to construct "one prototypical role frame, but instead to provide opportunities for periodic role frame analysis to evaluate the tacit role frame components that influence practice" (p. 40). The main value of this continuing education is to raise awareness of behavioural patterns, thus ideally disclosing unintended and optimising intended coaching philosophies. This solution-oriented rather than prescriptive approach considers real-life situations which are often "dynamic, complex and messy" requiring improvisation (Vella et al. 2010, p. 429).

Even if "the literature on coach training effects of positive youth development is in its infancy, it is still possible to identify some best practices for various stakeholders". Reviewing evidence of effective practice, Conroy & Coatsworth (2006) state "that psychosocial coach training programs are a probably efficacious intervention for enhancing youth psychosocial development. Although little is known about the components of a psychosocial training program that maximize effects and optimize the developmental yield of organized sport for youth, there is no evidence to even suggest that training coaches may be detrimental for youth. As such, incorporating psychosocial principles into coach training is a recommended practice for youth sport organizations" (p. 140).

Even though common-sense coaching and gifted facilitators may provide desirable outcomes, certain minimal pedagogical standards are necessary for the sake of programme sustainability. Furthermore, "available, appropriate, and predictable […] guidance and support from adults" are features of supportive relationships which are again crucial

contextual parameters of effective programmes (Weiss & Wiese-Bjornstal 2009, p. 2). In analogy with imparted and acquired life skills, effective coaching competences are taught and not caught (Gould & Carson 2008).

Another decisive factor of acquiring coaching know-how is practical experience (Lyle 2002; Hardman & Jones 2010; Brook 2011). Portuguese research has indicated that long-term involvement in coaching may foster self-assessment: "Results seem to support that the 10 years of experience rule may also extend to the evaluations coaches make about the importance of knowledge and competences and particularly about the self-perception of competence" (Rodrigues et al. 2009, p. 455). Of course, effective and experienced coaches should not only be inured to the benefit of participants, but also be invested to train future generations (Gilbert & Trudel 2004).

Whereas many studies rely on "years of experience and/or performance records" to define experts, Côté & Gilbert (2009) criticise that "there is no evidence to suggest that either one of these variables alone are valid ways to identify an expert coach" (p. 318). The authors distinguish between four concepts: coaching expertise; effective coaching; coaching effectiveness; and expert coach: "First, coaching expertise refers to specific knowledge in particular contexts. (…). Second, effective coaches are those who demonstrate the ability to apply and align their coaching expertise to particular athletes and situations in order to maximize athlete learning outcomes. [Thirdly], one can be considered an effective coach if he or she demonstrates coaching effectiveness (as measured by context-specific athlete outcomes). (…). Finally, coaches who demonstrate coaching effectiveness over an extended period of time (…) may then be considered expert coaches" (p. 316). Therefore, sporadic skill instructions do not entail effective coaching. Only consistent quality coaching over a considerable time period entails a qualification as 'expert coach' (Lyle 2002). The suggested coach definition by Côté & Gilbert (2009) is very useful: "(…) to be called a coach, an individual must be in contact with one or more athletes regularly for at least one sporting season with a goal of developing, not only athletes' competence, but also confidence, connection, and character" (p. 318).

3.2.3 Athletes Needs and Outcomes

Within the third component of coaching effectiveness (Côté & Gilbert 2009) athletes or participants become the centre of focus as main beneficiaries of coaching. The first step of grasping elements of effective coaching is to assess potential needs of participants and to consider the appropriateness of adapted measures to satisfy them: "Athletes' outcomes (…) reflect[s] the variations in athletes' attitudes, behaviors, or performance that can result from different types of coaching" (p. 309).

For this purpose, this study draws from the self-determination theory by Deci & Ryan (2000) whereby "an understanding of human motivation requires a consideration of innate psychological needs for competence, autonomy, and relatedness" (p. 227).

Concerning individual motivation and goal pursuits, these three needs are crucial and "specify innate psychological nutriments that are essential for ongoing psychological growth, integrity, and well-being" (p. 229). Following Deci & Ryan's (2000) basic needs theory, Reinboth et al. (2004) apply this approach to the sport context investigating coach support referring to the fulfilment of athletes' needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness.

These needs are not stand-alone concepts, but mutually and dynamic intertwined: "Greater coach/teacher autonomy support is associated with greater perceived competence, feelings of self-determination, and sense of relatedness in young participants. Satisfaction of these psychological needs, in turn, predicts intrinsic motivation, physical activity behaviors, and psychological well-being" (Weiss & Wiese-Bjornstal 2009, p. 3). Thereby, Reinboth et al. (2004) found that "satisfaction of the need for competence emerged as the most important predictor of psychological and physical well-being" (p. 297). However, this result may be linked to the research sample which consists of young male athletes in the developed setting of Great Britain and requires further cross-cultural exploration.

The following paragraphs are depicting how 'model coaches' may effectively foster satisfaction of these three needs: 1) In order to enhance autonomy supportive behaviour, a coach needs to involve participants in decision-making processes, encourage self-regulation, or offer options and choices: "For example, they may provide athletes with the necessary information to solve a problem or learn a new skill or strategy, while encouraging them to solve the problem or develop the skill/strategy in their own way (Reinboth et al. 2004, p. 310). As a result of encouraging and autonomy supportive coaching, "positive changes in attitudes (toward coaches and sport) and the self have been observed" (Coatsworth & Conroy 2006, p. 130; Smith et al. 1979; Smith & Smoll 2002). 2) The sense of competence, as second need, may be promoted through 'mastery goal orientation' comprising a 'task-involving climate' (Ames 1992; Smith et al. 2005; Wiese-Bjornstal 2007; Bowler 2009). This means that participants' sense of competence is fostered, if the "[coaching] focus is on effort, not ability, and belief in the efficacy of one's effort mediates approach and engagement patterns. Enhancing motivation means enhancing […] valuing of effort and a commitment to effort-based strategies through the design of mastery-oriented […] structures" (Ames 1992, p. 268). This focus on mastering skills is one component of "task-involving climates [which] characteristically include […] reinforcement for effort and improvement, supportive peer relationships, and an inherent belief in the value and unique role of each individual athlete" (Wiese-Bjornstal 2007, p. 10). Other features of task-involving climates comprise an informational feedback culture and frequent behaviour-contingent praise (Smith et al. 2005). Within sport programmes or teams, "the motivational climate is most directly affected by the philosophies and practices of coaches" which are therefore of utmost importance. Thereby, the mentioned 'task-involving climate' contrasts with the 'ego-oriented climate' which is "characterized by a focus on outperforming others, differential treatment of and favoritism toward high-ability team members, competitive peer relationships, and an inherent belief in the superiority of higher skilled athletes". Promoting 'ego-oriented climates' is an undesirable coaching behaviour since it is associated with "greater anxiety, lower enjoyment and satisfaction, and more negative relationships with others in the sport environment" (Wiese-Bjornstal 2007, p. 11). In a nutshell, participants' sense of competence may be fostered within a task-involving mastery climate in which "self-referenced improvement and the degree to which effort is exerted in training and competition" as well as self-monitoring are on the basis of evaluation (Reinboth et al. 2004, p. 310). 3) The need for relatedness heavily depends on a coach's basic motivation, true commitment and social competence. Specifically referring to youth sport programmes, the NRCIOM (2002) emphasises factors which may satisfy the need for relatedness: "Most important to developing connectedness and providing support and guidance is staff who are committed to a program and its young participants, who are consistent in the messages they teach, and who communicate warmth

and caring while setting clear boundaries and consistent rules and expectations […]. These staff attitudes matter more than do questions of race, age, or ethnicity. Youth see staff who they perceive are their allies and who are committed and trustworthy" (pp. 130-131). This statement reflects the humanistic perception of "accepting, caring for, and valuing players as people, not just as performing athletes" (Reinboth et al. 2004, p. 310). The coaching adage 'players don't care what you know until they know you care' (quoted in: Gould & Carson 2008, p. 67) features the need for relatedness and urge coaches to act accordingly.

Many scholars recently argue that "outcomes of performance and satisfaction [are] insufficient representation of athlete outcomes" (Vella et al. 2010, p. 431). Even though above presented theory on satisfying basic needs addresses change in athletes' outcomes, Côté & Gilbert (2009) suggest to focus on participants' outcomes of "competence, confidence, connection and character" which requires according trainings for coaches (p. 313). Supporting this approach, Vella et al. (2010) emphasise the importance of functioning participant-coach relationships requiring social and interpersonal competences: "Therefore, coach leadership may be more accurately defined as: a process of interpersonal influence that is dependent upon the relationship between coach and athlete, and is used to facilitate the athlete outcomes of competence, confidence, connection and character" (p. 431). In her explorative research on 'athlete experiences of great coaching', Becker (2009) identifies four interacting dimensions which need to be stable: "These great coaches were consistent in who they were (*coach attributes*), and how they maintained *relationships*, managed the team *environment*, and carried out their *system*. As a result, there was no uncertainty and the athletes knew exactly what to do and what to expect from their coaches" (p. 98). Following this reasoning, coach-athlete relationships and the other dimensions do not have a direct and measurable impact on participants' outcomes, but serve "a form of mediating variable between coach behaviour and athlete outcomes" (Vella et al. 2010, p. 432) enabling potential change (Becker 2009). However, various researchers refer to gender or age differences determining preferred coaches of athletic participants: "For example, female adolescent athletes tend to prefer coaches who emphasize fun, excitement, competition, and democratic behavior, whereas male adolescent athletes tend to prefer coaches who emphasize fitness, achievement, and competitive challenge" (Gilbert & Trudel 2004, p. 38). Female participants tend to attribute more importance to social factors, but not fully at the expense of sport-related issues. Wiese-Bjornstal (2007) presents practical elements of effective coaching in respect of sporting females: "Girls want coaches to provide good technical instruction and contingent positive feedback; allow them to participate in decision-making about goals, practices, and games; create positive team atmospheres; and develop warm interpersonal relationships with them" (p. 11).

This statement on coaching effectiveness once more emphasises the interrelatedness of applied professional, interpersonal and intrapersonal coach knowledge which may entail changes in participants' competence, confidence, connection and character. However, this process is always determined by contextual factors (Côté & Gilbert 2009). In a nutshell, "a caring and mastery-oriented climate, supportive relationships with adults and peers, and opportunities to learn social, emotional, and behavioral life skills - these are the nutrients for promoting positive youth development through physical activity" (Weiss & Wiese-Bjornstal 2009, p. 6).

4   Pedagogical Intervention and Reciprocity

Research on coaching roles has been predominantly alluding to psychological theories. Even though valuable information was quarried, scholars have recently been criticising such studies "as only providing a one-dimensional snapshot of coaching which cannot be generalised across contexts" (Jones 2005, p. 5). For a better understanding of the processes of personal development through sport, the theoretical spectrum of perceiving coaching in its complexity has to be broadened (Fraser-Thomas et al. 2005). One emerging pathway suggests a definition of "coaching as being a critical pedagogical process above all else. (…).It is based on the premise that coaching is, at heart, a teaching activity, with the ultimate goal being athlete learning" (Jones 2005, p. 5).

This subchapter is going to emphasise forms, strengths and limitations of pedagogical interventions to foster empowerment through sport and physical activity. At this point, the reciprocal effects need to be mentioned since the ideal relationship between athlete and coach is not a one-way process, but may provide benefits and challenges for both sides. This aspect corresponds to the previously presented double-track concept of 'empowerment of SRMs' and 'empowerment through SRMs'. Referring to this study's 'Heuristic Framework', the pyramid illustrating pedagogical interventions consists – consistent with Bronfenbrenner's (1979) socio-ecological approach - of three levels: presence and mind-set; intentional teaching; and transferability. These levels will be scrutinised, whereby the permeability, overlaps and interactions of these three domains need to be specified once more.

4.1   Presence and Mind-set

Whereas Gould & Carson (2008) consider "Positive Role Model Effects" as one element of an effect pyramid which "may occur when impressionable youth are exposed to positive adult role models" (p. 72), this study perceives 'role modelling', referring to Paul Watzlawick's famous axioms, as ongoing process and transcendent issue of 'empowerment through SRMs'. Following Watzlawick et al. (1990) there is no way of not comporting oneself which means that the antonym of 'behaviour' does not exist. Any comportment within a social setting offers behavioural clues and is thus a form of communication. Based on this theoretical premise that one can't abstain from behaving and communicating, every interaction between SRMs and participants involve – intentionally or unintentionally – a form of role modelling. Therefore, even if a sport programme primarily strives for "preventing youth from getting into trouble by keeping them involved in a supervised and productive activity" (Gould & Carson 2008, p. 72), behaviours and actions of any coach or facilitator determine the general atmosphere and are going to be registered by participants. Conroy & Coatsworth (2006) emphasise that „every experienced or observed coaching behaviour is a ‚micro-intervention' [which] young athletes may be exposed to" varying in intensity and frequency (p. 130). That's why this study understands 'role modelling' in a sport context as cross-cutting issue influencing different levels identified by Gould & Carson (2008).

Even if a coach displays a modest degree of interaction and involvement - maybe just having a supervising function - he or she still influences the motivational climate of a programme: In physical activity contexts, coaches and teachers comprise special adults who make a difference in the quality of youths' experiences and personal skill development. Studies consistently show that "coaches and teachers who provide greater frequency of *behavior-*

contingent praise and informational feedback, coupled with low punitive responses, are associated with participants who report higher selfesteem, perceived competence, enjoyment, and self-determined motivation, and continued physical activity participation" (Weiss & Wiese-Bjornstal 2009, p. 3). Thus, even though the minimal coaching requirements as defined by Côté & Gilbert (2009) are not met by having a person just being present and supervising, it is a reality in many S&D and recreational settings. Therefore, awareness needs to be raised among all stakeholders, that being in charge of a session and handling participants is already a pedagogical task. Thereby, discrepancies between what coaches and facilitators say and how they really act (Bandura 1977; Bryant & Zimmermann 2003) need to be identified (Chap. IV). Consistency and authenticity of verbal and non-verbal communication are necessary to guarantee credibility and provide a trustful setting for participants to be active, to be creative, to excel, to have fun, to interact, etc. (Lickona 1983; Doty 2006; Mulholland 2008). Another issue is raised by Bredemeier & Shields (1995) concerning moral reasoning and social values. Thereby, coaches or facilitators are advised to discourage a separation between the world of sport and 'real life'. This recommendation involves, for example, the use of an appropriate vocabulary and ethical standards related to discipline or aggression.

SRMs who frame a responsible and self-critical role may increase the quality of participants' sport experience and facilitate empowerment (Smoll et al. 1993; Gilbert & Trudel 2004; Conroy & Coatsworth 2006). Intentional or unintentional messages are sent out by their mere presence and mind-set. This first level mainly provides short-term outputs, whereas the next level usually aims at medium-term outcomes.

4.2 Intentional Teaching

This second level involves 'intentional teaching' and builds on the described basic pedagogical intervention level. In contrast to the first level which mainly determines the necessary mind-set, this second level comprises more specified behavioural patterns. Since literature has demonstrated that "development of desirable personal and social skills are not an automatic by-products of participation" (Gould et al. 2006, p. 36), the previously described 'coach effectiveness' needs to come into effect featuring "a coach's philosophy about teaching life skills and a coach's ability to establish relationships with his or her players" (Gould & Carson 2008, p. 67).

Derived from a descriptive study, the authors further identified five factors of 'model coaches' who aptly managed to teach life skills to their players. First of all, even though all these coaches were determined to win, life skills development was at the heart of their coaching philosophy. Secondly, "they had the ability to form strong relationships and to connect with their players". Thirdly, these coaches were able to apply various methods and thoughtful strategies to teach selected life skills. As a fourth factor, these 'model coaches' were aware of influencing environmental issues (such as socio-economic background, school, parents, etc.) and ready to deal with them. Last but not least, teaching life skills was not understood "as a separate activity from their general coaching duties", but rather as a constant complementary merger. Thereby, Gould & Carson (2008) describe their results as a "provocative [finding] as it suggests that coaching life skills is a mindset as well as a specific activity" (p. 64). This necessary understanding of athletes' needs and contextual realities

involves a mental shift which "moves youth sport coaching from an individual enterprise (my team versus your team) to a joint enterprise (communal goal of helping young people develop skills through competition)". Gilbert & Trudel (2004) coined the term 'communities of practice approach' to describe this shift (p. 39).

The need for pedagogically trained facilitators and coaches increases with emerging claims to intentionally teach life skills through sport. Therefore, to assure intentional teaching, coaches need to be trained for this purpose. Intentional teaching exceeds the provision of basic infrastructure and programmes, but requires well-directed recruitment of staff and adequate training. Sibthorp et al. (2011) confirm this argument for the sport-related adventure education: "The importance of the instructor and the diversity of instructor-based transfer mechanisms lends support to the notion that hiring the 'right' people is tremendously important, as is providing solid curriculum and training" (p. 120). Depending on expected outcome and context, special attention may, for example, be given to female coaches or gender training (Lloyd & Young 2009). Referring to the 'Heuristic Framework', intentional teaching corresponds the the meso-level of 'power with' (Rowlands 1997) involving social cooperation and power sharing implying structural access to quality education.

Specific competences are needed to aptly design programmes which combine both life skills and physical activity: "Specific teacher strategies include awareness talks, direct instruction, individual decision-making, group evaluation meetings, and reflection time" (Weiss & Wiese-Bjornstal 2009, p. 5). If participants are expected to learn and implement life skills through sport, such skills need to be implicitly integrated into coaching and explicitely raised in the programme. This rule of explicit content also concerns type 3 SRMs. If well-known personalities want to get any messages across, they need to clarify their standpoint and call a spade a spade.

While this second level usually implies a medium-term perspective, the next level strives for a long-term impact which is harder to reach and verify.

4.3 Ensuring Transferability

The transfer of acquired skills into everyday life is probably the most important aspect of S&D programmes, since it determines overall value, effectiveness, credibility, and sustainability of an organisation: "Transfer is an essential aspect of competent performance in any complex domain" (Alexander & Murphy 1999, p. 562). This third level of influence cumulatively builds on both already depicted pedagogical intervention levels, and is therefore the most ambitious and challenging in terms of implementation, training, and measurement. The 'transfer problem' has already been identified in the seminal review of transfer literature by Baldwin & Ford (1988) who perceived it in a double sense as "generalization of learned material to the job and the maintenance of trained skills over a period of time" (p. 63). This study limits its focus to the transfer of life skills from one domain to another.

As previously stated (Chap. III), life skills can be cognitive, behavioural, interpersonal or intrapersonal in nature, but need to be transferable into 'real life' by definition (Danish et al. 2004; Papacharisis et al. 2005; Petitpas et al. 2005; Gould & Carson 2008; Holt & Neely 2011). Among the generally agreed potential of sport to teach life skills, Goudas (2010) emphasises the fact that some life skills from the sport domain are virtually predestined for a transfer into everyday life: "These skills include: the abilities to perform under pressure, to

solve problems, to meet deadlines and/or challenges, to set goals, to communicate, to handle both success and failure, to work with a team and within a system, and to receive feedback and benefit from it" (p. 245). Even though such valuable skills are widely acknowledged and taught through sport involvement, the transfer from the sport domain to other facets of life does not happen automatically (Danish et al. 2004; Gould & Carson 2008). Moreover, there is a lack of awareness that skills from the sport setting are applicable in other domains: "Therefore, to be effective, youth development programs should assist participants in identifying their transferable skills, create opportunities for them to use these skills in different contexts, and provide them with the support and encouragement necessary to enable them to gain confidence in their ability to use their skills effectively in various situations" (Petitpas et al. 2005, p. 71).

Thereby, an immediate transfer from the sport field to the family table, for example, may be too ambitious and hard to measure. In order to foster transfer and retention of life skills, Goudas (2010) proposes successive steps which require imparted skills that represent "some temporal stability". This graded approach is useful for implementation as well as for evaluation processes, but Goudas (2010) mainly refers to examining retention and explores "whether participants use the skills in the same context but in different circumstances". This means that certain skills are taught, for example, by playing volleyball, and then transferred to a similar sport setting, but choosing another physical activity such as aerobics. Then, a next step could involve a transfer from the sport domain to the school setting, and from there move on to the private environment of community or family life (p. 253). This process representatively illustrates three main requisites of a successful life skills transfer which are based on trustful 'quality relationships' as cross-cutting criteria: First of all, an extensive temporal dimension needs to be considered. Life skills transfer does not happen on short call and requests consistency over time (Benard 1997; Scales & Leffert 1999). Secondly, in analogy with 'intentional teaching', coaches and facilitators need specific training to fulfil their task as potential 'agents of change': "Without trained leadership, it is doubtful that life skills and other positive characteristics are taught in a systematic way" (Petitpas et al. 2005, p. 65). Thirdly, as exemplified above, a broad communicating network of responsible and caring adults or peers is needed in various domains forming an everyday life structure of young persons (NRCIOM 2002; Fraser-Thomas 2005). These interacting domains should mesh like gear wheels and create inviting settings and set up learning opportunities to apply life skills in a coordinated way: "Involvement in community service activities or leadership roles (e.g., coaching, teaching, peer-mentoring) outside of their primary sport provides individuals with opportunities to use their transferable skills and to also learn about themselves. Through this type of involvement, young people learn to interact effectively with peers and adults, and often gain confidence in their abilities to be successful in the classroom and in their communities" (Petitpas et al. 2005, p. 71).

In analogy with above presented 'coaching effectiveness' (Côté & Gilbert 2009), transfer literature scholars suggest three main categories which influence transfer: 1) individual characteristics of learners; 2) intervention (training) design and delivery; and 3) contextual application and environment (Baldwin & Ford 1988; Burke & Hutchins 2007; Sibthorp et al. 2011). Whereas individual variables such as 'perceived self-efficacy' of participants exceed the immediate influence of programme content and delivery, they still need to be considered to understand potential unintended outcomes. The most malleable category to influence the transfer of acquired skills is probably the design and delivery of a programme which involve

curriculum issues as well as qualified instruction (Sibthorp et al. 2011). Reviewing numerous adventure orientation programmes, Vlamis et al. (2011) identifies the "focus on the transfer of lessons from the adventure to the participant's life" as major common denominator (p. 130). Regarding open options within programme design and delivery, major mechanisms comprise "numerous established variables influencing transfer, mostly via their impact on learning, including learning goals, content relevance, practice and feedback, and behavioral modelling" (Burke & Hutchins 2007, p. 278). Mainly drawn from sport-related adventure education, seven major transfer enhancing mechanisms will be presented without being exhaustive: **First** of all, the widely recognised claim of an active contribution of participants to formulate their own learning goals needs to be mentioned (Gass 1999; Burke & Hutchins 2007; Taylor et al. 2005). This may also influence individual characteristics related to the relevance a learner is attributing to a programme, thus fostering his or her motivation (Sibthorp et al. 2011). A **second** strategy to improve transfer is 'overlearning' which consists of repetitive practice after skills have already been displayed correctly (Baldwin & Ford 1988; Gass 1999; Burke & Hutchins 2007). **Thirdly**, providing constructive feedback "via direct interpersonal communication, reinforcement, and remediation opportunities" may as well facilitate transfer of knowledge and skills (Sibthorp et al. 2011, p. 113). A **fourth** mechanism involves the use of metaphors and analogical reasoning to foster transfer, since they comprise similar processes (Alexander & Murphy 1999; Gass 1999). A metaphor, for example, "is linked to transfer because participants must apply what they know in one situation, assess similarities and differences between two situations, and then make a cognitive link to approximate the two" (Sibthorp et al. 2011, p. 113). A **fifth** transfer-facilitating factor consists of offered opportunities for participants to practice and perform during the programme. Situations similar to those encountered in the future need to be created as training contexts and transfer explicitly discussed (Gass 1999; Burke & Hutchins 2007). A **sixth** transfer enhancer is 'active learning' which contrasts with passive instruction methods such as ex-cathedra teaching (Burke & Hutchins 2007; Sibthorp et al. 2011). Finally, a widely recognised 'seed of transfer' (Alexander & Murphy 1999) concerns behaviour modelling or role modelling as **seventh** factor which is of utmost importance for this study (Paisley et al. 2008). As mentioned previously (Chap. IV), behavioural modelling is based on Bandura's (1997) self-efficacy theory and as such "logical [and] transfer-strategy-based" (Burke & Hutchins 2007, p. 276). Recent meta-analytic research by Taylor et al. (2005) demonstrates that transfer can be enhanced through behavioural modelling in training settings. Already Baldwin & Ford (1988) acknowledged this approach. They added the dimension of negative and positive models as transfer-enhancing measure since "concept formation and problem-solving research suggest that negative models, in addition to positive models, can improve the process of retention and generalizability of skills" (p. 88). This suggestion of mixing both effective and ineffective role models was also confirmed by Taylor et al. (2005) who found that "transfer (…) was greatest when mixed (negative and positive) models rather than only positive models, were presented to trainees" (p. 704). The instructional strategy of using "error-based examples" offers parallels and basically consists of learning from others' mistakes (Burke & Hutchins 2007, p. 277). Role modelling may significantly contribute to learning and transfer (Bandura 1977, 1986, 1997; Paisley et al. 2008), but it always remains determined by mutual respect and reciprocity: "[E]ducators should not expect students to display a disposition toward transfer when they, themselves, cannot be described as models of transfer. (…). As such, teachers must model analogical

thought and transfer as a regular course of their teaching and expect it from their students" (Alexander & Murphy 1999, p. 573).

Referring to the alluded 'triad of transfer influencers' (individual characteristics; programme design and delivery; context), issues on role modelling ultimately touch on contextual parameters. Among the multiple variables that determine a transfer-facilitating or transfer-inhibiting programme, the 'climate' is pivotal. Supervisory and/or peer support are constitutive elements of the 'transfer climate' which is defined as "holistic, system-wide atmosphere that either encourages or discourages students to use the skills they have learned" (Sibthorp et al. 2011, p. 114).

Whereas more transfer-enhancers could have been enumerated involving topics such as group dynamics, leadership, curriculum, etc., there is no single 'right way' that assures transfer (Paisley et al. 2008). Effective transfer of life skills needs to consider and combine multiple mechanisms, and some factors simply exceed the scope of a programme and its staff. Despite the broad and overlapping range of potential transfer enhancers, coaches or facilitators play key roles as potential 'agents of change' (Sibthorp et al. 2011). The complexity of this issue reflects the need for further research specifically in the domain of sport (Gould & Carson 2008).

In line with Bronfenbrenner (1979), the 'mesosystem' which coordinates efforts of coaches, teachers, and caregivers as well as the 'exosystem' which consists of external educational, vocational or community networks both have an impact on the 'microsystems' of young beneficiaries. Moreover, related to the transfer of life skills, functioning meso- and exosystems are the basis to have any impact on the 'macrosystem' and foster long-term change and development in terms of norms and values and even political, economic, and socio-cultural ideologies.

Considering transferred life skills related to the 'macrosystem' inevitably entails measurement challenges. Due to the - by definition - extended time span during which life skills are potentially transferred to non-sport domains and due to many interfering parameters, it would be unrealistic to expect stringent cause-and-effect chains. Even if S&D programmes have elaborated evaluation schemes allowing for necessary longitudinal research, data need to be collected beyond the programme conclusion to consider up-coming life transitions. Despite the longevity of the expected impact, it is difficult to monitor individuals who leave a certain sport programme and move on professionally, geographically, etc. (Catalano et al. 2002; Petitpas et al. 2005). Therefore, coordinated research and the 'graded approach' proposed by Goudas (2010) could offer possible pathways of measurement.

5   Summary and Relevance for this Study

This Chaper VI complements and presents the continuously built 'Heuristic Framework' of this study describing its dynamism and interaction processes of SRMs and empowerment. Thereby, type 2 ('role models') and type 3 ('heroes') SRMs are the main focus. Since quality S&D programmes request, among other essentials, caring and supportive staff who offer sustained relationships, most SRMs belonging to type 3 may therefore struggle to effectively facilitate empowerment. But this limited or even absent interaction and availability of type 3

SRMs per se does not exclude a potential influence on participants, but it exceeds basic pedagogical grasp.

It is generally agreed that empowerment does not automatically happen through sport involvement, but requires thoughtful pedagogical premises. Whereas various parameters (such as individual characteristics and context) may influence empowerment, the crucial role of, for example, coaches as caring adults is acknowledged and emphasised in the literature. Thereby, referring to sport programmes, coaches have been described as 'agents of change' (Brook 2011) and coach-participant relationships labelled as 'transmission mechanisms' (Schulman & Davies 2007). Such relationships need to be honest, consistent over time, reciprocal, and live up to other necessary quality standards. Therefore, if the essence of empowerment consists of education in its broadest sense comprising "competence, but also confidence, connection, and character" (Côté & Gilbert 2009, p. 318), coaches have an educational mandate to fulfil. For this reason type 2 SRMs are promising enhancers of sustainable empowerment, if they are familiar with and apply pedagogical and ethical standards. But this study emphasises the reciprocity of empowerment through teaching and role modelling. In other words, quality relationships do not only influence participants over time, but also SRMs themselves.

Applied to this study's 'Heuristic Framework' and consistent with Bronfenbrenner's (1979) 'ecosystems', pedagogical interventions are divided into three levels: presence and mind-set; intentional teaching; and transferability. These levels are based on each other. The ultimate goal of every S&D programme should involve transfer of life skills into 'real life' settings. Such transfers can be understood as pathways to facilitate empowerment.

Five aspects of empowerment are relevant to this study: First of all, empowerment is perceived as both an outcome and ongoing process (Mosedale 2003; UNIFEM & UNGC 2010). Secondly, this study supports the commonly acknowledged resource-oriented approach of empowerment fostering existent skills and capacities (Scales & Leffert 1999; Herriger 2006; Gould & Carson 2008). A third significant aspect involves the fact that nobody can be 'empowered' from the outside (Rowlands 1995). Fourthly, this study supports a holistic empowerment concept which applies to all human beings who are disadvantaged or deprived for whatever reason. As a fifth aspect, the interdependence of individual, collective and societal levels with regard to empowerment needs to be mentioned.

This study claims that life skills transfer through SRMs can only be envisaged, if facilitating empowerment is perceived as educational mandate necessitating pedagogical reasoning. Coaches (type 2 SRMs) are in a key position to foster empowerment through effective work. This dynamism and connection allows for the 'Heuristic Framework' to approximate the SRM continuum (MacCallum & Beltman 2002) and three pyramids representing levels of pedagogical interventions (Gould & Carson 2008), empowerment (Rowlands 1995) and gender dimensions (Reimann 2002) with Bronfenbrenner's (1979) taxonomy as basis.

VII   METHODOLOGICAL BASIS

Whereas the six previous chapters set the stage and defined the frame of reference for this study, this seventh chapter paves the way for the empirical research conducted in the three African sites. For this purpose a solid methodological basis is provided: first of all, light is shed on challenges and considerations related to the contextual setting of the research. Second, the epistemological and methodological research approach of this study is depicted. As a third major issue, parameters as well as considerations for the research quality of this study are presented.

1   Contextual Setting

Before embedding this study into an epistemological and methodological framework, some contextual key pillars are introduced. Starting with a self-reflection on the researcher's role, involvement of the researcher in previous employment is summarised to provide context. Stepping back a bit more, language issues linked to geographic and socio-cultural challenges take centre stage and are critically reflected. Ethical considerations are then put forward to round off the contextual research frame.

1.1 Positioning of the Researcher

Conducting a study as a White European woman in Africa raises questions of possible bias impacting the relationship between researcher and informants. Intercultural perceptions, identities and interactions could not only influence data collection in the field, but can ultimately also affect interpretation of certain findings. One contribution of constructivism to qualitative research is the "importance of thinking about the relationship between the investigator and the investigated, especially the effects of inequitable power dynamics – and how that relationship affects what is found" (Patton 2002, pp. 102-103).

Cousin (2010) refers to this self-critical strain of thoughts as "positional reflexivity" (p. 15). Even though scholars should be as impartial, objective and neutral as possible, "we embark upon research with 'maps of consciousness' that are influenced by our own gender, class, national and racial attributes" (Mullings 1999, p. 337). In addition to these attribution categories, researchers need to self-consciously identify their ways of behaving, thinking, communicating, assuming, etc. that might nurture possible biases: "Self-awareness is important. As researchers, we need to be aware of how we are presenting ourselves and how others are responding to us, and develop the ability to monitor the ongoing interaction between us and others, whilst at the same time being 'in the flow' of the conversation. (…). Research participants will immediately pick up on insincerity" (Keegan 2009, p. 106).

Not only characteristics inherent to the researcher, but also external parameters such as infrastructure or inappropriate data collection tools need to be considered. As Cousin (2010) puts it bluntly: "Quite banal factors such as the time of the day and the heating can be as facilitative or inhibitive of disclosure as are biographies in the room" (p. 14). Furthermore, the relationship and interaction between researcher and informants are much more complex and certainly not static (Pratt & Hanson 1995). Various scholars agree that the race of a researcher needs to be considered, but is rarely an impediment factor to quality work

(Mullings 1999; Milner 2007; Cousin 2010). There is no conviction that researchers must share the same racial or cultural background than the persons under study. Milner (2007) recommends to focus on other domains: "It seems that researchers instead should be actively engaged, thoughtful and forthright regarding tensions that can surface when conducting research where issues of race and culture are concerned" (p. 388). At the end of the day, a critical reflection and awareness of sensitive issues such as race and culture are relevant (Cousin 2010).

Deduced from her own research in Jamaica, Mullings (1999) suggests a constructive approach beyond the process of a simple "racial and gender matching". She claims to find a "shared positional space" and argues that "the dynamism of individual identities should be taken into account" (p. 341). Relating to this research, I managed to build such 'shared positional spaces' by for instance playing football with adult informants. The fact of playing together and sharing the same passion for the game diminished mutual prejudices and established a common platform, thus transcending language, nationality, race, gender, age, educational and socio-economic backgrounds. The only possibility to collect reliable data is by "identifying aspects of difference which may stultify dialog and seeking spaces where some level of trust can be established" (Mullings 1999, p. 341).

Certain data collection activities for this study were carried out in quite remote areas such as Kalikiliki (Zambia) or Mulanje (Malawi). Children in these communities were not used to seeing and interacting with White people and our visits were always an exciting and stirring event for many youngsters. They lined up waiting for their turn to touch White skin. Specifically in these settings, I tried to be an unobtrusive observer and avoided to conduct formal data collection activities with children myself. In most cases, there was the opportunity to train and instruct competent local staff to work with the children. But of course, issues such as socially desirable answers, for instance, still persisted due to the power divide between adults and children. However, some potentially distracting factors related to me as a European female researcher could be minimised by reserved behaviour. In contrast to data collection with children, I conducted all the interviews with adult key informants and focus group discussions. Some cases required assistance by local translators, but most interviewees were able to speak good English. Being aware of my potential influential presence, an additional data collection method was introduced. Self-recording video sessions were set up for coaches and staff members. During these sequences every interviewee was given enough time to answer open-ended questions in privacy. Each individual could operate the camera autonomously with no external interference (Chap. VIII).

Another relevant factor was the chance to establish long-lasting professional relationships with key staff members by meeting them several times over a three-year period (workshops and conferences) in addition to the scheduled field visits. In contrast to singular brain-picking whirlwind trips to project sites, these ongoing meetings and exchange paved the way for reliable cooperation and built up mutual trust. Keegan (2009) characterises a "good researcher" as "someone who is genuinely interested in understanding other people and what makes them tick" (p. 106). Based on the sound acknowledgement that "the same capabilities to be self-critical and ethical that we feel we have ourselves is assigned to other persons", Cousin (2010) states that "anyone can research anyone or anything" (pp. 16-17). The bottom-line of any research activity should involve respectful transparency and a future benefit for the evaluated organisations and informants.

1.2 Language Issues

The geographical focus of this study lies in sub-Saharan Africa. Scientific work in a foreign setting may raise linguistic challenges which must be taken seriously. Language issues can be barriers to communication and even translations can still cause misunderstandings, if they do not carefully consider local realities. If participants and interviewees can express themselves in their mother tongue, many of them overcome their constraints more easily, thus increasing content quality. Culturally embedded translation issues need to be repeatedly addressed and tackled to assure good quality research.

The specific English word choice for the questionnaires was carefully developed after exhaustive linguistic analyses. Since it was neither possible nor appropriate to conduct surveys with children in Malawi, Zambia and South Africa in English, further local assistance was needed. Unfortunately, within the project timeframe and budget, a professional translation and back-translation was not possible. But we took advantage of the English skills of staff members and teachers who assisted children who had difficulties reading, writing and understanding English and offered translations into the local languages Chichewa, Nyanja and Xhosa. Of course, any kind of assistance (by coaches, teachers, etc.) could again influence a child's decision to answer questions freely wanting to please adults. But to ensure consistent quality in the data collection process, cognitive debriefing sessions were held with these teachers and staff members. Progressively, each question was discussed and possible answers evaluated. Such sessions also included training elements. Staff members and teachers learned in fictional interviews (role-plays) how to develop a common sense of understanding and how to address possible challenges. These trained staff members and teachers assisted children to fill in questionnaires by orally translating the questions and providing further explanations in Chichewa, Nyanja or Xhosa, if necessary. Since this process was time-consuming, there was some pressure from school officials to release children on time for the next class. A questionnaire in the local language would have, of course, been extremely time-saving, but research settings in development contexts often involve challenges linked to resources, logistics, and educational level.

Thus, in an ideal research setting, all questionnaires should be translated in a culturally sensitive way (and back-translated) into local languages. Even though it needs to be acknowledged that language issues are not automatically age issues, this study is mainly based on qualitative data collected from adults (coaches and staff) who mostly had good English skills. Children were only asked to fill in questionnaires. The following Chapter VIII provides more details on sampling the target population.

1.3 Ethical Considerations

In the process of data collection, some sensitive issues such as HIV and AIDS, violence or homophobia were raised. The aim of this study is to provide new insights for the benefit of the research participants themselves. But the end does not always justify the means. The novel aspects of research itself do not automatically legitimise intrusion of someone's private sphere. In this regard Stake's (2005) standpoint is suitable: "The value of the best research is not likely to outweigh injury to a person exposed. Qualitative researchers are guests in the private spaces of the world. Their manners should be good and their code of ethics strict"

(p. 459). Of course this quote is not limited to qualitative researchers, but concerns any investigator.

Ideally, questionnaires and other data collection tools should be approved by a locally based ethics committee. Since the timeline for this study did not allow for the establishment of such structures, ethical topics were systematically raised during the aforementioned cognitive debriefing sessions with local staff. Furthermore, every person who participated in any kind of research process received and signed a 'Consent Form' (Annex B) prior to his or her activity. Anonymity of all participants was guaranteed by using a nickname system. Every individual was explicitly free to quit any data collection activity whenever he or she felt uncomfortable without having to mention any reason.

For children, a 'Denial Form' (Annex C) was handed out to parents or caregivers, if they did not want their sons, daughters or fosterlings to take part in the survey. In the case of Mulanje (Malawi), for example, an official meeting was held in Sept. 2008 with the village chiefs who agreed in the name of all parents and caregivers to allow children to participate in the research activities. This preliminary dialogue was very important and appreciated by the local community, thus paving the way for a trustworthy collaboration. Whenever possible, research findings should be fed back to all participants of the study.

In order to provide more reliable data, at least one 'comparison group' was identified in each of the three case studies. The main research focus of this study was on coaches while youth and children were targeted secondarily. Especially when working with youth and children, a rigid scientific use of 'control groups' is ethically questionable since certain participants are to be excluded from benefits. In order to avoid jealousy and/or frustration within communities, we were considering children who did not yet attend a certain programme. All of them would receive benefits of a programme in the predictable future. These two categories of participants answered the purpose of a comparative evaluation. Without creating an isolated, marginalised and disadvantaged group of children, the 'waiting list' strategy implemented by 'comparison groups' was appropriate and served the purpose of this study.

2 Theoretical Framework

Before empirical data processing is presented in detail, this study outlines its philosophical and methodological stance. Many scholars agree that there is a vast number of sometimes overlapping and even contradictory conceptual and epistemological perspectives (Niglas 2001; Patton 2002; Travers 2002; McGregor & Murnane 2010). Different disciplines within natural, human and social sciences use similar or even identical terms to explain and define different traditions or concepts.

Patton (2002) gives a comprehensive overview of different systems applied by many authors to structure epistemological approaches and summarises: "No consensus exists about how to classify the varieties of qualitative research" (p. 131). On the one hand, this arbitrariness could lead to a trivialising devaluation of philosophical and methodological paradigms, on the other hand "the diversity itself is a good indicator of the complexity of human phenomena and the challenges involved in conducting research" (p. 135). With the widely accepted strategy of combining quantitative and qualitative methods, Travers (2002) describes a tendency of authors to avoid "this kind of philosophically driven debate about methods" (p. 9). As a result of this observed neglect of philosophical reflections, the terms 'methodology' and 'method'

are often used interchangeably (Travers 2002; McGregor & Murnane 2010). This lack of sophistication further nurtures terminological inconsistencies. Despite the fact that existing theoretical concepts and terms may entail ambiguity and sometimes prejudices, an adequate discussion with regard to methodological and epistemological foundations is a quality criterion and as such sets the stage for any research endeavour. Following Schwarz McCotter (2001, unpaged), theory is not understood as directing to one specific place. Using the metaphor of a map, "theory is open to different perspectives, as well as 'short cuts' or 'scenic routes', each of which are essential to the whole picture".

This study does not defend one pure philosophical or methodological position, but aims to situate itself within a sound theoretical framework driven by pragmatism. In accordance with the structure proposed by McGregor & Murnane (2010) and for the sake of clarity, this study distinguishes between three levels of discourse: philosophical (epistemological) paradigms, methodology and methods.

2.1   Epistemological Research Paradigms

The debate on research paradigms and epistemological positions was strongly influenced in the 1950s by Emile Durkheim[148] and Max Weber[149] forming two major theoretical traditions (Travers 2002). The positivistic paradigm supported by Durkheim tends to favour the use of quantitative methods and "aligns itself with a particular view of the mechanisms and assumptions of the natural sciences, underpinned by a belief that only that which is grounded in the observable can count as valid knowledge" (Devine & Heath 1999, p. 202). Representing a contrasting stance, interpretivists including Weber argued "that the sociologist had to get inside the heads of those being studied" (Travers 2002, pp. 7-8). According to Devine & Heath (1999), the interpretive paradigm "stresses the dynamic, constructed and evolving nature of social reality" (p. 202). Different terms such as interpretivism (Devine & Heath 1999; Travers 2002; Sinning 2005), constructivism (Patton 2002; Mayring 2007), constructionism (Silverman 2002; Flick 2009), non-positivism (Niglas 2001), post-positivism[150] (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2009; McGregor & Murnane 2010) or naturalistic paradigm (Lincoln & Guba 1985) were coined to contrast with the positivistic paradigm. Again, even though all these epistemological positions are not in line with the positivistic paradigm, they are not to be understood as pure and clear-cut notions. Many scholars specify more than these two philosophical positions and classify phenomenology, hermeneutics or post-modernism on the same philosophical level than positivism and post-positivism (Niglas 2001).

Another commonly mentioned characteristic of interpretivism is a focus on qualitative research methods (Travers 2002; McGregor & Murnane 2010). Whereas positivism assumes that a fact is fact, post-positivist positions claim various interpretations of a socially and individually constructed nature of reality, thus understanding patterns that influence and guide human behaviour (McGregor & Murnane 2010).

Lather (1994) arranged various research paradigms in a very useful way focussing on their purposes. Thus, the purpose "prediction" was associated with positivist research, whereas

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[148] Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) was a French sociologist.
[149] Karl Emil Maximilian "Max" Weber (1864-1920) was a German sociologist.
[150] Lincoln & Guba (1985) perceive post-positivism as a succession of positivism pointing out that "the grip of its precursor is still on it" (p. 28). Furthermore, they contrast positivism with the post-positivist paradigm which they rename as "naturalistic paradigm" (p. 36).

"understanding" was aligned with interpretative, naturalistic, constructivist, hermeneutic or phenomenological paradigms (p. 105). Niglas (2001) distinguishes between purists and pragmatists. Purists are defined as "proponents of (strong) paradigmatic view". Following this argumentation, certain epistemological stances mutually exclude one another and are often typically linked to either quantitative or qualitative research methodologies.

This study is based on a pragmatic position stating that one philosophical stance does not rigidly impose the use of either qualitative or quantitative methods. Positivism as well as contrasting epistemological positions can be both qualitative and quantitative (Niglas 2001; McGregor & Murnane 2010).

Using Lather's (1994) terminology, the main purpose of this study is to understand the potential influence of SRMs on youth empowerment with a specific focus on gender especially targeting coaches in the field of 'sport and development'. In order to tackle this issue, this study favours the epistemological positions of constructivism and the interpretative paradigm. According to Patton (2002) "constructivism begins with the premise that the human world is different from the natural, physical world and therefore must be studied differently. (…). So constructivists study the multiple realities constructed by people and the implications of those constructions for their lives and interactions with others" (p. 96). Constructivism does not only question positivist perceptions in social and human sciences, but also the often normative realm of natural sciences postulating objectivity and standardisation. While the positivist paradigm is rather directed toward the etic posture, this study is mainly focussing on the emic (Lincoln & Guba 1985)[151]. However, these two poles are to be situated on a continuum. The same flexible mind-set is needed to grasp the broad range of possibilities between a narrowly guided laboratory setting and a totally open investigation in an 'untouched' context "with varying degrees of researcher control and manipulation" (Patton 2002, p. 42). On the one hand, this study pursues a distinctive exploratory and participatory strategy focussing on the 'voices' in the field. On the other hand, this typically naturalistic trait has to be considered as relative to the study design comprising the already mentioned intervening 'comparison groups'.

Mutual influences between interpretative and constructivist paradigms favoured in this study and their logical consequences are further emphasised: "The conceptions of most naturalistic, holistic, ethnographic, phenomenological case studies need accurate description and subjective, yet disciplined, interpretation; a respect for and curiosity about culturally different perceptions of phenomena; and empathic representation of local settings – all blending (perhaps clumped) within a constructivist epistemology" (Stake 2005, p. 459).

Guba & Lincoln (2005) define constructivism as being "ontologically relativist" and methodologically "hermeneutical and dialectical". In terms of epistemology, constructivism is said to adopt a "subjectivist and transactional" point of view (p. 195). Therefore, social reality is not considered to be objective, but constructed (Sinning 2005). Some authors call it „the constructivism debate" (Mayring 2007, p. 28) others write about "the myth of objectivity" (Keegan 2009, p. 16). This debate is primarily fed by an oversimplifying assumption that quantitative research, in contrast to qualitative research, is 'objective'. This positivist mind-set assumes sure grounds for knowledge and the existence of an objective reality which can be measured with suitable scientific tools and techniques as in natural science. There are two

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[151] The two anthropological terms 'etic' and 'emic' refer to the analysis of socio-cultural phenomena from the perspective of one who does not participate (etic) in the culture being studied and one who participates (emic) in the culture under study (Lincoln & Guba 1985).

commonly accepted criteria for objectivity: The first one is "intersubjective agreement"[152] and the second is methodology. Even though there are certain "methods that by their character render the study beyond contamination by human foibles", totally impartial, neutral and objective research using whatever method is illusionary (Lincoln & Guba 1985, pp. 292-293; Keegan 2009). These outlined hermeneutical and dialectical methodologies (Guba & Lincoln 2005) "are recommended to reconstruct subjective meanings instead of 'objective' measurement" (Mayring 2007, p. 28).

2.2 Holistic Research Approach

Even though qualitative research is increasingly valued and accepted in many sectors (Mullings 1999), social scientists are still challenged by the fact that "in its need of ‚hard facts', policy-oriented research traditionally privileges quantitative, positivist approaches over qualitative, social constructivist approaches" (Kay 2009, p. 1179). The same dominance of "reality-oriented" perspectives is described by Patton (2002) in "those arenas of research practice where scientific credibility carries a premium" (p. 95). However, Mullings (1999) observes another trend in marketing and business which indicates that "standardized questionnaire-based survey has diminished in popularity because it has been incapable of providing an adequate explanation for the structures and processes that influence the strategies and behaviour of firms and industries" (p. 338). Keegan (2009) notices changes within qualitative research itself within the last three decades. While "group discussions or depth interviews" dominated qualitative research until the 1980s almost exclusively, there has been a significant shift in the last 10-15 years to complement or substitute this still existing 'interview culture' with alternative methods such as "observation and ethnographic approaches, deliberative inquiry, web-based methodologies, semiotics and cultural analysis" (pp. 71-72). Silverman (2002) adds another aspect to this development stating that "qualitative researchers need not accept the assumption that their work can only be exploratory or descriptive" (p. 237). Based on the fact that social science is focussing on people and their environment, Keegan (2009) argues that "qualitative research embodies the messiness, contradiction and partial truths that are inherent in all human communication" (p. 23). Especially in the challenging field of 'Sport and Development', "qualitative investigations may therefore help capture the complex and multi-faceted process through which individuals experience beneficial social outcomes from sport" (Kay 2009, p. 1188).

2.2.1 Qualitative vs. Quantitative Research Debate

Many scholars agree that the division between qualitative and quantitative research is becoming increasingly blurred and that a strict dichotomy is unfruitful (Silverman 2002; Travers 2002; Keegan 2009; Mayring 2007, 2010). Further reasoning was offered by Nancarrow et al. (2001) coining the term "informed eclecticism" which accumulates and combines qualitative and quantitative methods based on a pragmatic approach (p. 3). Even though pragmatism is valuable for Flick (2009), he cautions against inconsiderate and inconsistent use. Concerning this study, the advantages of combining or integrating quantitative and qualitative approaches outweigh the drawbacks. The research question and

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[152] The concept 'intersubjective agreement' is defined by Lincoln & Guba (1985): "if multiple observers can agree on a phenomenon their collective judgment can be said to be objective" (pp. 292-293).

setting determine the methods, not the opposite. Following this reasoning, Flick (2009) asserts: "Methodological decisions will be driven by the idea of appropriateness of methods and approaches to the issue under study, to the research question you want to answer, and to the fields and people addressed by your research" (p. 405). Kirk & Miller (1986) clarify the claims of thoughtfully applied pragmatism: "qualitative research does imply a commitment to field activities. It does not imply a commitment to innumeracy" (p. 10).

2.2.2 Mixed Methods Approach

This study is qualitative and interpretative in design, but adopts a mixed methods approach with regard to data collection and a qualitative stance in respect of data analysis. On the useful "QUAL-MM-QUAN Continuum" developed by Teddlie & Tashakkori (2009) consisting of five zones, this study is situated in the second zone representing "primarily a qualitative research with some quantitative components" (p. 28). The concept of triangulation is understood and applied as an integration model (Mayring 2007; Flick 2009) of quantitative and qualitative data collection.

Four main reasons underpin the choice of applying multiple methods: first, the use of different data collection tools maximises the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative research and minimises their respective weaknesses (Flick 2009). Second, different methodological approaches offer multiple perspectives and shed light on potential blind spots, thus possibly disclosing unexpected outcomes (Patton 2002). The possibility of asking "confirmatory and exploratory questions and therefore verify and generate theory in the same study" is a third advantage of a multiple methods approach (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2009, p. 33; Patton 2002). A fourth reason to conduct qualitative research using different methods is context sensitivity. This includes an indispensable perception of survey participants as subjects and partners, rather than as objects (Sinning 2005). Being open to various simultaneously applied methods allows for genuine consideration and accommodation of local requests and preferences, including making interviewees feel more comfortable, for instance. This fourth reason is a focal point of data collection conducted for this study.[153] No method was favoured by the researcher beforehand. Different methods have been introduced to each organisation in a first step and were then assessed, implemented and evaluated together with local staff members. Methods have been chosen or rejected based on their user-friendliness, cost-value ratio, applicability in the field, appropriateness for the interests, needs and capabilities of specific NGOs related to their staff and beneficiaries. Through this critical participatory process, tested tools have been accepted and adapted to particular contexts or were completely abandoned. None of the selected methods were viewed as competing with one another (Keegan 2009), since the main focus was to understand particular issues based on local feedback and applicability to the context.

3   Research Quality

Whereas the quality of positivist empirical research is usually defined by classical criteria such as reliability, validity and objectivity, Stake (2010) argues that "qualitative researchers have good ways of increasing the level of confidence in their findings but lack a numerical

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[153] This method testing took place within the framework of a 14-month 'pilot project' focussing on 'Monitoring and Evaluation' in Malawi, Zambia and South Africa in anticipation of this study (see Chap. I).

scale for stating that confidence" (p. 126). Many scholars doubt the appropriateness of traditional criteria based on quantitative research to assess credibility of qualitative research (Glaser & Strauss 1965; Flick 2008; Teddlie & Tashakkori 2009; Stake 2010). Therefore, classical criteria are commonly replaced by adequate notions for qualitative research such as for instance 'trustworthiness' (Lincoln & Guba 1985; Cousin 2010). Along the lines of methods which need to be appropriate for the issue under examination, the definition of quality criteria also needs to be suitable for the chosen methods. Since the 'Case Study Design' lends itself e.g. to "probe for internal consistency", Lincoln & Guba (1985) argue that this is a crucial element to foster trustworthiness (p. 359). Silverman (2002) responds aptly to the statement that the degree of credibility is often linked to 'scientificity': "It is an increasingly accepted view that work becomes scientific by adopting methods of study appropriate to its subject matter. Social science is thus scientific to the extent that it uses appropriate methods and is rigorous, critical and objective in its handling of data" (p. 224). This holistic approach complies with Flick's (2009) statement that "grounding qualitative research becomes a question of analyzing the research as process" (p. 396). He further argues that assessing qualitative research is not just about "formulating criteria and benchmarks for deciding about good and bad use of methods. Instead, the issue of quality in qualitative research is located on the level of research planning – from indication of research design and methods to quality management – on the level of process evaluation, research training, and the relation of attitude and technology (or art and method) in research" (p. 401). This is the main reason why this study covers methodological, contextual and theoretical matters extensively.

3.1   Criteria of Trustworthiness

Following the concept of Lincoln & Guba (1985) trustworthiness is defined by the four criteria "credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability" (p. 300).

The **first criterion** 'credibility' contrasts with the often formulated anecdotal preconception of qualitative research. In this study efforts are being made to be critical in terms of "easy conclusions" and to falsify precocious presumptions (Silverman 2002, p. 224). Moreover, as far as credibility and internal validity are concerned, 'communicative validation' (Flick 2009), 'face validity' (Lather 1986) or 'respondent validation' (Silverman 2002) were applied to interviews and self-recording video sessions by 'comparison groups' (see Chap. VIII). In terms of the **second criterion** 'dependability' relating to reliability in a quantitative context, educational measures were taken for this study to increase, for instance, consistence in data collection (Silverman 2002; Teddlie & Tashakkori 2009). Local staff members who assisted children filling in questionnaires were trained in a preliminary workshop and familiarised with methods and content. Furthermore, within the framework of a 'naturalistic mind-set', many elements of the research proceedings were standardised (Mayring 2002). Questionnaires, for example, were identical in all three settings and consisted of both fixed-choice and a few open-ended questions. Furthermore, as another example concerning self-recording video, interviewees were asked to freely answer the same open-ended questions in all three sites, but always in the same order to facilitate a systematic documentation. Another argument with regard to reliability is emphasised by Seale (1999): "(…) recording observations in terms that are as concrete as possible, including verbatim accounts of what people say, for example, rather than researchers' reconstructions of the general sense of what a person said, which would allow researchers' personal perspectives to influence the reporting" (p. 148). All self-

recording videos were fully 'produced' by the survey participants themselves without outside interference. Furthermore, interviews and focus group discussions were tape-recorded to grasp specific wordings. The **third criterion** of transferability was discussed in relation to a generalisation and comparison of results. Transferability corresponds to the traditional 'external validity' which is often expressed statistically. With reference to qualitative research, Lincoln & Guba (1985) allude to the difficulties and limitations to specify 'external validity' linked to time and context: "[the qualitative researcher] can provide only the thick description necessary to enable someone interested in making a transfer to reach a conclusion about whether transfer can be contemplated as a possibility" (p. 316). The **fourth criterion** 'confirmability' correlates with 'objectivity' in quantitative terms. One of its elements deals with inquirer bias which Lather (1986) calls "reflexive subjectivity". This term refers to the self-critical process through which a researcher addresses and expounds the problems of his or her "positionality" with regard to the inquiry and its setting (Cousin 2010, p. 9). This topic has been extensively covered at the beginning of this chapter.

Besides these four quality criteria mentioned by Guba & Lincoln (1985), a broad range of other traditional and alternative terms were formulated (Flick 2009). Among these different enumerations, the quality criteria 'triangulation' was found to be omnipresent in combination with other terms (Lather 1986; Denzin 1989; Mayring 2002; Flick 2009; Stake 2010).

3.2 Triangulation

Triangulation was chosen for this study to integrate quantitative and qualitative methods within the mind-set of a mixed method approach. Flick (2009) argued that "triangulation is less a strategy for validating results and procedures than an alternative to validation (…), which increases scope, depth, and consistency in methodological proceedings". Following the differentiation by Denzin (1989) and based on the research question, this study conducts a 'methodological triangulation'[154], such as for instance the combination of self-recording video with questionnaire. Flick (2009) referred to this concept as "between-method triangulation" (p. 444). Furthermore, he stated that "triangulation should produce knowledge on different levels, which means they go beyond the knowledge made possible by one approach and thus contribute to promoting quality in research" (p. 445). In accordance with this view, Stake (2010) was convinced that "we triangulate to increase the confidence that we will have in our evidence" (p. 126). In terms of testing validity, Silverman (2002) identified a major challenge with triangulation: "By counterposing different contexts, it ignores the context-bound and skilful character of social interaction" (p. 235). This legitimate transferability was closely linked to the described difficulties in qualitative research to compare settings over time and space (Lincoln & Guba 1985). Against the background of the fact that "no observations or interpretations are perfectly repeatable", Stake (2005) argued that "triangulation serves also to clarify meaning by identifying different ways the case is being seen" (p. 454). Multiple perspectives will never lead to complete and objective understanding of an issue, but every added piece of a puzzle contributes to the full picture. In other words: "Triangulation helps to identify different realities" (p. 454).

Concerning the applied 'methodological triangulation', Flick (2009) emphasised the importance of considering "different characteristics" of data collected through various

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[154] Denzin (1989) defines three other types of triangulation besides the methodological triangulation: data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation (see Mayring 2007; Flick 2009).

methods. He distinguished between two possibilities for "linking two (or more) sorts of data in the analysis in project triangulating several qualitative methods in data collection": The suggested "single case" was not applicable for this study because of anonymity issues. Therefore, the second option involving "data sets" was chosen. This meant that every data collection method (interview, focus group discussion, questionnaire, and self-recording video) was looking for own patterns or themes to be analysed. Only after these isolated processes, a holistic comparative analysis of the different patterns or themes was conducted (pp. 449-450). Considering the dialectic relationship between single elements and social totality is a crucial aspect of qualitative research. After analysing specific domains in isolation, only final consolidation and a holistic viewpoint allow for qualified interpretation (Mayring 2002).

4   Summary and Relevance for this Study

The basic approach of this study is that context, people addressed by investigation, and research questions determine methodological decisions, not the opposite. For any researcher the ethical premise 'do no harm' is binding and requests according reflection and respectful behaviour. Thus, considering the African 'oral tradition' and elevated illiteracy rates in most areas where this study took place, appropriate methods and approaches were chosen. Moreover, since this study is conducted by a non-African researcher, it seems to be even more important to consciously accentuate the emic posture. While the positivist paradigm is rather directed toward the etic posture, this study is mainly focussing on the emic taking an interpretative constructivist stance. On the one hand, this study pursues an exploratory and participatory strategy being user-defined and focussing on the 'voices' in the field. But on the other hand, the 'Case Study Design', defined target and comparison groups as well as the frames of reference form a reliable set-up (see Chap. VIII).

This study is based on a pragmatic position stating that one philosophical stance does not rigidly impose the use of either qualitative or quantitative methods. In other words, positivism as well as contrasting epistemological positions can be both qualitative and quantitative (Niglas 2001; McGregor & Murnane 2010). In line with this claim, this study is qualitative and interpretative in design, but adopts a mixed methods approach in terms of data collection and a qualitative stance with regard to data analysis. It is "primarily a qualitative research with some quantitative components" (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2009, p. 28). The concept of triangulation is understood and applied as an integration model (Mayring 2007; Flick 2009) of quantitative and qualitative data collection.

Due to this study's epistemological approach and qualitative methodology, classical quality criteria of positivist empirical research (such as reliability, validity and objectivity) are not directly applicable. Along the lines of methods that need to be appropriate for the issue under examination, quality criteria should also correspond to the applied methods. Therefore, this triangulation study adopts 'trustworthiness' as a concept for qualitative research which involves the four criteria "credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability" (Lincoln & Guba 1985, p. 300; Cousin 2010). This study strives for impartiality and trustworthiness, emphasises the importance of reflection in respect of the researcher's behaviour and assumptions, and pays attention to unintended biases of all kinds. Nonetheless, following a constructivist approach, social reality is never considered to be purely 'objective', but constructed.

VIII STUDY DESIGN AND METHODS

Grounded in the methodology as presented, this chapter presents the empirical research parameters. Firstly, the design model defines major pillars that determine the empirical line of reasoning. Consequentially, the following subchapter sheds light on the research design and logic. Thereafter, sampling and data collection methods are at the focus in the subsequent subchapters three and four. Fifthly, research activities and respective comparison groups are featured, before a sixth subchapter addresses the formal data properties of this investigation.

1 Design Model and Triangulation

Following the presentation of the generic and specific frames of reference and depiction of the 'Heuristic Framework' (Chap. VI), the design model is now introduced (Graph 3). It comprises four main pillars: I) three countries, II) five sections referring to the frames of reference and therefore the research question, III) four target groups, and IV) four methods. Thereafter, methods are discussed to operationalize the frame of reference. Subsequent subchapters offer detailed information on the first, third and fourth pillar of this design model:

Graph 3: Design Model of this Study

Results of this study (Chap. IX) will be structured following this model. The three African countries (Pillar I) serve as starting point, but are systematically combined with all other pillars at every level. The following paragraph describes how this study's data were analysed.

At the beginning only data collected in Malawi were considered for the first section 'socio-cultural context'. Step by step, data collected via all four methods (questionnaire, focus group discussion (FGD), self-recording video (SRV) and key informant interviews (KII)) were

scrutinised separately for the main Malawian target subgroup (SG1) involving coaches. Then, the same proceeding took place for the second subgroup (SG2) in Malawi, again considering all four methods systematically. Afterwards, this same analysis procedure was conducted for the third and fourth Malawian subgroups (SG3 and SG4). After completion of this first round, the same procedure was repeated for Malawi considering data referring to the second section 'sporting role models'. Here again, data from all the target subgroups and applied methods were systematically scrutinised. After completion of the other three sections of 'Pillar II' for Malawi strictly following this modus operandi, the identical analytical procedure was applied for Zambia and South Africa.[155]

The reasoning upon which this design model is based followed the logic of 'methodological triangulation'. Thereby, specific patterns of different data collection methods are considered initially as isolated processes. Holistic comparative analysis of the different patterns occurs only in the second phase (Denzin 1989; Mayring 2007; Flick 2009).

Referring to this study's investigation, triangulation was used to enhance confidence in the findings which were generated through applying multiple methods. One of these four methods - the questionnaire - was filled in by all members of SG1 (coaches) and SG2 (participating children/youth) in all three countries. Therefore, questionnaire results were considered first. Only then was data concerning the same topic collected through another method (FGD) and scrutinised. Thereby, questionnaire findings were either confirmed or rejected. Still targeting the same topic (see Pillar II in above described model), data gathered through the third (SRV) and fourth (KII) methods again sustain or contradict previous results. Such a triangulation process considerably reduces risks of misinterpretation (see Chap. VII).

2   Research Design and Logic

Methodological decisions of this study were primarily determined by context, people addressed by investigation, and the research question. The pragmatic approach of this study is mainly driven by contextual circumstances and other necessities of being "responsive to real-world conditions" (Patton 2002, p. 253). Therefore, accommodating the African 'oral tradition' and elevated illiteracy in most settings, appropriate measures - such as for example a multi-method approach - were chosen. On the one hand, this study is based on a participatory strategy interested in the 'voices' from the field. This form of pragmatism or "hybridization" (Flick 2009, p. 459) is chosen in this study to comply with "the intellectual mandate to be open to what the world has to offer [which] surely includes methodological openness" (Patton 2002, p. 252). But on the other hand, sound research is based on a defined study design and logic, specified target and comparison groups as well as solid frames of reference.

2.1 Case Study Design (CSD)

Since the singularity of cases in Malawi, Zambia and South Africa were considered to be more relevant than a consistent comparable approach, the 'Case Study Design' (CSD) was chosen for this study.

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[155] Since this extensive kind of analysis would go beyond the scope of a reasonable chapter on results (Chap. IX), these detailed proceedings were only presented for Malawi whereas a more concise version was chosen to present findings for Zambia and South Africa. However, all data were originally processed in the same complex manner.

The interpretative paradigm underlying this study does not claim to fully describe and analyse the entire setting (Travers 2002). It is therefore in accordance with the hermeneutic theory that "argues that one can only interpret the meaning of something from some perspective, a certain standpoint, a praxis, or a situational context, whether one is reporting on one's own findings or reporting the perspectives of people being studied" (Patton 2002, p. 115). Deriving from interpretivist, constructivist and hermeneutic approaches, the CSD seems to respond to the particular research interest of this study. Due to the difficulty to establish similar conditions and define appropriate comparative dimensions for three different socio-cultural realities in Malawi, Zambia and South Africa involving three different local organisations, a comparison study design was not indicated (Flick 2009). The CSD really considers local particularities, thus assessing phenomena which "not only take their meaning from but actually depend for their existence on their contexts" (Lincoln & Guba 1985, p. 360).

This study carries on three case studies in parallel, but each of the studied NGOs and sites represents a single case with specific 'comparison group' schemes. Stake (2005) refers to such a multiple case design as "instrumental case study extended to several cases" (p. 445). The case study describes lifelike settings in a detailed and holistic way at the expense of an abstraction level that would facilitate comparison and generalisation (Lincoln & Guba 1985). This characteristic of the CSD does not obviate or inhibit comparative statements, but "conclusions about measured differences between any two cases are less to be trusted than are conclusions about a single case" (Stake 2005, p. 458). However, at the same time an additional benefit is acknowledged: "Nevertheless, illustration of how a phenomenon occurs in the circumstances of several exemplars can provide valued and trustworthy knowledge" (p. 459). Another argument for choosing the CSD is based on relatively small sample sizes in this study (Niglas 2001; Mayring 2010). The total amount of e.g. interviewed coaches seems to be rather modest. However, collecting data from 21 coaches in South Africa, for instance, meant interviewing 93% of all staff members which is a considerably representative number. Giving proper weight to local conditions makes it more difficult to generalise. Lincoln & Guba (1985) summarise it as follows: "The only generalization is: there is no generalization. The trouble with generalizations is that they don't apply to particulars" (p. 110). Since this study aims at a formulation of practical suggestions to be used in the field, a certain generalisation is necessary. Therefore, particular context sensitivity is requested regarding possible parameters of transferability (Patton 2002; Flick 2009). In order to compare findings from one site with results from another site, the similarity between two contexts needs to be assessed. Transferability is referred to as "fittingness" which is defined as "degree of congruence between sending and receiving contexts" (Lincoln & Guba 1985, p. 124).

2.2 Deductive and Inductive Logic

The extent to which a qualitative research design adopts an inductive or deductive logic is a matter of degree (Patton 2002). Using the 'Heuristic Framework' as a basis of analysis, this study is primarily following a deductive logic. However, using a mixed methods approach - and thus considering socio-cultural realities - emphasises a participatory and user-defined strategy which involves inductive logic as well. In contrast to methodological purists, Patton (2002) furthermore argues that "human reasoning is sufficiently complex and flexible that it is possible to research predetermined questions and test hypotheses about certain aspects of a program while being quite open and naturalistic in pursuing other

aspects of a program" (p. 253). Flick (1991) points out that pure cases ("Fälle in Reinform", p. 165) are not to be expected anyway. Distinguished from a strictly "traditional hypothetico-deductive approach" (Patton 2002, p. 248), one leading principle of inductive logic is that "meaningful findings are more valuable than generalizations" (McGregor & Murnane 2010, app.1). Deriving from this logical approach, the CSD seems to be adequate. A case study strives to capture the complexity of a specific setting and provides "in-depth understanding rather than empirical generalizations" (Patton 2002, p. 230).

3   Sampling

After describing the research design and logic, the sampling procedures (Pillar III) will now be the centre of interest. Besides the sampling structure, the following subchapters will present sample sizes and types.

While quantitative inquiry usually focuses on relatively large random samples, qualitative methods typically rely on smaller sample sizes selected purposefully (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2009). Patton (2002) comments this relationship referring to data collection techniques: "Perhaps nothing better captures the difference between quantitative and qualitative methods than the different logics that undergrid sampling approaches" (p. 230). A major criterion for sampling in qualitative inquiry is "relevance to the research topic" (Flick 2009, p. 91). In terms of quantitative research, probability samples strive for "representativeness" which is defined as "degree to which the sample accurately represents the entire population" (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2009, p. 170). Purposive sampling is mainly concerned with "saturation [as] general rule" (p. 183). Flick (2009) argues that "sampling decisions in qualitative research are often taken on a substantial, concrete level rather than on an abstract and formal level" (p. 126). Every sampling strategy contains both advantages and disadvantages: "What would be 'bias' in statistical sampling, and therefore a weakness, becomes intended focus in qualitative sampling, and therefore a strength" (Patton 2002, p. 230).

Based on the useful typology of sampling techniques for social sciences coined by Teddlie & Tashakkori (2009), there is a major distinction between probability sampling (consisting of four techniques) and purposive (or purposeful) sampling (consisting of fifteen techniques). According to Patton (2002), people or organisations are selected through purposive sampling "because they are 'information rich' and illuminative, that is, they offer useful manifestations of the phenomenon of interest" (p. 40). Due to this study's mixed methods approach, both purposive and probability sampling techniques are used and further specified by types. Such an "interlaced sampling" is also suggested by Flick (2009) for triangulation studies. Both basic sampling techniques are obliged to answer the research question and to foster a certain degree of comparability and generalisation. For the rather quantitative part of this study (questionnaire), a combined stratified random sampling was used. Regarding this study's primarily qualitative character, purposive sampling techniques dominate: "Sequential sampling" (especially "theoretical sampling") and the sampling concerning "special or unique cases" (especially "critical case sampling") seemed to be most adequate with regard to the research questions and various contexts (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2009, pp. 176-177).

3.1 Sampling Structure

The research population of each setting consists of one local NGO actively involved in S&D areas. For the purpose of clarity and consistency, the population across all three sites is

structured into subgroups (SG). The main research interest is primarily related to coaches (SG 1) and their influence on young participants (SG 2) who are hence targeted secondarily. The third subgroup comprises programme managers and other staff members (SG 3). Besides these three main target subgroups, a fourth category comprises peripheral informants (SG 4). These additional samples were purposefully integrated in the research process, if knowledgeable individuals such as headmasters, caregivers, or teachers could offer new insights about studied issues. These four subgroups represent the predefined sampling structure for every setting.

The quantitative components of this primarily qualitative study refer to questionnaires and 'comparison groups' to some extent. Questionnaires were developed for coaches and children/youth. However, most data with respect to coaches were collected through FGDs and SRV. Peripheral key informants like teachers, headmasters or parents were interviewed.

In order to do justice to the three different settings, sampling techniques were specifically shaped to match each contextual reality. The following chart (Tab. 3) is to be understood as prototype and gives an overview of the sampling structure:

| | | CASE STUDY SITES | | | | | |
| | | Malawi (PS) | | Zambia (ZSFN) | | South Africa (GRS) | |
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Main target population (subgroups 1-3)	Coaches (SG 1)						
	Participants (children/youth) (SG 2)						
	Managers / staff (SG 3)						
Peripheral informants (subgroup 4)	Teachers/ parents/ caregivers/ headmasters/ (SG 4)						

Tab. 3: Prototype of Sampling Structure

3.2 Sample Sizes and Types

Focussing on the horizontal axis of above represented chart, sample sizes and types are going to be covered subgroup by subgroup in the following paragraphs. For the sake of clarity, it is worth mentioning again that the same persons participated in one or more data collection activities (see Tab. 4).

Coaches **(SG 1)** represent the **principle target subgroup** of this study. Overall, N=85 coaches (33% women / 67% men) participated in the study, with 80 coaches providing complete questionnaires. Mean age was 24 years, ranging from 17 to 52 years. In order to maximise representativeness, all willing and available coaches within all organisations were asked to complete the questionnaire. Illiterate coaches who wished to participate were assisted by local staff.

Out of the 85 coaches, 16 female and 17 male coaches additionally participated in six FGDs in Malawi, Zambia and South Africa. Stratified purposive sampling was used to select coaches for these FGDs focussing on gender as variables for 'recruitment specification'. Thereby, male and female coaches were systematically arranged for insightful FGDs: Only male coaches participated in the FGD in Malawi, since no female coaches were available. Two of the four South African FGDs were mixed; of the remaining two, one was purely male, and the other purely female.

This sampling technique led to a disclosure of potential similarities and differences across the strata. Furthermore, it created 'safe spaces' for men and women to freely talk about gender-specific delicate issues.

Across all three sites, 16 female and 20 male coaches (N=36) recorded themselves on video. The remarkable overall percentage of female coaches was primarily linked to an impressive South African staff. In Malawi and Zambia, numbers of actively involved women coaches were rather modest. Hence, a KII was conducted with the only female coach in Ndirande (Malawi) as a 'critical case sampling' which allows for a better understanding of such phenomenon (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2009).

The total sample of the **secondary subgroup (SG 2)** of young participants consisted of N=198 children and youth (51% girls, 49% boys) from eight different sites in Malawi, South Africa and Zambia. Mean age was 13 years, ranging from 10 to 17 years. In terms of first language learned at home, five languages (Nyanja, Tonga, Bemba, Xhosa and Chichewa) were mentioned. For this study, data from children and youth was only gathered through questionnaires. Some returned questionnaires had missing or inadequate data on one or more items that led to their exclusion from the respective analyses. Overall, questionnaires from N=182 children and youth (52% girls, 48% boys) were completed correctly and considered for analyses. For the selection of these children, two basic types of probability sampling, stratified sampling and random sampling, have been combined. In all studied sites, young participants (age 10 and older) were separated into one male and one female stratum. Then, a manageable random sample was independently selected from both strata. In order to assure comparison, certain sites or subgroups ('comparison groups') were chosen beyond direct organisational reach.

The **third subgroup (SG 3)** targeted managers, programme coordinators and other NGO staff. Thereby, staff members who were mainly active as coaches were included in the first subgroup. SRV sessions took place with five staff members in South Africa, two in Malawi, and two in Zambia. Furthermore, a KII was held with a ZSFN (Zambia) senior staff member.

Regarding **peripheral informants (SG 4)**, five KIIs were held with three headmasters (two men, one woman) in Malawi, one male headmaster in South Africa and one female teacher in Zambia. Furthermore, a senior official of the 'Malawian Football Association' (FAM) was interviewed. Additionally, one FGD was conducted with three fathers in Zambia.

For FGDs and KIIs conducted with SG 3 and SG 4, sequential sampling procedures were mainly oriented on principles referring to theoretical sampling. Thus, after a certain number of sessions were held in one setting, the gain of new insights remained static and a certain saturation of information became obvious (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Strauss & Corbin 1998; Charmaz 2006). Hence, saturation is a crucial factor in qualitative research to define sample sizes (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2009).

The following Tab. 4 provides an overview of sample sizes and types of this study:

Subgroups	Mean Age in Years	Malawi (PS)		Zambia (ZSFN)		South Africa (GRS)		Total Sample Size
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Coaches (SG 1)	24	26	6	24	5	7	17	85
Participants (children/youth) (SG 2)	13	30	30	30	20	38	50	198
NGO staff / managers (SG 3)	28	1	1	6	2	1	4	15
Peripheral informants (SG 4)	45	4	2	3	1	1	0	11
TOTAL	-	61	39	63	28	47	71	309

Tab. 4: Overview Sample Sizes and Types

4   Data Collection Methods

Data collection for this study took place in the course of two extensive field visits in Malawi, Zambia, and South Africa in 2008/2009. In order to avoid a top-down strategy imposing methods on local NGOs, the author of this study was privileged to test data collection methods together with local staff members who were familiar with contextual realities. Thereby, owing to the already mentioned pilot phase with a strong focus on M&E [156], a selection of eight different data collection methods was introduced to the NGOs during workshops and used with literate and illiterate staff, youth, and children. The aim of these workshops was an assessment of applicability, cost-value ratio, user-friendliness, efficiency, etc. of these methods with regard to different contexts and target groups. This interactive examination of theoretical input mainly served the purpose to grasp practical implications of these methods in the African 'field'. Both workshops were attended by staff members of all three organisations who then assisted in collecting data for this study. After evaluating the above described testing phase, four methods were chosen in close collaboration with local staff: Commonly used questionnaires, 'Self-recording Video' sessions (SRV), 'Focus Group Discussions' (FGD), and 'Key Informant Interviews' (KII). Therefore, a preliminary set of scientifically sound methods was suggested to the grassroots organisations. Then, an emic posture was added to these etic suggestions by local staff members who were consulted in deciding on appropriate methods.

In line with this preliminary strategy, 'cognitive debriefing sessions' were held as well in every location before the actual data collection with drafted tools. During these sessions, staff members were encouraged to suggest modifications of wording referring to local sensitivity in order to achieve tailor-made questions for the respective target group. Only thereafter were interview guidelines printed and questionnaires copied. This valuable procedure allowed for local peculiarities to be considered and provided practical on-field knowledge. The level of

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[156] 'Football for Hope M&E Pilot Project' (see Chap. I).

local involvement had to be adapted to every organisation and context, but was a focal point and valued characteristic of this study.

The following Tab. 5 provides an overview of applied data collection methods for the three sites of this study. As already mentioned, children and youth were only asked to complete questionnaires. All other methods were used with adults only (coaches, staff, caregivers, teachers, etc.). It is important to specify that the same individuals could be involved in various methods. Therefore, following numbers and figures are not to be added up. They simply serve the purpose of quantifying parameters of the four chosen methods that are each going to be subsequently presented in more detail.

	Malawi		Zambia		South Africa		Total Participating Persons	Total Sessions Held
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Questionnaire							283 (262 compl.)	11
Adults	26	6	24	5	7	17	85	5
	25	6	21	5	7	16	80 compl.	
Children / Youth	30	30	30	20	38	50	198	6
	28	27	27	18	33	49	182 compl.	
Self-Recording Video	3	1	12	2	5	14	37	6
Focus Group Discussion	7	0	6	2	7	14	36	7
Key Informant Interview	4	3	1	1	1	0	10	10

Tab. 5: Numbers and Figures of Data Collection Methods in the Three Sites

4.1 Questionnaire

As discussed in the previous Chapter VII, this study follows mainly a qualitative research design with some quantitative elements. This quantitative component is covered by the use of questionnaires in all three African countries. For the purpose of this study, these questionnaires primarily provided descriptive statistics mainly focussing on relative frequencies. Thereby, the 'absolute frequency' concerning the measure of the overall sample was relativized. Such 'relative frequencies' (which were expressed in percentages) aimed at a definition of certain trends and tendencies that were then confirmed or rejected by other methods (triangulation). The analytical structure (Annex D) of the questionnaires was derived from the frame of reference and 'Heuristic Framework' (Chap. VI) developed for this study. Each of the five sections contained items related to 'empowerment' which were the primary variables of interest and also comprised items referring to 'gender issues' serving as background variables.

Two slightly different questionnaire versions were prepared to target coaches (Annex E) and children/youth (Annex F) respectively. Since questionnaires were completed by all coaches and participating children/youth, this data collection method served as a baseline for further analysis. Questionnaires consisted of overall 34 items divided into five structuring dimensions (sections) which reflected the 'Heuristic Framework' (Pillar II of the design model): The first section focussed on the socio-cultural context, followed by the second

section which explored 'Sporting Role Models'. Only items of the first two sections were identical for coaches and children/youth. Then, consistent with Bronfenbrenner's (1979) socio-ecological approach, the third, fourth, and fifth sections corresponded to the pyramid of pedagogical interventions which consists of the three levels presence and mind-set (micro), intentional teaching (meso/exo), and transferability (macro). Once again, mutual influence and overlap between these three levels need to be emphasised (Chap. VI). Questionnaires and their sections were previously discussed with local staff during the described 'cognitive debriefing sessions'. Thereby, local particularity, for example, saying 'thank you' at the end in the local language, was considered, and if possible adapted for every setting.

Both questionnaire versions (adults and children/youth) contained mostly fixed-choice items. The second section on 'Sport Role Models' involved as well open-ended questions for further clarification. Moreover, the third section on 'Presence and Mind-set' involved one semi-open item involving a ranking task. Fixed-choice items were answered on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from "yes", "rather yes", to "rather no" and "no". For open-ended questions space was allocated for specifications. If research participants felt uncomfortable or incapable of answering certain items, they had the chance to write reasons on the blank back of the questionnaire. Upon request, participants were assisted by trained teachers or staff members to translate and complete the questionnaires. Prior to answering the main questionnaire, participants completed a 'Consent Form' (Annex B) and a demographic form. Additionally, each participant could invent a nickname which was registered in the 'Consent Form' together with his/her real name. This strategy built confidence and helped to ensure anonymity, but guaranteed at the same time a proper identification for research purposes. As already mentioned in the part on ethical considerations (Chap. VII), if general agreements were, for instance, signed in schools or with village councils related to children's participation, a 'Denial Form' (Annex C) for opting out was given to parents or caregivers.

4.2 Focus Group Discussion

Focussing on oral communication, the 'Focus Group Discussion' (FGD) was another data collection method used for this study. FGDs allow for roles and responsibilities of different stakeholders to be identified and new insights produced (Patton 2002). It is a crucial moderating task in a FGD to proactively involve all participants. Even though apparent hierarchies manifested in the course of a FGD may provide valuable information on group dynamics and status, the moderator should keep dominant persons from overwhelming other interviewees (Flick 2009). Additionally, the interviewer needs to set boundaries, if a FGD goes far beyond relevancy for the research question. FGD moderators must be very well prepared, because only a few questions can be addressed (Patton 2002). FGDs are not appropriate to tackle sensitive issues or intimate subjects (Keegan 2009). Relevant but delicate issues that emerge from the discussion can be superficially recorded in the course of a FGD, and ascertained later on in more detail within an appropriate setting. With regard to FGDs in South Africa, for example, upcoming sensitive themes such as 'correctional rape' (see Chap. II) were touched on, but not extensively discussed in every group.

FGDs provided insights on an organisational status quo, interpersonal conditions and atmosphere, and consensus or dissent about specific issues. FGDs for this study were organised with coaches, staff members, village chiefs and parents in all three African settings. Depending on contextual and content matters, the number of participants for one

FGD varied between three and eight persons and lasted 70 minutes on average. Demographic variables for "recruitment specification" (Keegan 2009, p. 74) for this study consisted mainly of gender, degree of kinship, and organisational status.

All FGDs of this study conducted with coaches followed the same 'thematic guideline' which was, of course, adapted to situational group formation and atmosphere during the discussions. FGDs were held in English and tape-recorded with prior agreement from all participants. Additionally, notes were taken by the moderator and a neutral 'minute writer' to register facial expressions, gesture or other relevant aspects of the discussion.[157]

Not every question of the 'thematic guideline' (Annex G) was explicitly asked, but all of the five sections were at least touched upon and its structure as much as possible respected.

Even though most FGDs were generally conducted with coaches following the guidelines, this valuable method was used as well to gather information from NGO functionaries and fathers in Zambia.

4.3 Self-recording Video

'Self-recording Video' (SRV) turned out to be one of the most popular method to collect data from teenagers and adults. Especially in disadvantaged African communities it was important to work with methods which did not require literacy. Contrary to preliminary concerns that using modern technology in economically disadvantaged settings might produce interference or discouragement, SRV even increased motivation among research participants to contribute.[158] One of the most important features of SRV was linked to the fact that interviewees understood and trusted that they were in full control of the situation and the camera. Guidelines on SRV procedures were already elaborated for and during the preparatory M&E workshops[159], but adapted again for this study's data collection.

Before any recordings were started, the use of collected data was explained in detail. It was assured that videos would not be shared with any local or regional staff members, but screened and transcribed at the earliest back in Europe and used anonymously for scientific purposes only. First, the use of technical equipment was explained to all participants as a group, and then again, as a second step, specified individually to make sure that functions and handling were clear to each person.

To set up SRV sessions, appropriate equipment (video camera and tripod) and a quiet closable room were provided. Thereby, privacy and well-being of participants were assured. Participants were left alone in the room with the camera, sealed off from disturbances and given all the time they needed. Every research participant was responsible for turning the camera on and off, when he or she was ready to start the session. To allow for an exploratory unbiased approach, very general and open-ended questions were posted to the wall in front of them either on flip-charts or on papers. Providing personal information was requested as opening question.

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[157]Since cross-cultural interpretation of non-verbal communication can be tricky, such registered observations were anonymously fed back to and discussed with locals.

[158] Given the fact that some African countries, e.g. Kenya, have innovated in the use of some technologies, e.g. mobile phones, maybe this is not as surprising.

[159] 'Football for Hope M&E Pilot Project' (see Chap. I).

Interviewees were asked to respect the numbered order of these questions to guarantee consistency:

1.   Please, indicate your name, age, function/job title.
     And for how long you have been working for XY[160] [your organisation]?
2.   Do you have a sporting role model?
     If yes, who is it and why? If no, why not?
3.   Do you think of yourself as a role model?
     If yes, for whom and why? If no, why not?
4.   Reflecting on 2008, what was your personal highlight with XY?
5.   Reflecting on 2008, what was the most difficult situation for you to handle with/at XY?
6.   If you had one dream/wish for you and XY to become true, what would it look like?

Interviewees were assured that all parts they felt uncomfortable with were going to be deleted. They just had to mention it on the video and start a sentence over again or move to the next question. Participants were free to stop the recording after every question or to answer all the questions without technical breaks. Afterwards, participants had the opportunity to watch their recorded video. This last step was quite important, since participants were generally very eager to see the sequence. Many people had never seen themselves on video before. The enthusiasm exhibited by participants was clearly reflected in the videos. Interview answers were often very detailed and informative, with some of the participants talking up to 20 minutes.

SRV gives interviewees enough time and opportunity to tell their individual stories. There is no source of external distraction or influence (including the interviewer). In fact, every participant can speak freely, handle the camera autonomously, and thus be in full editorial control. This method contrasts with uncomfortable situations of being filmed without having any control. Besides the important fact of providing confidence, this method aims at capturing 'hidden stories' and relevant non-verbal aspects such as mimic, gestures and emotions that cannot possibly be traced through, for example, questionnaires.

4.4 Key Informant Interview

Extensive one-to-one interview sessions led in a semi-structured manner are either referred to as "expert interviews" (Flick 2009, p. 165) or "individual depth interviews" (Keegan 2009, p. 78). Following Kumar (1989) who focussed on data collection in developing countries, this study favours the notion 'Key Informant Interview' (KII). Unlike biographical interviews, KIIs rather focus on interviewees as "experts for a certain field of activity" and representatives of specific groups (Flick 2009, p. 165). For this study KIIs were conducted with specific persons who could provide professional or/and practical knowledge. Depending on the context, such peripheral informants involved school headmasters, teachers, but as well NGO board members and staff.

Analogously to the first section of the FGD guideline, all KIIs started with personal introductions, explanation of the research project, ensuring anonymity, and formal consent procedures. Then, the 'Free-listing' technique (which will be explained later on) was used as a starting point for every KII. Thereby, most relevant issues – usually referring to socio-

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[160] XY stands for the respective three organisations: PS in Malawi, ZSFN in Zambia, and GRS in South Africa.

cultural contexts - were identified in a systematic way. After these two parts, the main semi-structured interview began following a 'thematic guideline'. Most questions were open-ended and relevant topics were explored as they were brought up by the informant during the interview. One main challenge of KIIs is to give the respondents enough leeway to share their special knowledge and perspective while keeping the interview focused on research interests (Kumar 1989). The main purpose of KIIs in this study was to provide contextual knowledge and to complement findings obtained through other data collection methods (Flick 2009). KIIs were conducted in all three sites providing a more in-depth understanding of the situation on the ground. All interviews were held in English and tape-corded with the consent of interviewees. After the session, they were immediately transcribed.

After describing KII proceedings, additional explanations are now provided on the above mentioned 'Free-listing' technique, which is an efficient way of getting an overview of a topic (Sinha 2003; Bertrand 2006). Regarding this study, this method served two different purposes: It was primarily applied as a stimulant entry point for KIIs. Secondly, 'Free-listing' helped to assess key issues of an organisation, school or community in a straight-forward and systematic way. This explorative method proved to be an efficient way to grasp major issues of unfamiliar contexts which were then further explored.

This paragraph depicts how 'Free-listing' was used as an entry point for this study's KIIs: This technique includes a principal question (brainstorming process) and a secondary question round (explanatory process). The primary question is designed to elicit a list (Bertrand 2006). In most KIIs the primary question was: "What are the 'biggest challenges' your community is facing right now?". Interviewing the senior FAM official, for example, the primary question was: "What role does football play in Malawian society?". Informants are constantly encouraged to clarify their arguments in order to avoid preconceived assumptions. All responses to the primary question are recorded and listed using the exact wording. The researcher uses non-leading probes, until the respondent can no longer think of any more items. After reaching this saturation, the interviewer returns to each item and asks secondary questions which usually consist of additional and more detailed information on topics mentioned by the interviewee. Again, exact terms of the respondent are recorded. Commonly, 'Free-listing' is used to gather information from many different persons in a short time period. These responses are then tabulated by counting the number of mentioned items and ordered in terms of frequency. However, for the purpose of this study, interviewees were asked to prioritise their chosen items in terms of personal relevance. This technique was very useful and led to a relatively profound understanding of how an interviewee perceived the contextual setting he or she lived in. Furthermore, this introductory technique provided concepts to pursue in the main interview.

5   Research Activities and Comparison Groups

This fifth subchapter will describe all the country-specific research activities that were conducted for each of the three cases of this study.

Even though all organisations mainly used football as a tool for social change, every NGO under investigation featured unique modus operandi, structures and programmes. Despite these substantial differences, basic standards were applied in order to assure a certain degree of consistency and comparability. In accordance with this standardisation effort,

'comparison groups' were identified for each location, but with adapted reference points. As mentioned in the previous Chapter VII, this study considers classical 'control groups' as ethically questionable. Thus, for the purpose of this investigation, 'comparison groups'[161] were defined whose members were going to benefit from S&D interventions in a near future.

5.1 Malawi

The main data collection for Malawi took place in the community of Ndirande (near Blantyre) where 'Play Soccer' (PS) started its activities. Regarding 'comparison groups', there was an opportunity to collaborate with the 'Chanunkha School' in Mulanje where PS had not previously ran activities, but planned to do so. The rural community Mulanje is situated about 80km south of Blantyre (see Chap. II). Data collected from children/youth in Mulanje could be compared with data from children/youth of the same age in Ndirande ('Makata School') where PS had already been running programmes for four years at the time. Since PS usually organised activities within school settings, it made sense to add teachers from 'Chanunkha School' in Mulanje to the 'comparison group', since they would likely be recruited as future PS coaches as soon as activities began in Mulanje.

Before any research activities took place in Mulanje in September 2008, an official meeting was held with village chiefs in order to explain the aim of the research. The village chiefs agreed in the name of all parents and caregivers that children/youth were allowed to participate in the research. This preliminary dialogue was much appreciated by locals and paved the way for an excellent cooperation envisaging the second visit in March 2009. The following research activities (Tab. 6) were conducted in Malawi in the course of two field visits between September 2008 and March 2009:

MALAWI 2008 / 2009		Main Target Group Ndirande (Makata School)	Comparison Group Mulanje (Chanunkha School)
Main Target Population	SG 1	Questionnaire with 27 coaches (3 female / 24 male)	Questionnaire with 5 teachers (future PS coaches) (3 female / 2 male)
		Focus Group Discussion with 7 male coaches	
		Self-recording video with 2 male coaches	
		Key Informant Interview with a female coach	
	SG 2	Questionnaire with 30 children (half female / male)	Questionnaire with 30 children (half female / male)
	SG 3	Self-recording video with 2 staff members (female / male)	
Peripheral Informants	SG 4	Key Informant Interview with male headmaster	Key Informant Interview with male headmaster
		Key Informant Interview with male Board President of PS (President of Malawi Football Association)	Key Informant Interview with female deputy headmaster
		Key Informant Interview with female deputy head-teacher	
		Key Informant Interview with male deputy head-teacher	

Tab. 6: Overview Research Activities in Malawi

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[161] A technique used in much of the semi-experimental quantitative impact evaluation work of relevant groups like CEGA (Center for Effective Global Action at the University of California) and J-PAL (Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab).

5.2 Zambia

Regarding the Zambian context, three local organisations (KSC, BUSA and BSA[162]) based around the capital Lusaka, launched a common network called 'Zambian Street Football Network' (ZSFN). The NGOs closely cooperate and use the same curriculum (see Chap. II).

In Lusaka the 'comparison group' for this study consisted of a KSC affiliated community called Kalikiliki. KSC was planning to run a football programme in Kalikiliki with regular training sessions on weekdays and a league. But due to budget shortcuts, KSC had to put this project on hold. For the purpose of this study, Kalikiliki was compared to Mtendere, which is a community where KSC football activities had been conducted for several years. Since the same coaches from Mtendere were going to initiate the programme with children/youth in Kalikiliki and additional local staff had not yet been recruited, the 'comparison group' was only relevant in respect of participants.

The following research activities (Tab. 7) were conducted in Zambia (communities in Lusaka) in the course of two field visits between September 2008 and March 2009:

ZAMBIA 2008 / 2009		Main Target Group			Comparison Group
		BSA (Northmead)	BUSA (Bauleni)	KSC (Mtendere)	KSC (Kalikiliki)
Main Target Population	SG 1	Questionnaire with 10 coaches (1 female / 9 male)	Questionnaire with 10 coaches (2 female / 8 male)	Questionnaire with 9 coaches (2 female / 7 male)	
		Self-recording Video with 3 coaches (1 female / 2 male)	Self-recording video with 7 coaches (1 female / 6 male)	Self-recording Video with 2 male coaches	
		Focus Group Discussion with 5 coaches (2 female / 3 male)			
	SG 2	Questionnaire with 25 children (10 female / 15 male)		Questionnaire with 11 children (4 female / 7 male)	Questionnaire with 14 children (6 female / 8 male)
	SG 3	Key Informant Interview with male senior staff	Self-recording Video with male senior staff	Self-recording Video with male senior staff	
Peripheral Informants	SG 4		Key Informant Interview with a female teacher	Focus Group Discussion with 3 fathers	

Tab. 7: Overview Research Activities in Zambia

5.3 South Africa

Activities led by 'Grassroot Soccer' (GRS) in South Africa were also closely linked to schools. In New Brighton (near Port Elizabeth) data were collected from GRS managers and coaches, and from children/youth attending two different schools ('Lamani School' and 'David Vuku School') in the same community of New Brighton. Thereby, children who just finished a ten-week GRS intervention were compared with a group of children (of the same age and attending the same school) who were promptly going to attend the same ten-week programme. In both schools questionnaires were worked on in parallel by approximately 20 GRS graduates (half girls and boys) and about 20 children (half girls and boys) who did not

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[162] The three local NGOs Kalim Sports Council (KSC), Bauleni United Sports Academy (BUSA) and Breakthrough Sports Academy (BSA) form the 'Zambian Street Football Network' (ZSFN).

yet graduate. Children who did not yet attend GRS sessions were eager to join the ten-week programme at the next occasion. In contrast to Malawi and Zambia, these 'comparison groups' were thus located at the same school as the main target groups.

Following research activities (Tab. 8) were conducted in South Africa (Port Elizabeth) in the course of the data collection period between September 2008 and February 2009 involving two visits to Port Elizabeth and surroundings:

SOUTH AFRICA 2008 / 2009		Lamani-School (New Brighton)	David Vuku School (New Brighton)
Main Target Population	SG 1	1st Focus Group Discussion with 8 GRS coaches (6 female / 2 male)	
		2nd Focus Group Discussion with 4 male GRS coaches	
		3rd Focus Group Discussion with 6 female GRS coaches	
		4th Focus Group Discussion with 3 GRS coaches (2 female / 1 male)	
		Questionnaire with 24 coaches (17 female / 7 male)	
		Self-recording video with 14 coaches (10 female / 4 male)	
	SG 2	Questionnaire with 20 children (GRS graduated) (12 female / 8 male)	Questionnaire with 25 children (GRS graduated) (14 female / 11 male)
	Comparison Group SG 2	Questionnaire with 21 children (not yet GRS graduated) (12 female / 9 male)	Questionnaire with 22 children (not yet GRS graduated) (12 female / 10 male)
	SG 3	Self-recording video with 5 staff members (4 female / 1 male)	
Peripheral Informants	SG 4	Key Informant Interview with male headmaster	

Tab. 8: Overview Research Activities in South Africa

6   Formal Data Properties

All collected data have been thoroughly systematised, processed and filed. Due to the considerable data volume, full transcripts are not attached to this study as annexes, but receivable upon request. Data of all duly completed questionnaires (coaches and children/youth) have been entered into the SPSS system. Answers to open-ended questions were arranged into broad categories to be registered.

All SRVs were transcribed and anonymised as well. Due to the free time allocated for the SRV sessions, some participants talked up to 20 minutes. After screening all recordings, irrelevant sequences which were not touching on the research topic were omitted and justified accordingly.

Referring to FGDs, all discussions were, if possible and appropriate, recorded on audio-tape and transcribed. Additionally, observatory notes were taken by the moderator and a neutral 'minutes writer' concerning non-verbal incidences, seating arrangements, timing, side comments, infrastructure, group dynamics, weather conditions, relevant setting details, etc.

The same formal procedures (tape-recording after consent and transcription) were applied to all conducted KIIs. However, KIIs were held in one-to-one situations.

The following Chapter IX will present results of this study's empirical part.

IX   RESULTS

In accordance with this study's 'Case Study Design', results of the three organisations and countries will be presented separately following the same structuring approach defined by the design model (Chap. VIII). Thereby, every country (Pillar I) and every section (Pillar II) were scrutinised based on results provided by each subgroup (Pillar III) with a corresponding method (Pillar IV). Subsequently, applying triangulation principles, initial findings were confirmed, differentiated or rejected by additional data collected through different methods. Whereas the results for Malawi will be presented in full detail, findings for Zambia and South Africa will be summarised, but following the same structure.

Referring to Pillar II of the design model, this chapter will present results following the five sections deduced from the frame of reference and the 'Heuristic Model': 1) Socio-cultural Context, 2) 'Sporting Role Models', 3) Presence and Mind-set (Micro), 4) Intentional Teaching (Meso/Exo), and 5) Transfer (Macro).

For the purpose of this interpretative study, questionnaires were providing descriptive data primarily focussing on relative frequencies. Owing to the chosen multi-method approach ('Focus Group Discussion' (FGD), 'Self-Recording Video' (SRV), and 'Key Informant Interview' (KII)) and the applied 'methodological triangulation', criteria of trustworthiness were met (see Chap. VII). Respondents' quotes are marked according to the same pattern: Firstly, the source (S) of the excerpt is indicated followed by its number. All sources are listed in detail in Annex H. Then, a person's short description is provided followed by his or her age.

1   MALAWI

Malawi is the first of three countries to be analysed individually. As mentioned, data for this study were collected in Blantyre (mainly Ndirande) where 'Play Soccer' (PS) started its Malawian activities. As comparison, Mulanje was chosen where PS planned to soon initiate and implement programmes.

1.1 Socio-cultural Context: Status and Value of Sport

This first analytical section depicts the socio-cultural setting and focuses on the status and value of sport in these communities. For this section, valuable insights were especially provided by peripheral informants who sketch the socio-cultural 'landscape' creating a 'bird's eye view'. Therefore, particular attention is dedicated to KIIs to confirm or reject results from the questionnaire. Understanding local settings paves the way for further in-depth analysis.

1.1.1 Coaches (SG1)

This study's principle target subgroup (SG 1) is represented by the coaches of each NGO. For Malawi, N=32 coaches (19% women / 81% men) participated in the study, whereof 31 coaches provided completed questionnaires. Mean age was 25 years, ranging from 17 to 51 years. Within 'Play Soccer' (PS) based in Blantyre and surroundings, all 27 coaches completed a questionnaire. Two illiterate coaches who wished to participate were assisted by

local staff. Additionally, five future PS coaches (three female and two male teachers in Mulanje) participated in this study and completed questionnaires as comparison group.

Out of the 32 coaches, seven male coaches additionally participated in a FGD and two male coaches recorded themselves on video (SRV). Since numbers of actively involved women PS coaches are modest in Malawi, a KII was conducted with the only female coach in Ndirande as a 'critical case sampling' (Chap. VIII).

1.1.1.1 Questionnaire

Nine out of 34 questionnaire items used for this study deal with the socio-cultural context emphasising gender prejudice and stereotyped ideals. The first two questions relate to the status of sport referring to the age of protagonists. Results show that a clear majority of coaches (80%) believe that most people in their communities want children to do sports. Increasing in age, this sport enthusiasm seems to be decreasing. Hardly one third (32,3%) of coaches 'agreed' or 'rather agreed' that most people in their community wanted adults to be active in sport. Interestingly, the comparison group in Mulanje (where no sport programme took place so far) was even more sceptical about the community's approval of sport activities. Despite the small sample, no one thought that most people in their communities wanted neither adults nor children to do sports. However, there was slightly more acceptance for athletically active children/youth in the community compared to active adults.

The following questions specified gender aspects and investigated the public approval of girls being physically active. Compared to the identical question targeting 'children', specific inquiries on active girls led to a decrease of communal acceptance. Whereas 80% of coaches believed that a majority in their communities was in favour or rather in favour of physically active children, this percentage dropped to 45% ('rather yes' and 'yes') when explicitly asked about girls. Adding again the age factor to the same question, only 16% ('rather yes' and 'yes') thought that most people in their communities agreed that women should do sports. Investigating the community's approval of girls playing football, there was a difference between the answers of active coaches and the comparison group. Whereas 38,5% ('rather yes' and 'yes') of the active coaches stated that girls' football would be acceptable in their communities, only 20% of Mulanje coaches shared this opinion.

An aspect relevant to status and value of sport in a specific socio-cultural setting refers to a society's female and male beauty ideals. For this purpose, coaches were asked in two separate questions whether they considered a muscular male respectively female body to be attractive or beautiful in their communities. While the athletic and muscular male body was estimated very attractive (54,8%) or rather attractive (38,7%), only two individuals (6,5%) from the active coaches group answered this question with 'rather no'. However, nobody denied ('no') that an athletic and muscular male body was considered attractive. Different results were registered related to the athletic and muscular female body. Overall, only 12,9% fully and 25,8% partly agreed that a athletic and muscular female body was estimated attractive/beautiful. 38,7% of all the coaches expressed the opinion that a athletic and muscular female body was 'rather not' viewed attractive/beautiful, and 22,6% thought that it was not estimated attractive/beautiful at all in their communities. A total of 80% of the comparison group found that a athletic and muscular female body was rather not (60%) or not (20%) attractive/beautiful.

As outlined (Chap. III), socio-culturally appropriate garment is a decisive factor regarding gender and sport issues in traditional settings. While the first seven questions concerned coaches' appraisal of their communities, the last two questions of this section relate to coaches' personal opinions. Out of 31 coaches, 17 individuals agreed (19,4%) or rather agreed (35,5%) that women and girls should always wear skirts or dresses. This trend became even more obvious related to the more rural comparison group whereby 80% ('rather yes' and 'yes') thought that females should always wear skirts or dresses. The subsequent question whether women and girls should wear shorts or trousers to be active in sport, slightly softened this rigid approach. Compared to the future coaches in Mulanje, active coaches were clearly in favour of girls and women who wear shorts or trousers for doing sports. More than half (53,8%) of all active coaches were 'yes-supporters' of this garment issue while 26,9% were 'rather yes-supporters'. No woman was part of the few individuals voting 'rather no' (11,5%) or 'no' (7,7%).

1.1.1.2 Focus Group Discussion

The FGD in Malawi was conducted with seven male PS coaches in Blantyre at the headquarters of the 'Malawian Football Association'. Six out of seven coaches were between 17 and 25 years of age and actively involved in coaching up to four years. One coach was older than 50 years and had more than 20 years of experience.

Basically all coaches in the FGD agreed that the community want children to do sport. Whereas the favourable questionnaire results reflect a snap-shot, the FGD disclosed a drawn-out process during which some community members needed to be convinced in a first place. Some elderly officials were sceptical with regard to PS activities at the beginning, but after a few months this attitude changed: "Even community leaders accept it [football], because they see that the programme was working. They allow us to use the places" (S4, male coach, 51)[163]. The FDG and this exemplary quote back up the questionnaire results. More sceptical statements were made relating to adult sport involvement. Since most adults are parents or caregivers, communities are interested in "productive and responsible adults" (S4, male coach, 26) who need to work and nurture the family. It was mentioned by two coaches in the FGD that adult sport activities were not considered to be very important for the community's welfare. The FGD confirmed the result that girls' sport participation is considered more acceptable in the community than women's sport activities. For the coaches in this FGD, active sportswomen represent a rather abstract topic since most girls drop out of the programme at 12-15 years and there are only a few female PS coaches. While all participants of the FGD agreed that girls should play football, they acknowledged that most people in their community would prefer girls to play netball. There was unanimity among all seven coaches that athletic and muscular male bodies are considered attractive in their community. However, a lively debate took place referring to female athletic and muscular bodies: One coach stated that "strong girls have problems to find a husband" (S4, male coach, 24). Therefore, parents and families were reluctant to encourage sporting females. Another argument reflecting the community's scepticism towards athletic and muscular girls and women was the widely spread myth of female infertility caused by sport activities. FGD participants finally agreed that visible muscles were not considered beautiful in their

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[163] The specific source (S) of the excerpt is indicated followed by its number. All sources are listed in detail in Annex H. Then, a protagonist description is provided followed by his or her age.

communities, but acknowledged that athletic female bodies were acceptable. Coaches had both traditional and pragmatic opinions about the garment discussion,. While most of them agreed that females should wear skirts or dresses in 'everyday life', they were also in favour of girls wearing shorts or trousers to play football. The lack of proper equipment was repeatedly mentioned in the FGD as major problem of female sport participation.

1.1.1.3 Self-recording Video (SRV)

The SRV session was conducted in Blantyre with two male coaches (aged 25 and 26). Both of them were actively involved with PS for three years. Both coaches agreed that most people in the community want children to do sports, but they were not really convinced of the commonly assumed motivation thereof. One coach mentioned food and refreshments which children receive after the PS programme. He considered this to be an important incentive for children to join and for families to let them participate in PS: "In the first three months the snacks were not there because of some problems the office has been faced with. You know… Therefore it has been difficult to handle the children because they are having the mentality of getting a snack after the sessions. When the children found out that there was no snack, they were coming in fewer numbers" (S11, male coach, 26). The second coach raised an issue which confirms and explains certain scepticism towards adults working as volunteers in S&D programmes. Since poverty is challenging many families, the main concern of every community member should be providing food or gaining money. According to this second coach, the main criticism of voluntary engagement of adults involves economic reasons: "I truly believe that volunteers should be getting something because it is a hard work. And after a long day of work you go home without having anything" (S11, male coach, 25). He further claims that acceptance and support of PS programmes would increase, if coaches are properly paid.

1.1.1.4 Key Informant Interview (KII)

Since most PS coaches in Blantyre were men, a KII was conducted with a female coach to highlight potential peculiarities. The interviewee was 22 years old and working as PS coach in Blantyre/Bangwe for one year. The young woman estimated that most people in her community wanted children to attend the PS programme. However, since the lack of drinking water was a big challenge, parents and caregivers were only in favour of children doing sports as long as a certain infrastructure was provided: "Otherwise, kids run home to get water and don't come back". PS was closely collaborating with schools. School attendance, for example, was a prerequisite to join PS sessions. Thus, the sport sessions heavily depended on community and school acceptance: "The schools are very much in favour of PS. The headmaster announces football to the kids. It's really a support for us. (…). But I don't think that PS can influence school attendance. Orphans stay away, because they don't have enough things to go to school". Even though the female coach did not agree that most people in her community wanted women to do sports, she never faced opposition related to her coaching position. However, the young woman did not play football in the first place, but was actively playing netball as a teenager, which was widely accepted. The 22-year-old argued that "just playing football for fun or even competition would be difficult for a lady in my community". But teaching football skills in an after-school programme that is strongly focussing on health and social development is commonly approved. She said that socio-

cultural practices are slowly changing in her community: "Today I do not have a problem as a woman. But traditionally doing things on the grounds is for boys. We are doing the things that boys do. We learn through the boys. Girls will learn through boys". Despite this process of social change, the coach emphasised that many girls in her community still had to stay at home for domestic work and child care. They had neither the chance to attend school nor to participate in recreational programmes. According to the interviewee, only an increase in quality would allow for girls' football to become as popular in Malawi as netball, but for this purpose more acceptance, better infrastructure and support was needed. She mentioned that as a volunteer she received a shirt and "something to buy a soap", but she believed that the status of football in her community was going to increase "with more things from which we suffer such as balls, uniforms, snacks, and water" (S6, female coach, 22). Data from this KII basically confirm results from the questionnaire.

1.1.2 Participating Children and Youth (SG2)

This study's second subgroup (SG 2) consists of participating children/youth of each NGO. For Malawi, N=60 participants (50% girls / 50% boys) participated in the study, whereof 55 children/youth provided completed questionnaires. Mean age was 12 years, ranging from 10 to 15 years. Half of these children (N=28) attended a school in Blantyre/Ndirande where PS was running its sessions on a regular basis. The other half of the young participants (N=27) formed the comparison group based in the rural area of Mulanje where no PS activities had taken place yet.

In order to minimise socio-cultural intrusion by a European researcher (see Chap. VII), participating children/youth were only asked to complete questionnaires. Compared to the coaches' questionnaires (SG1), which had modest female representation due to the lack of women as coaches, participants' questionnaires (SG2) are more gender balanced. Looking for confirmations or contradictions, wherever possible, children were asked to answer the same questions as the coaches.

1.1.2.1 Questionnaire

Even though a majority (56,3%) of participating children/youth ('rather yes' and 'yes') did agree that most people in their communities want children to do sports, this percentage is much lower than the 71% approval ('rather yes' and 'yes') expressed by the coaches. Thereby, decisive differences appear between PS participants and the respective comparison group with respect to the poles 'yes' and 'no'. Whereas only 10,7% of PS participants fully deny their community's approval of sporting children, more than double of children in Mulanje (25,9%) think that their communities are not in favour of children doing sports. There was also a considerable difference between PS participants who clearly said 'yes' (39,3%) to above mentioned statement and the lower percentage (25,9%) stated by the children in Mulanje. The boxes 'rather yes' and 'rather no' were ticked as often by PS participants as by the respective comparison groups. Results show that both active coaches and PS participants thought that their communities were more in favour of children doing sports than both respective comparison groups in Mulanje. Even though a majority of participating children/youth (54,6%) shared the coaches' opinion that most people in their communities do not (or rather not) want adults to be active in sport, this refusal was more

elevated expressed by coaches (67,7%). However, there was a noticeable difference between both comparison groups in Mulanje and the active coaches and PS participants in Ndirande related to the age of sporting people. While 53,5% of participants ('rather yes' and 'yes') agreed that most people in their communities wanted adults to do sports, 37% ('rather yes' and 'yes') of their counterparts in Mulanje did not think so. On the same topic, a similar difference was registered between active (34,6%) and future (20%) coaches in Mulanje.

The overall disagreement ('rather no' and 'no') whether communities want girls to do sports was basically identical between coaches (54,8%) and participating children/youth (54,6%). Again, the relevant differences were not related to the subgroups or gender, but heavily depended on the context: In Ndirande where PS sport activities were conducted on a regular basis, 64,2% of participating children/youth and 50% of the active coaches thought or rather thought that sporting girls were welcome. These results contrast with the comparison community of Mulanje in which only 25,9% of the children and 20% of the future coaches thought or rather thought that sporting girls were partly or fully acceptable.

Concerning communal acceptance of sportswomen, the negative overall ('rather no' and 'no') trend of the coaches (83,9%) was confirmed by the participants (67,3%) although at a lower level. Interestingly, only the disapproving results of participating children/youth showed a difference between the PS group (57,1%) and the comparison group (77,7%). The refusals ('rather no' and 'no') by both active (84,6%) and future coaches (80%) were at about the same level.

Whether or not most community people wanted girls to play football resulted in a more or less equal rejection of participating children/youth (64,6%) and coaches (63,6%) considering the overall percentages ('rather no' and 'no'). Again, major differences became obvious between the locations. Whereas 53,6% of PS participants thought that their community did not want girls to play football, this percentage considerable raised to 74% negative answers ('rather no' and 'no') expressed by children in Mulanje. This same variation of roughly a fifth was registered for the same question between active (61,5%) and future (80%) coaches.

No questionnaire item produced as much unanimity as the attractiveness of muscular male bodies in respective communities. No person in both subgroups SG1 and SG2 answered 'no' to this question. The overall acceptance ('rather yes' and 'yes') was 94,6% for young participants and 93,5% for coaches. Thereby, just slight differences between Ndirande and both comparison groups in Mulanje were noticed. However, the highest percentages approving or rather approving this statement were registered for coaches (100%) and participating children/youth (96,3%) in Mulanje.

In contrast with the indisputable attractiveness of trained male bodies, the question relating to the appeal of an athletic muscular female body was much more contested. In accordance with the rejecting overall results collected from the coaches (61,3%), a majority of participating children/youth (70,9%) also found that an athletic muscular female body was not or rather not considered attractive/beautiful in their community. Once more, the answers collected in Ndirande and Mulanje varied considerably. 60,7% of PS participants ('rather no' and 'no') thought that an athletic and muscular female body was not considered attractive in their community, whereas 81,4% of Mulanje children expressed this opinion. Concerning the same question, the gap between active coaches (57,7%) and future coaches (80%) who both answered negatively ('rather no' and 'no') was even bigger. In Mulanje, no coach and only one male participant answered this question with 'yes'.

While trends of most answers by coaches were so far more or less confirmed by participating children/youth, overall opinions on appropriate clothing differed between SG1 and SG2. The statement 'I think women and girls should always wear skirts or dresses' was answered in a positive way ('rather yes' and 'yes') by a majority of 67,3% young participants. In contrast, only 35,5% of all coaches favoured ('rather yes' and 'yes') this statement. In addition to this considerable difference between the two subgroups, the repeatedly noticed variations between data collected in Ndirande and in Mulanje were again remarkable on this question: Whereas slightly more than half of the PS participants (53,6%) fully or partly agreed that women and girls should always wear skirts or dresses, 81,5% of the children in Mulanje were in favour ('rather yes' and 'yes') of this statement. The gap of positive answers ('rather yes' and 'yes') between active Ndirande coaches (26,9%) and future Mulanje coaches (80%) was even bigger and virtually documented opposite opinions on proper female clothing. Interestingly, between both Mulanje comparison groups (coaches and children), there was hardly any difference. This result contrasts with the findings for active coaches and PS participants in Ndirande who have clearly different ideas about girls and women wearing dresses and skirts. While most active coaches disagree or rather disagree (73,1%) that girls and women should always wear dresses and skirts, only 46,4% of PS participants fully or partly share this position.

The last statement of this section inquires whether it was suitable or not for females to wear shorts or trousers for doing sports. Analogous to the previous statement on clothing, this subsequent issue was contested as well. While an overall majority of coaches (SG1) partly or fully approved (74,2%) that women and girls who were actively involved in sport should wear shorts or trousers, the overall support of the SG2 was only 47,2% ('rather yes' and 'yes'). Therefore, a slim majority of participating children/youth did not want sporting females to wear shorts or trousers. However, even within SG2 opinions strongly differed in accordance, once more, with the data collection location: Whereas more than two-thirds (67,8%) of PS participants were in favour ('rather yes' and 'yes') of the statement, only a fourth (25,9%) of the children in Mulanje approved (or rather approved) trousers or shorts for women and girls on the sport grounds. A similar trend was registered for SG1. Thereby, active coaches (80,7%) were clearly supporting the statement ('rather yes' and 'yes'), while future coaches (40%) in Mulanje were reluctant. In a nutshell, active coaches (80,7%) and PS participants (67,8%) from Ndirande clearly approved the statement ('rather yes' and 'yes'). Answers from future coaches (60%) and children (74%) in Mulanje were also clear, but located on the opposite side of the spectrum ('rather no' and 'no').

Whereas the age factor linked to SG1 and SG2 obviously had an influence on certain results, there were no relevant gender differences. In fact, most important result variations were linked to the socio-cultural settings. Thereby, different norms and traditions between suburban Ndirande and rural Mulanje became evident.

1.1.3 Staff (SG3)

In Malawi, information from two PS staff members was collected via SRV. These sessions were held in Blantyre with a 50-year-old male and a 28-year-old female PS manager. They were working with PS for four and two years respectively.

1.1.3.1 Self-recording Video

Both PS staff members were convinced that most people in the community want children to do sports, but the male PS manager relativized this basic approval emphasising the hierarchy of needs in his community which first involves water and food. He further said that many families struggle to provide food every day and take proper care of all the children. He described how families have to organise themselves to take care of babies, elderly and/or sick relatives. Thus, the PS manager said that it was not possible for numerous parents and caregivers to consider regular school attendance as top priority. And sport activities, even if desired for their children, are far from being of any importance to them: "You know, first you want to eat. And then issues like Malaria and HIV are killing many people in the community. Many children are orphans. And so everybody is needed. (…). Football is great. Everybody loves it, really! But people think of playing games and running around as a waste of time. Somehow, you know, they are right, because families and the community are struggling". Considering these facts, the male staff member intended to raise the legitimacy of PS programmes through increased community support, but deplored at the same time the limited resources of PS. He happily remembered when PS was able to assist the community in the fight against Malaria: "We provided mosquito nets for clinics. It was touchy to see the ladies who could not afford buying mosquito nets" (S12, male staff, 50).

Relating to the status and value of sport, the second PS staff member who shared information through SRV raised as well the topic on legitimacy of recreational after-school sport activities. She argued that programmes like PS receive more communal support, if they help to relieve the collective pressure: "We have an opportunity to actually help those children who probably don't even have parents. And they rarely eat. (…). So it is good that through this organisation we are able to have an impact in the life of those children who have nothing" (S12, female staff, 28).

1.1.4 Peripheral Informants (SG4)

Since informants such as teachers, headmasters and board members are crucial sources for depicting the socio-cultural 'landscape' in which a programme is operating in, six interviews (KIIs) with peripheral informants were conducted in Malawi: The first KII was held with the 37-year-old male high-ranked official of the FAM, PS board member, and former national team footballer. Then, two KIIs were held with the male headmaster (age 43) and his female deputy (age 39) at the rural 'Chanunka Primary School' in Mulanje. Future coaches and children in Mulanje served as comparison groups. Finally, three KIIs were conducted at 'Makata Primary School' in Ndirande. The male headmaster and two deputy head-teachers were interviewed. Besides the location, the two schools also differed in size: while about 5'700 children attended 'Makata School' (Ndirande) instructed by 63 teachers, a total of 11 teachers were educating about 1'600 children in Chanunka (Mulanje).

1.1.4.1 Key Informant Interviews

Asked about the status and value of sport in Malawi, a senior FAM official emphasised a major difference between developed and developing countries: "We live in a country where we are not advanced in physical exercises as a nation. Sport is not considered a health factor like in Europe". Furthermore, he deplored that P.E. was not compulsory in Malawian

schools anymore. According to the 37-year-old, whether or not schools provided P.E. depended on the goodwill and conviction of headmasters, teachers, and of changing governmental policies. Specifically talking about the role of football in Malawian society, the FAM official stated that "football is the best and only form of entertainment in rural areas in Malawi. There are no theatre or drama performances". Moreover, besides providing employment for players, especially the corporate sector and politicians were using the game for campaign purposes: "It's simply the most played and popular sport in the country". Even though the FAM official was, of course, very interested in successful Malawian top level football, he was convinced that recreational programmes such as PS could support disadvantaged communities which suffer from malnutrition, illiteracy, lack of clothing, and poor parenting: "Football makes players to be future leaders, if they have the right coach and support. They learn to take instructions, values of discipline, communication. Furthermore, it's teaching team-building and stops individualism. It's a vital tool to transform communities".

Regarding female football, the interviewee discussed an existing 'National Women's Football League' in Malawi, but acknowledged that the national team was struggling and only received modest support from the FAM and FIFA: "The biggest challenge is the fact that women's football is not lucrative. It does not add value - in terms of resources - to their life. It can't work as fully successful career and opportunity for the future". Then, he contrasted female football with netball which offered more opportunities for women and girls: "Netball on the other hand is doing much better. It's a very popular women's sport. It's particularly interesting for girls and women, because the national netball team is successful" (S1, male official, 37).

KIIs from the two schools in Ndirande (Makata) and Mulanje (Chanunka) provide another perspective. After registering major differences between the two sites via the questionnaires, a thorough comparison of these two settings is indicated. Once more, it needs to be emphasised that PS had not been running programmes in Mulanje. Therefore, information on sport activities gathered via the KIIs in Mulanje was always relating to school initiatives or P.E. lessons and not to S&D programmes.

Starting in Mulanje, the Chanunka headmaster clearly stated that no safe places were available for children to do sports outside the school compound. And even the field on which P.E. classes were taught, was not really suitable for this purpose: "Children don't have a place to play or a training ground so far. The school is waiting for a tractor to prepare and flatten an uneven piece of land as a ground for kids to play" (S2, male headmaster, 43). Against the background of this situation, it's no wonder that a majority of both future coaches and children in Mulanje stated in the questionnaires that most people in their community did not (or rather not) want children, adults, girls nor women to do sports. Thus, details provided by the Chanunka headmaster basically confirm the corresponding trends of the questionnaires. However, since P.E. classes are not compulsory anymore in Malawi, a school such as Chanunka that teaches P.E. lessons on a weekly basis is remarkable. It is interesting to notice that P.E. classes in Mulanje were co-educative and that teachers and staff recognised an added value of sport which facilitated their own job at the end of the day: "Our grades 1-2 are having P.E. once a week for 30 minutes. Grades 3-8 are having P.E. twice a week for 35 minutes. (…). Girls and boys are mixed for these activities. As a benefit children are physically fit. And they are mentally fit as well. And then, they are able to do things together. It's easier to teach after P.E. classes, because pupils are more calm" (S3, female deputy headmaster, 39). Mixed-sex P.E. classes contradict the negative

questionnaire results for future coaches and children in Mulanje related to sporting girls. Both adults and children were reluctant to approve girls' sport. However, physical activities at school might be considered more appropriate than recreational female sport. Another questionnaire incongruity concerned female football. Whereas both future coaches (who are Chanunka teachers) and children stated that their community disapproved of girls' football, the headmaster expressed another opinion: "Girls who play football are okay in this school. Two years ago there were girls playing football at the 'Providence School' in Mulanje. Then we thought: Why not us? And then girls did play at our school as well. (…). Boys now do also play netball. We teach children that men and women can do the same things" (S2, male headmaster, 43).

Even though Chanunka school staff did acknowledge potential psycho-social benefits of sport activities for children, their main expectations of PS activities in Mulanje concerned material goods. The Chanunka headmaster described the vicious circle of poverty which prevents children from attending school: "Pupils often come late to school, because they don't even get a cup of tea in the morning. They don't have anything to eat, so they can't come to school regularly. We can't provide any food at school. We would urgently need porridge to be distributed. Some kids do not come back to class after the break, because they are going to look for food". The 43-year-old further stated that without regular school attendance most children failed their exams which would allow them to pass on to the next grade (S2, male headmaster, 43). The deputy headmaster emphasised that school attendance drastically dropped during the cold winter months, because of lacking desks, uniforms and windows. She further said that a certain infrastructure was urgently needed to reduce school-drop-out rates and increase regular school attendance. Since school attendance was a precondition for PS participation, this linkage was her "major expectation" related to the upcoming PS programme (S3, female deputy headmaster, 39). The Chanunka headmaster mentioned another expectation related to PS activities and early pregnancies: "Most girls don't finish school, because they get pregnant or married early. I mean they are about 13 or 14 years old. Maybe 'Play Soccer' could talk to them and teach others on how to prevent it" (S2, male headmaster, 43). Confirming the Mulanje questionnaire results of SG1 and SG2, officials at 'Chanunka' believed that females should always wear dresses or skirts. While the male headmaster could imagine shorts or trousers for female sport activity, his female deputy thought that such clothing was indecent for women and girls.

After portraying the situation in Mulanje, information on 'Makata School' in Ndirande will now be provided. Economically, the school seems to be a bit better off, since material requests expressed by staff members were slightly beyond basic needs: "If they could help us building up a library here, so that children could read. We don't have a library in the whole of Ndirande. And there are more than 100'000 people living here. Also, we would like to have water tanks instead of only the borehole. Without that, there is no hygiene" (S8, female deputy head-teacher, 44). Compared to Mulanje, staff members of 'Makata School' did – besides material necessities – also consider further education as desirable good: "The 'life skills' topic introduced by 'Play Soccer' is very interesting. And it was new to us. It would be great, if PS could also give life-skills classes to our teachers, so that we can include it in our school lessons" (S9, male deputy head-teacher, 52).

The Makata headmaster said that PS activities were broadly accepted and supported in Ndirande. The fact that a reliable after-school programme was offered to children providing even drinks and snacks, yielded assent within the community. According to the headmaster,

there was an initial scepticism of parents and caregivers, but as the "cooperation between PS and the school worked out well and things went smoothly", this programme was welcomed by the community (S5, male headmaster, 54). His female colleague did ascribe visible progress in the community in terms of vandalism, early pregnancies, water supply, drugs, delinquency, etc. to the advent of the PS programme which increased its overall acceptance: "The boys changed mostly in regard to smoking and beating up people and vandalism. They do these things less nowadays. (…). Speaking of the girls, change has occurred for the age group 10-13. These girls get less pregnant from older men. Due to the poverty, they often offer sex in exchange for money" (S8, female deputy head-teacher, 44).

In accordance with questionnaire results for Ndirande, all Makata staff members argued that it was basically okay for women and girls to wear shorts or trousers. However, both the headmaster and his female colleague emphasised that they should wrap a traditional 'Chitenge' around their waist in public. Therefore, if wearing trousers or shorts was only acceptable being covered by a wraparound garment, the broad questionnaire approval of active coaches related to this statement needs to be put into perspective. There was unanimity among 'Makata School' staff that girls should be able to wear trousers or shorts, but some reservations were mentioned relating to the appropriateness of women wearing trousers or shorts to do sports.

1.2 Sporting Role Models: Choice and Attributes

While the first section set the socio-cultural stage, this second section introduces the issue of 'sporting role models' (SRMs) striving for a basic inventory of choices and corresponding attributes. Just two questions were asked for this purpose: one linked to empowerment, and the other specifically related to gender. Making inquiries about personally preferred SRMs offers valuable clues to media access, interests, community structures, social priorities and trends, etc. Therefore, for this study it was worthwhile to classify nominated SRMs into categories to draft a 'landscape' which is, of course, subject to constant change over time.

1.2.1 Coaches (SG1)

Since this second analytical section does not request active PS coaching experience in the field, all 32 coaches in Blantyre/Ndirande and Mulanje were consulted.

1.2.1.1 Questionnaire

For this second section 31 completed questionnaires were considered and two semi-open questions were asked. The first part ('Do you have a personal sporting hero or role model?') involved a fixed-choice item which was answered on the binominal scale 'yes' and 'no'. The second part depended on the first answer: If the first answer was positive, a nomination was expected followed by an open-ended explanation ('If yes, who and why?'). If the first answer was negative, reasons were also collected ('If no, why?'). The second semi-open question was conceptualised accordingly: 'Do you have a favourite female athlete in your country? If yes, who and why?'.

The first finding consists of the fact that half of all female coaches reported to have no personal SRM. This result involves one-third of female 'active coaches' (Blantyre/Ndirande)

and two-thirds of female 'future coaches' (Mulanje) who answered in a negative way. These findings contrast with 95,6% of male active and future coaches who stated to have a sporting hero or role model.

The following graphic chart arranges the mentioned personal sporting heroes or role models into 14 categories.[164] Thereby, two categories cover the blanks ('none') and mentioned nominations outside the proposed categories ('others'). The 12 other categories relate half to female and half to male groups. In other words, six categories were each formulated in a male and female version:
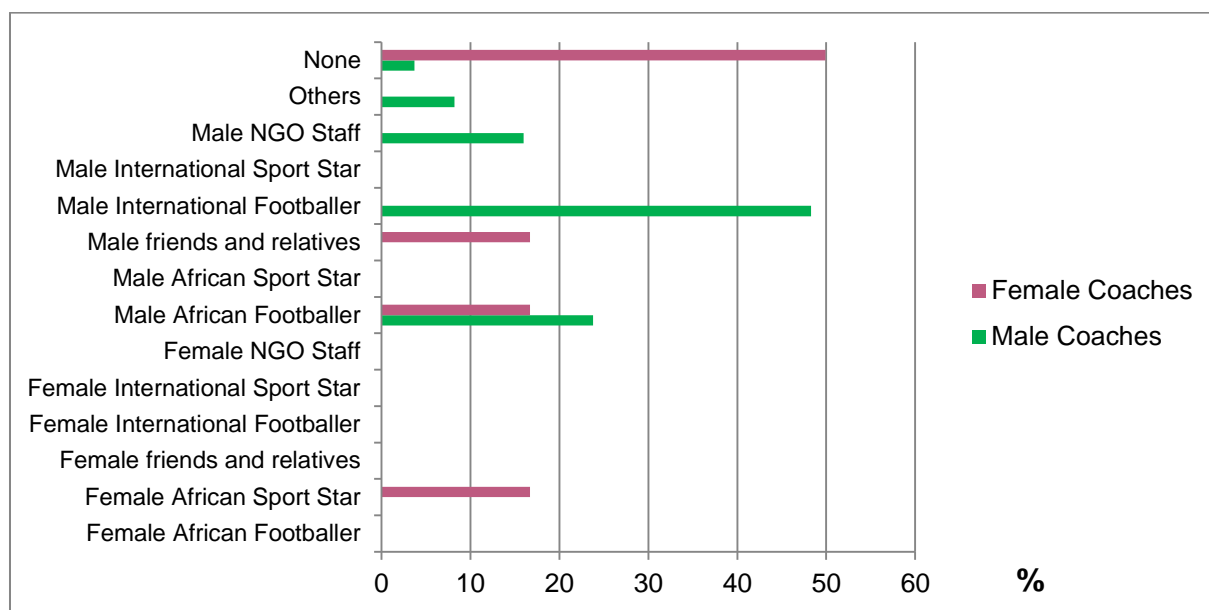
Graph 4: Categories of SRM Choices Mentioned by Active and Future Coaches (Malawi)

As the graph shows, most male nominations were famous international football stars mainly from Brazil and Great Britain[165], but also from Spain, Italy, Portugal, France, and Germany[166]. One of these nominations was not a football player, but a coach (Alex Ferguson). Furthermore, four out of twelve nominations were Black players. The second most mentioned category by male coaches concerned African footballers. Thereby, three out of seven nominations played for the Malawian national team (Fisher Kondowe and Peter Mponda). Other nominated footballers were from Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Zimbabwe, and Zambia[167]. It needs to be emphasised that no other sport than football was mentioned by male coaches. Only women picked SRMs actively involved in another sport (netball) only considering the Malawian netballer Mary Waya. As the graph shows, 17,4% of male coaches mentioned male PS staff as their SRMs (one senior coach and the programme manager). Only female coaches nominated friends and family members as personal SRMs.

Regarding to the last part of the question which investigates the reasons for choices ('why?'), only brief and superficial explanations were provided in most questionnaires. Due to the majority of female coaches who did not mention any SRM, the representativeness of the

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[164] In order to cover the 'radius' of mentioned SRMs, categories consist of private, community, African, and international nominations and offer a male and female version for each category. Since most nominees were actively involved in football, special attention was given to these nominations.
[165] Pele, Kaka, Ronaldhino, Alex Ferguson, David Beckham, Ashley Cole.
[166] Cesc Fabregas, Fabio Canavaro, Christiano Ronaldo, Patrice Evra, Michael Ballack.
[167] Samuel Eto, Didier Drogba, Thomas Chimenya, Collins Mbesuma.

following chart is extremely limited concerning female reasons to pick a certain SRM (only three women). Despite this obvious limitation, some insights are given explaining SRM choices:
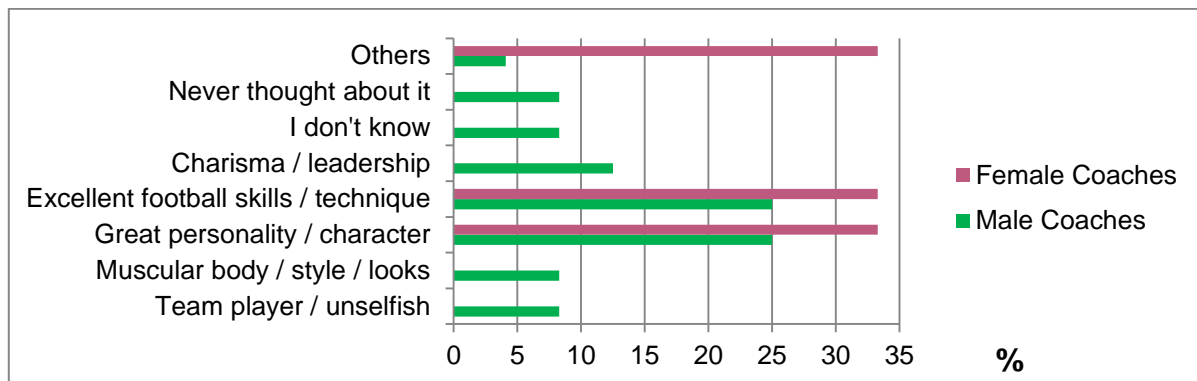
Graph 5: Reasons for Coaches to Nominate SRMs (Malawi)

As stated above, reasons were not only requested for nomination, but also for not mentioning any SRM. Answers to this question remained vague and involved lacking interest or knowledge. Some persons wrote that they could not remember names.

The second item of this second section was explicitly gender-related and asked about favourite female athletes in Malawi. A slight majority of 51,6% of all coaches stated that they did not have a preferred female athlete. This negative answer increased even a bit in Blantyre/Ndirande (53,8%) while decreasing for future coaches in Mulanje (40%). However, there was a considerable difference between male and female coaches in both sites. Two-thirds of female coaches in Blantyre/Ndirande nominated a sportswoman, while only 43,5% of their male counterparts did so. In Mulanje there was also a two-thirds majority of female coaches mentioning a sportswoman, whereas 50% of future male coaches nominated a favourite female athlete.

The following chart classifies the mentioned names into eight categories and indicates as well the already described number of non-nominations:
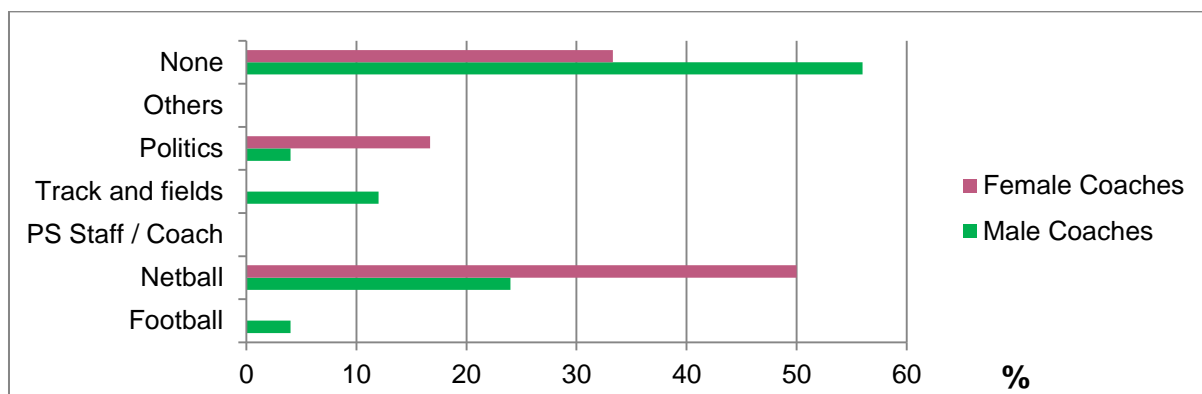
Graph 6: Coaches' Choice of Favourite Female Athletes in Malawi

By far the most nominated favourite sportswomen were Malawian netballers. This category corresponded to the most frequently mentioned sport by female (50%) and male (20%) coaches mainly involving former national team players like Mary Waya, Esther Nkhoma or

Sylvia Mtetemela. The runner Catherine Chikwakwa (born in Blantyre) and the football pioneer Maggie Chombo were the only two nominated sportswomen next to the netballers. Even if the question explicitly asked for athletes, some coaches mentioned the politician Joyce Banda. At the time of data collection, Joyce Banda was Foreign Minister of Malawi and ran a child welfare and community service foundation near Blantyre. In April 2012 she was elected the first ever female president of Malawi. The most frequent reasons for not mentioning any sportswoman were lacking interest and knowledge.

1.2.1.2 Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

Questions related to favourite personal SRMs were used as introduction for the FGD. Talking about personal SRMs seemed to be a useful 'ice-breaker' question for the discussion, because every person had something to contribute. All of the seven male coaches who participated in the FGD, mentioned an international footballer as SRM. In this respect, questionnaire results are confirmed. The FGD made clear that these young men closely followed the leagues in Europe. They started a lively discussion about English and Spanish teams, and every FGD participant had a favourite European squad. They stated to regularly look for information via newspapers, radio and TV. Most of them had radio access, but followed TV news at the bar or at the house of a friend or relative. Two younger coaches said that they were also checking for news at the internet café in town.

According to the chosen star, reasons for picking him were quite specific: "My role model in football is Sir Alex [Ferguson]. He is very smart. (…). And I love ManU [Manchester United]. He stays with this club forever. (…). He knows everything about the game. (…). Yes, I admire him a lot" (S4, male coach, 24). The oldest coach picked a Brazilian football legend as his role model: "Nobody is greater than Pele. (…). The whole world respects him and remembers him. (…). And he is about my age... I think the greatest ever" (S4, male coach, 51). Most of the other coaches agreed that specific football skills (dribbling, free kicks, etc.) or a combination of them were the main reason for their choices. These findings confirm questionnaire results.

In terms of favourite female athletes, the seven male coaches generally agreed that they were not really interested in women's sport. Then, one FGD participant mentioned that he was impressed that Cathy Chikwakwa, a long distance runner from Blantyre, twice qualified for the Olympics in Sydney and Athens. Another coach said that the Malawian 'Queens' (female national netball team) were as well internationally successful and named Mary Waya as one of the pioneers. Overall, FGD participants were more reluctant to talk about female athletes, but still expressed their appreciation for some outstanding sportswomen.

1.2.1.3 Self-recording Video (SRV)

Both male coaches who participated in SRV mentioned one favourite SRM each: Ronaldhino from Brazil and the Malawian national football team captain Peter Mponda. Talking about the reasons for their choices, the first coach referred to Ronaldhino's technical skills and his "happy and smiling face. (…). He makes jokes and seems to enjoy football very much" (S11, male coach, 25). The second coach admired his fellow citizen Mponda for his football skills and loyalty: "He plays for the 'Black Leopards' [South African football club], but he still

knows that he is our brother. (…). You know, he is a good person. (…). As captain of the 'Flames'[168] he brings honour to our country" (S11, male coach, 26).

In terms of sportswomen in Malawi, one coach could not think of names, but mentioned that the 'Queens' were doing well for the country. The other coach did not have a favourite sportswoman. He stated that his main interest was in male football.

Summing up, all information from the SRV sessions confirmed questionnaire data for this second section.

1.2.1.4 Key Informant Interview (KII)

Asked about her favourite personal SRM, the interviewed female coach was thinking for a while. She had never really thought about it so far. But then, she named one of her elder brothers who used to be the fastest boy of his age at school. She remembered that he was selected to play for the provincial football selection as a teenager. She said that her brother was even given a pair of football shoes at the time. The interviewee mentioned that she and her family were very proud of him. He was successful and won several trophies with his team, before he injured his knee. He had to stop playing, but continued to work as a coach. The female coach stated that she still admired him and looked up to him as a role model. The SRM choice of the interviewed female coach is as well consistent with questionnaire results where only women picked friends and relatives as SRMs.

Asked about her favourite female athlete in Malawi, the 22-year-old named the living netball legend Mary Waya: "She is a very inspiring woman and travelled all over the world. (…). And she won many awards. She is so dedicated to the game and cares about young players. (…). Now she is a coach like me" (S6, female coach, 22).

1.2.2 Participating Children and Youth (SG2)

In accordance with SG1, all 60 children in Blantyre/Ndirande and Mulanje were consulted, since this second section did not request active PS experience.

1.2.2.1 Questionnaire

Questionnaires of 27 girls and 28 boys (N=55) were completed and considered.

Overall, 65,5% of all children acknowledged having a personal SRM. However, there were considerable differences related to both location and gender. While three-fourths of PS participants in Blantyre/Ndirande stated having a SRM, only a bit more than half (55,6%) of the children in Mulanje shared this answer. Major differences were registered between female and male responses. Overall, 82,3% of boys in Blantyre/Ndirande and Mulanje agreed to have a personal SRM. In contrast, only 45,8% of girls in both sites answered this question positively. Whereas the gender gap in Blantyre/Ndirande (84,6 % boys and 66,7% girls) accounted for a bit less than a fifth (17,9%), the difference between boys (80%) and girls (25%) in Mulanje amounted to 55%.

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[168] 'Flames' is the nickname of the male Malawian national football team (see Chap. III).

The following chart illustrates male and female choices classified into 14 categories:
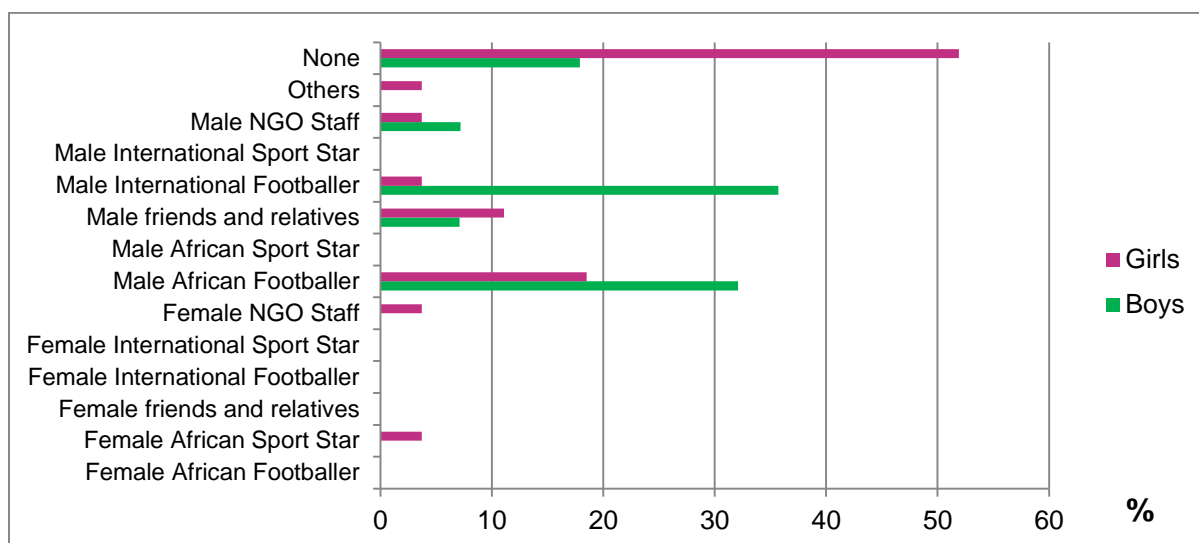
Graph 7: Categories of SRM Choices Mentioned by Active and
Future Participating Children/Youth (Malawi)

Consistent with the female coaches, half of the girls in both Blantyre/Ndirande and Mulanje did not mention a SRM. Compared to the male coaches of which only a few (3,7%) did not nominate a personal SRM, almost a fifth (17,9%) of the boys stated that they had no personal SRM. Even though international footballers were again the most nominated category, children made a more balanced choice between African and international footballer. Consistent with the results of the coaches, no other sport than football was mentioned for male SRMs, and the female exception consisted again of netball. However, contrasting with the coaches' results, female and male NGO staff was mentioned by PS participants. Whereas male PS staff was nominated by both girls and boys, only female participants opted for female staff as SRMs. Therefore, related to football, PS participants did not only pick well-known stars. They also selected a footballer (Sylus Liwindo) who played in the 'Homeless World Cup'[169] tournament in Melbourne 2008 as personal SRM. Another difference with the coaches was noticed related to friends and relatives. Whereas only female coaches picked friends and family members, both girls and boys had SRMs belonging to this category, however only considering male friends and relatives.

Reasons for nominations or abstentions were explored in concluding this semi-open question. Almost half of all male participants (47,8%) who picked personal SRMs linked these personalities to their outstanding football skills and technique. Girls were as well interested in these sport skills, but to a much lesser extent (15,4%). The main reason for girls in choosing their SRMs was their displayed behaviour and character (30,7%), followed by the looks (23,1%). More than a fifth of the girls could not provide a reason for their nomination.

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[169] For more information see http://www.homelessworldcup.org (accessed 04-08-2012).
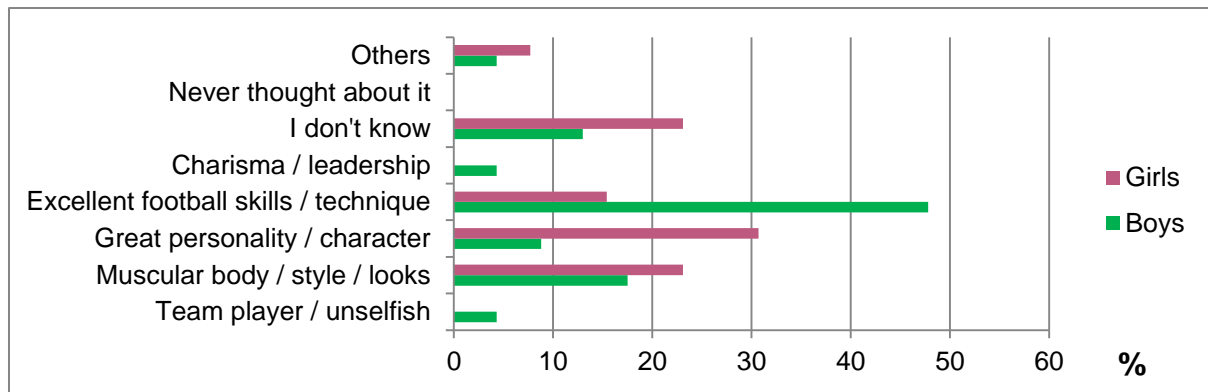
Graph 8: Reasons for Children to Nominate SRMs (Malawi)

For the overall five boys and 14 girls who stated that they did not have personal SRMs, the lack of knowledge was the most common reason for this non-nomination among girls (54,5%), whereas most boys (60%) abstained from giving any reason.

For the second question, active and future participants were asked to name their favourite female athlete in Malawi, if they had one. Overall, 60% of all children had a preferred sportswoman in Malawi, but there was a considerable difference between the two sites Blantyre/Ndirande and Mulanje. Three-fourths of PS participants stated to have a favourite female athlete, whereas only 44,4% of the future participants in Mulanje answered this question positively. Interestingly, a relevant gender gap was only registered in Blantyre/Ndirande where a large majority of girls (80%) and less boys (69,2%) had a favourite sportswoman. In Mulanje, even though boys (46,7%) and girls (41,7%) answered this question in a similar way, slightly more boys than girls stated to have a preferred female athlete.

Not considering the two locations, but focussing on gender, the following chart illustrates the most mentioned categories of favourite sportswomen as well as the considerable number of non-nominations, which remained often unexplained:
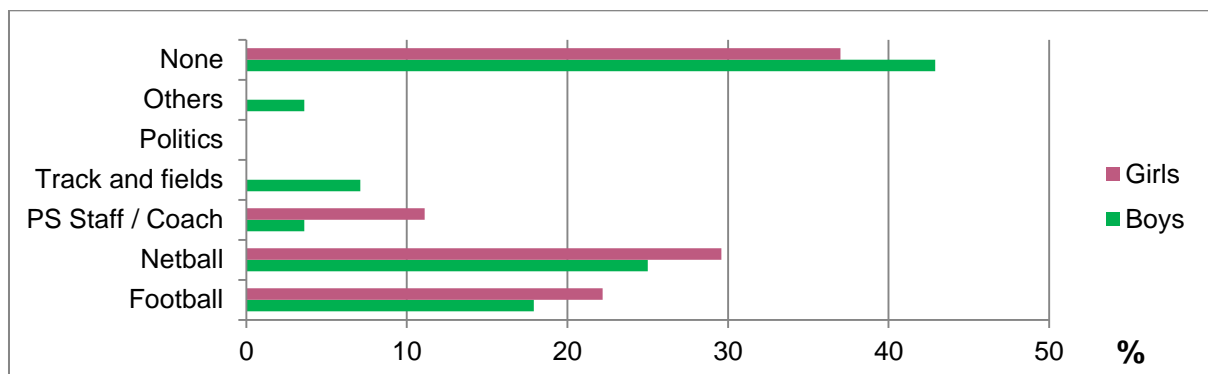
Graph 9: Children's Choice of Favourite Female Athletes in Malawi

Even though above presented graph provides an overview related to male and female choices, it was found relevant for the purpose of this study to further differentiate between the two sites in Graph 10:

214
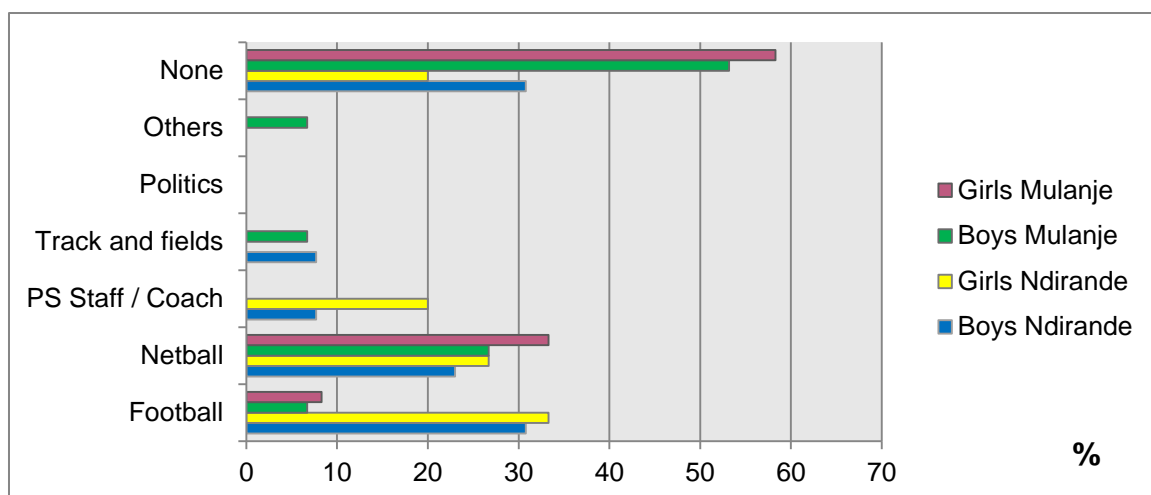
Graph 10: Children's Choice of Favourite Sportswomen by Gender and Sites (Malawi)

This more detailed chart illustrates considerable differences between active and future participants: Both girls and boys in Ndirande nominated female footballers like Maggie Chombo or Billy Chimwemwe. They mentioned as well Elizabeth Mtambo, who played on the mixed Malawian team participating at the 'Homeless World Cup' 2008 in Melbourne. Active male and female participants also nominated Tiwonge Khonje who played for the female 'Flames' and used to be a PS coach. The few children who mentioned a female footballer exclusively referred to the well-known Maggie Chombo. Of course, only active participating children/youth picked PS coaches or staff as favourite female athletes, but they were mentioned by both girls (20%) and boys (7,8%). Consistent with the coaches' results, only boys and male coaches nominated the long distance runner Catherine Chikwakwa. Even though most overall nominations were linked to netballers, the active and future coaches – with the exception of omnipresent Mary Waya - mentioned different players than the children did. Whereas the coaches nominated former 'Queens' (Esther Nkhoma or Sylvia Mtetemela), participating children/youth nominated players like Beatrice Mpinganjira, Joyce Mvula, Galeta Thandi or Mwayi Kumwenda, who were still on the national team.

1.2.3 Staff (SG3)

As described, two PS programme managers (one man, one woman) provided information recording themselves on video. While the major focus of this study is on coaches (SG1), valuable insights are provided as well by staff members who often closely and directly interact with participating children/youth as well.

1.2.3.1 Self-recording Video (SRV)

Among the two staff members who held SRV sessions, only the male programme manager named a personal SRM. He mentioned Kinnah Phiri, a former Malawian footballer who was born in Blantyre and currently worked as coach of the national squad. The female manager did not nominate one SRM, but referred to "a lot of people I look up to and who succeeded in life" (S12, female staff, 28). The PS manager mentioned Phiri's football skills and knowledge as main reason for his admiration. Furthermore, he emphasised that he knew Phiri personally.

Regarding favourite female athletes in Malawi, the male programme manager expressed his admiration for the runner Catherine Chikwakwa. He said that he used to live close to her family in Blantyre. Otherwise, he stated that he was not really following women's sports with the exception of the 'Queens' when they were playing at major international tournaments like the 'Commonwealth Games'.

The female PS manager nominated Maggie Chombo as her preferred sportswoman in Malawi. She explained that she was always impressed by Chombo's determination and passion to play football against all odds.

1.2.4 Peripheral Informants (SG4)

Overall, six peripheral informants were interviewed (KII) in Malawi. The interviewees were FAM officials in Blantyre and senior school staff in Mulanje and Ndirande. For this second analytical section, all informants were consulted.

1.2.4.1 Key Informant Interview (KII)

Among the six interviewees, five nominated a personal SRM. The female deputy headmaster in Mulanje stated having no SRM and stressed her disinterest in sport. Her female counterpart at 'Makata School' in Ndirande named the netball legend Mary Waya. All of the other four male interviewees picked football stars from Portugal, Great Britain, France, and Brazil[170]. These results basically confirm the questionnaire findings from SG1 and SG2.

One interviewee talked about SRMs of children and their potential radius of knowledge and access to sport news: "Kids will know football stars playing in England, but a lot of them have no possibility to watch TV. (…). They have a limited view. (…). They will for sure know Messi, Ronaldhino, Robinho, etc. But they will not know who is the best boxer in the world" (S1, male official, 37). This additional information is consistent with most children's choices in the questionnaires.

Regarding the second question on favourite female athletes, one out of six interviewees had already mentioned Mary Waya as her personal SRM and her favourite female athlete in Malawi. The deputy headmaster in Mulanje said that she did not follow sport news, but politics. Instead of mentioning a sportswoman, she stated her admiration for the popular politician Joyce Banda who used to play netball as a girl. Out of the four male interviewees, two were selecting netballers (Mary Waya and Beatrice Mpinganjira), one nominated Maggie Chombo, and the fourth interviewee could not think of any preferred Malawian sportswoman. In accordance with questionnaire findings, the number of different sports and selected favourite sportswomen is rather limited.

1.3 Micro Level: Presence and Mind-set

This third analytical section forms the basis (microsystems) of the pyramid in the 'Heuristic Framework' (Chap. VI) which illustrates coaching and pedagogical interventions. Results of this subchapter concern self-perception, interaction with participants, coaching motivations, and coaches' communal acceptance.

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[170] Christiano Ronaldo, John Terry, Thierry Henry, and Cafu.

1.3.1 Coaches (SG1)

The first subgroup consists of 'active coaches' (Blantyre/Ndirande) and 'future coaches' (Mulanje). Even though the 'future coaches' in Mulanje did not yet conduct their own sessions with participating children/youth, they were already selected and trained in a workshop by PS staff. Therefore, some questions related to outside and inside perceptions of coaches applied to both groups. Questions that exclusively concerned practical interaction with participants and everyday coaching experience were addressed to 'active coaches' only.

1.3.1.1 Questionnaire

The third section starts by querying whether the 'active coaches' considered themselves to be role models for the PS participants. A vast majority of these coaches thought or rather thought (80,8%) of themselves as role models for participating children/youth. All of the few women in the survey were positive or rather positive about this statement, while male agreement was at 78,2% ('rather yes' and 'yes'). As explained above, the comparison group was not consulted for this first question.

The two subsequent statements deal with the self-perceived acceptance and image of coaches in their community. Even though 'future coaches' in Mulanje were not yet running PS activities, they were already clearly identified in their community as coaches. The results regarding the community's respect for coaches hardly differ between Ndirande/Blantyre and Mulanje. Both the 'active coaches' and the 'future coaches' felt or rather felt (64,5%) that they were respected in their communities. Accordingly, an overall majority of 61,3% ('rather no' and 'no') rejected experiencing discouragement by community members from being a coach. However, both results are shaken up when answers are scrutinised with regard to gender differences. Even though this aspect needs to be relativised due to the modest number of existing female coaches, it is still a fact that no female coach felt fully respected in her community neither in Blantyre/Ndirande nor in Mulanje. Two thirds of female coaches in both sites opted for 'rather no' as an answer. Interestingly, no woman was fully certain that her community did not respect her work as a coach. Similar findings related to gender were registered regarding the discouragement by community members, but with even more impact. All active females in Ndirande/Blantyre declared that they were discouraged by community members from being coach ('rather yes' and 'yes'). Female 'future coaches' in Mulanje were less explicit, but a two-third majority rather shared this daunting experience.

A crucial element related to a coach's mind-set and influence is his or her motivation to be or to become a coach. For this purpose, coaches were asked in a semi-open question to think of their top three motivations that incited them to volunteer as a coach and to rank them accordingly. All motivations mentioned were registered and classified into ten categories.

The following Tab. 9 lists the most frequently named categories of 31 active and future coaches whereby the rating was established considering first, second or third choices:

Overall Ranking	Motivation Category	Rating[171]	%
1.	**Community welfare / well-being of children**	**59**	**31.7**
2.	**Teaching life skills and/or personal skills**	**30**	**16.1**
3.	**Social interaction / meeting friends**	**24**	**12.9**
4.	Fun and recreation	18	9.7
5.	Good performance /winning	16	8.6
6.	Potential job opportunity / education / travel	14	7.5
7.	Hope for money and/or material goods	9	4.8
8.	Increasing personal sport skills / fitness	7	3.8
9.	Recognition and reward by community	5	2.7
10.	Others	4	2.2

Tab. 9: Ranking of Motivations to be a PS Coach (N=31)

Motivations belonging to the category 'Community welfare / well-being of children' were most frequently registered in Ndirande/Blantyre as well as in Mulanje, and in fact without gender differences. However, enumerations corresponding to the fifth category ('Good performance / winning'), the sixth category ('Potential job opportunity / education / travel'), and the eighth category ('Increasing personal sport skills / fitness') were only mentioned by male coaches. Motivations belonging to the fourth category ('Fun and recreation') were predominantly enumerated by 'active coaches' and to a lesser extent by 'future coaches'.

Indirectly related to the coach's motivation, is his or her sense of responsibility and care for the participating children/youth. In terms of responsibility, 53,8% of 'active coaches' stated that they felt (rather) responsible for participants during the programme only. However, two thirds of female coaches expressed their opinion that they felt rather responsible for young participants outside the programme as well. This viewpoint was only shared by 43,5% of male coaches. A similar trend was registered for the subsequent statement which inquired whether coaches intended to stay in touch with children beyond the programme. Thereby, an overall of 46,1% active coaches were positive ('rather yes' and 'yes') about it. In line with the previous item, there was a considerable difference between male and female coaches: On the one hand, all women agreed or rather agreed to stay in touch with young participants beyond the programme. On the other hand, only 39,1% of male coaches did.

The last statement of the third section is focussing on coaches' mind-set and broaches the issue of gender equity explicitly. Since answering this statement was not limited by practical coaching experience, it applied to both active and future coaches. Two thirds (64,6%) of all the 31 coaches agreed or rather agreed that fairness between males and females was important to them. Thereby, none of the female coaches partly or fully rejected this statement. Therefore, the support ('rather yes' and 'yes') of gender fairness was more important (80%) in Mulanje (with slightly more female coaches) than in Ndirande/Blantyre (61,5%) with a strong male majority.

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[171] For this calculation, 1st choices were multiplied by 3, 2nd choices were multiplied by 2, and 3rd choices were multiplied by 1.

1.3.1.2 Focus Group Discussion

The Malawian FGD was conducted with seven male PS coaches in Blantyre. Therefore, the female perspective as well as the view from Mulanje are not considered in this part.

Nevertheless, the first statement related to the self-perception as role models were in full accordance with questionnaire results: 80,8% of active coaches perceived or rather perceived themselves as role models for young participants. None of the coaches participating in the FGD rejected being a role model. However, the two younger coaches (age 17 and 18) were more reluctant about it than others. A self-assured coach openly declared his status as an influential role model: "Yes, I can really say confidently that I am a role model in my community. (…). The youngsters listen to me, I mean, you see, they pay attention. And then, they play even without me, if I tell them" (S4, male coach, 26). One of the younger coaches of the FGD deduced his role model status from his useful function for the sake of the children and community: "You know, we are there for them after school. Otherwise they hang around in the street. They steal or drink. We keep them busy after school. We play soccer and keep them busy. We are important for them, I think. (…). And we help them to stay out of trouble, you know" (S4, male coach, 18). The seven coaches from the FGD basically agreed that they receive respect from their community. However, they also emphasised that respect for coaching and PS would further increase in the community if they were properly paid and able to financially support their families. Therefore, nobody was really discouraged to volunteer as a coach, but the community would prefer they looked for an income generating activity. But generally, they still agreed that their community appreciated their dedication and efforts in favour of the children. They thought their work was valuable to fill the precarious time slot after school, which was also recognised by the community.

The two top categories of motivation rankings ('Community welfare / well-being of children' and 'Teaching life and/or personal skills') were mainly confirmed via the FGD. However, there was a lively discussion about the third position.

Even though most coaches acknowledged their main responsibility for the children during the programme, they still worried about participants' well-being outside the programme: "Besides the lack of water, the Malaria is a big problem in Ndirande. Children don't show up anymore for the sessions. (…). We tell them and teach them to sleep under mosquito nets for protection, but we don't have enough to distribute" (S4, male coach, 25). All men expressed their basic interest to follow up participating children/youth beyond the programme, but they also mentioned that they were already too busy taking care of the children actively involved in PS. However, they made also clear that they would not turn down any former PS participant seeking advice. These opinions support the questionnaire results to a certain extent, but explain as well the reasons for some coaches not proactively staying in touch with participating children/youth beyond the programme.

The importance of gender equity was basically acknowledged within the PS programme: "Many think girls should play netball. But 'PS' is about football. And about 40% of the kids in our programme are girls. We want to prove gender. But girls are not as active as boys when they are playing. They learn more slowly than boys" (S4, male coach, 24). Besides a basic approval of gender equity within PS, not all seven coaches agreed that women and men should have equal rights, access and opportunities in every domain of society. This opinion was reflected in questionnaire results in which more than a third (38,4%) of 'active coaches' did not or rather did not consider gender fairness an important issue.

1.3.1.3 Self-recording Video

In Blantyre two male coaches (age 25 and 26) participated in SRV sessions. Both of them thought of themselves as role models or were striving for it: "I hope myself that I can be a role model at PS according to my participants" (S11, male coach, 25). They felt respected in their communities for being a coach and were never discouraged: "I don't have any problems with PS, just because PS is a non-governmental organisation. This is good, yes. And it helps a lot of people to know about health, soccer skills and social development that we teach every day" (S11, male coach, 26). These findings mainly correspond to the questionnaire.

1.3.1.4 Key Informant Interview

In order to counterbalance the male sample overweight, insights provided by one of the few female PS coaches in Blantyre were collected in a KII.

The 22-year-old interviewee hesitated to refer to herself as role model. But she said that her behaviour was admired by many people in her community. Her way of life became more stable after her involvement in sport activities (first netball, then football): "It made me stay away from bad stuff and dishonest things. (…). It kept me busy. Many of my friends got pregnant. Most of them did not want it. And they were so young". She felt respected in her community for taking care of her life. At the beginning, she was discouraged to become a PS coach by her family and some neighbours, but since PS was closely linked to school, education, and health, it was possible for her to become a PS volunteer coach. These findings correspond to the questionnaires which stated that all active females in Ndirande/Blantyre declared that they were discouraged by community members from being a coach ('rather yes' and 'yes').

Her top three motivations for becoming a coach were: "I wanted to teach our children things about health. (…). Second, I liked playing games and football with kids and make them feel happy. (…). Working as a group and being part of a team was a third motivation for me to join PS. (…). And then, you know, I still hope that we will get paid one day". In accordance with the questionnaire results, the interviewee mentioned motivations for being a coach which correspond to the second, first, third, and seventh ranked categories respectively.

Concerning responsibility for PS participants, she perceived her task as reaching out beyond the sessions and programme: "First of all, (…), we greet the children. Then we call out the names and do the register. We ask other friends why somebody is coming late or is absent. (…). After 2-3 weeks we are going to check with parents why a child is not coming anymore. We will ask them why they did not come to PS. (…). Yes, we care about the kids" (S6, female coach, 22).

In correspondence with questionnaire results, the female interviewee agreed that fairness between male and female individuals was an important topic to her. Even though she stated that she personally did not feel treated unfairly, she emphasised the fact that certain structural obstacles inhibited other women from joining. She would warmly welcome more female coach-colleagues, but she said that providing decent PS sessions with food and refreshments was extremely time consuming. Therefore, there was no extra capacity for persuading and recruiting new female staff.

1.3.2 Participating Children and Youth (SG2)

As already mentioned, this study's second subgroup was only asked to complete the questionnaire. Statements on the questionnaire in this third section strongly focus on experiences of participating children/youth who were already actively involved in PS programmes. Therefore, five out of seven questions were only answered by 15 girls and 13 boys from Blantyre/Ndirande (N=28) where PS was already running sessions on a regular basis. Two items of this third section refer to topics which could be answered by participating children/youth from Blantyre/Ndirande as well as by future participants from Mulanje (N=27) where no PS activities had yet taken place.

1.3.2.1 Questionnaire

An overall majority of almost two thirds (64,3%) of PS participants stated that their coach was (or their coaches were) a role model for them. However, a considerable difference between girls and boys was registered concerning this item. While an impressive male majority of 84,6% ('rather yes' and 'yes') perceived coaches as role models, this opinion was only shared or rather shared by less than half of the girls (46,7%). Only the boys' approval complied with the self-perception of active coaches (both male and female) of whom a majority thought or rather thought (80,8%) of themselves as role models for participants.

Whereas the role model item caused divergent opinions between girls and boys, there was overall consensus (78,6%) that coaches were respected community persons ('rather yes' and 'yes'). According to the questionnaire results, participating children/youth rated the degree of respect which coaches received in their communities slightly higher than coaches themselves (64,5%). But the overall trend that coaches were generally well respected was obvious for both SG1 and SG2.

The third statement related to coaches who were potentially discouraged from volunteering by community members. An overall majority of 71,4% fully or partly rejected that coaches were discouraged. However, there was again a difference between male and female answers. While the vast majority of boys (84,7%) did not or rather did not experience or know of such discouragements, only 60% of the girls partly or fully rejected this statement. In other words, 40% of the girls thought or rather thought that some people in their communities have discouraged coaches from being coaches. The overall refusal of coaches themselves (61,3%) was similar to the girls' opinion. But it needs to be emphasised once more that all of the few active female coaches indicated that they have themselves experienced discouragement, while a majority of active male coaches (61,5%) did not or rather did not.

In parallel to the coaches who were asked to name their top three motivations for being a coach, active and future participants were requested to rank their top three motivations for taking part in PS sessions. Interestingly, no major differences were found between answers from Blantyre/Ndirande and Mulanje for this item.

However, interesting results were found related to gender. Thus, the following chart (Tab. 10) presents details for girls and boys separately:
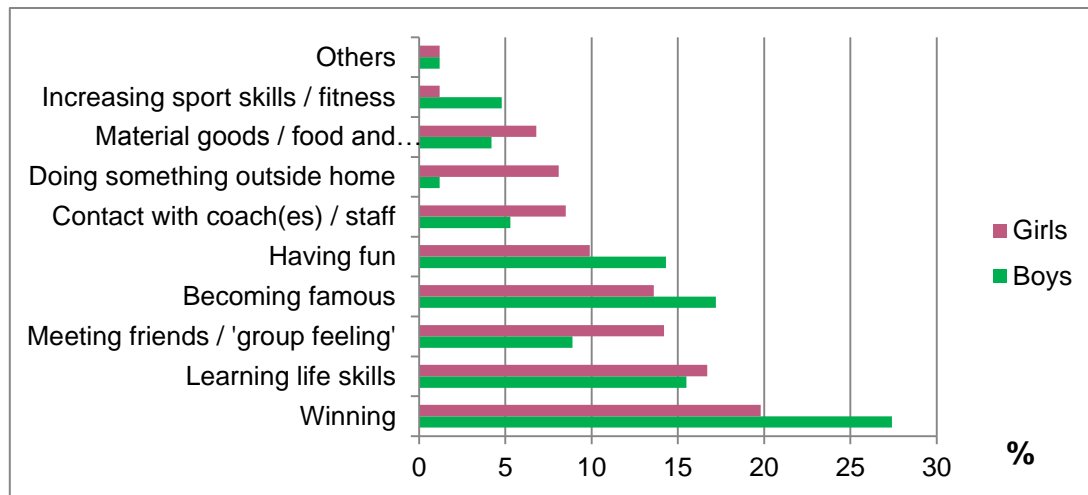
Tab. 10: Ranking[172] of Motivations to be a PS Participant in Malawi

First of all, it is particularly striking that 'winning' turned out to be the most important motivation for both boys (27,4%) and girls (19,8%) related to sport participation. Moreover, among the top three rankings of both sexes' motivations, two categories ('Winning' and 'Learning life skills') were registered, even though assessed in a different manner. Another observation is the fact that the first six categories that classified the provided answers were the same for both sexes, but with divergent rankings. Only the category 'Winning' was rated first and 'Contact with coach(es)/staff' was ranked sixth by both girls and boys.

Despite these similarities, the distribution of choices between male and female participants varied quite a bit. While boys were more focussed on a few motivating factors, girls generally displayed a broader scope of interests and incentives to participate. Another evident difference involved the motivation of doing something outside home. Whereas very few boys (1,2%) touched on this topic, it was rated higher by girls (8,1%). There was as well a gender gap with regard to relational and social motivations of participation. Even though contact with coaches and staff was equally ranked, more girls (8,5%) mentioned this interpersonal issue than boys (5,3%). This apparently increased female need for and interest in relationships and group memberships was as well observable for the motivation category 'meeting and playing with friends / group feeling' which was emphasised by 8,9% of the boys compared to 14,2% of the girls. This category even obtained the third overall ranking of female motivations for participating in sport (and ranked fifth for boys). However, in terms of 'Increasing sport skills / fitness', the boys' motivation percentage (4,8%) was more elevated than the girls' interest (1,2%) in the same area.

Comparing motivations of coaches to be coaches and the participation motivations of children, interesting results are obtained. At first sight, there seems to be a contradiction between the most often mentioned motivation of children ('Winning') and the number one motivation of coaches ('Community welfare / well-being of children'). But providing opportunities and settings for children allowing for experiences of victories and as well defeats, may contribute to children's psycho-social well-being. Nevertheless, there was consensus among children (boys 15,5% and girls 16,7%) as well as coaches (16,1%) that

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[172] For this calculation, 1st choices were multiplied by 3, 2nd choices were multiplied by 2, and 3rd choices were multiplied by 1.

learning or teaching skills had top priority. The categories 'Learning life skills' and accordingly 'Teaching life skills' were ranked in the top three motivations of boys, girls, and coaches.

The fifth questionnaire item of the third section asked PS participants (children from Ndirande/Blantyre only) about the perceived degree of coaches' responsibility. Thereby, an overall majority of 57,1% ('rather yes' and 'yes') stated that their coaches only felt responsible for them during the programme. Once more, there was a significant difference between female and male participants related to this item. Two thirds of the girls (66,7%) expressed the opinion that coaches were (or rather were) taking on responsibility for them during the programme only. In other words, only one third (33,3%) of female participants felt (or rather felt) taken care of by coaches outside the programme as well. This result contrasts with the male majority of 53,9% ('rather no' and 'no') who stated that their coaches' sense of responsibility exceeded the programme limits. In respect of the exclusive responsibility during programmes, the overall majority of 53,8% ('rather yes' and 'yes') expressed by coaches was more or less confirmed by participants' overall majority of 57,1%.

More deviation between coaches and PS participants was noticed related to the personal follow-up beyond the programme. Whereas an overall majority of participating children (60,7%) wanted to stay in touch with the coach(es) after the programme, only 46,1% of the coaches strived for a follow-up with participating children/youth beyond PS. However, this percentage was strongly influenced by a tremendous difference between male coaches (39,1%) and the few female coaches (100%) in this regard ('rather yes' and 'yes'). In contradiction with the motivation ranking (see Tab. 10), more boys (69,3%) than girls (53,4%) intended to keep in touch with the coach(es) beyond programme involvement.

To conclude this third section, both PS participants (Blantyre/Ndirande) and future participants (Mulanje) were asked whether or not fairness between male and female individuals was important to them. Thereby, overall results for the SG2 suggest that more than half of all children (54,5%) thought that gender equity was (or rather was) an important issue for them. However, this item strongly features gender as well as contextual differences. Whereas a majority of active PS participants in Blantyre/Ndirande (64,3%) agreed or rather agreed with this statement, only 44,4% ('rather yes' and 'yes') of the future participants in Mulanje considered fairness between men, women, girls and boys an important topic. As already announced, scrutinising results for both Blantyre/Ndirande and Mulanje, gender gaps appeared. A clear majority of female PS participants (80%) in Blantyre/Ndirande categorised gender equity as important ('rather yes' and 'yes'), while only 46,2% of their male counterparts shared this opinion. In accordance with this trend, but with less conviction, a majority of girls in Mulanje of 58,3% agreed or rather agreed with the importance of gender fairness. Like in Blantyre/Ndirande, the male approval ('rather yes' and 'yes') of this gender statement was much lower (33,3%) for Mulanje as well.

1.3.3 Staff (SG3)

Two PS managers provided information on behalf of Malawian staff via SRV sessions. When starting PS, both of them were as well involved in coaching.

1.3.3.1 Self-recording Video

In accordance with questionnaire results (both SG1 and SG2), staff members also perceived themselves as role models. However, most importantly, they did not only anticipate having an impact on involved children/youth, but as well on coaches and other staff members: "Yes, I think of myself as a role model. (…). And I am working hard to be a good role model for the participants and the staff. I think I can motivate them. (…). And sometimes it is not easy. (…). I mean, we need motivation to do what we are doing" (S12, male staff, 50). The male manager felt respected and appreciated by his community for his PS involvement and was never discouraged. In his mind, he was always trying to improve content and structures, and never stopped working for PS; even at home and during school breaks.

His younger female colleague also perceived herself as role model for young participants, coaching staff, and even for persons outside PS: "I think I am a role model to quite a number of people. Not only in PS. (…). I am able to teach them, I am able to tell them. I set an example for them. I believe that I am a role model, but not only for the children, but even for the coaches in the way I handle them, in the way I relate with them". The 28-year-old programme manager emphasised the influence she felt she had particularly as a woman: "When I focus on PS, I think I am a role model, especially when we talk about gender". In her SRV session, she analysed her respected status and compared it to female difficulties in the community in which she was working: "In Africa and in Malawi it is common that women don't want to be up front. They don't want to have the lead to do certain things. (…). But I think I am already a role model for the girls out there in the community where I go. (…). Because then they can actually see that it is possible for a woman to be what she wants to be. And to do what she wants to do. They don't have to be men to succeed in life. (…). They admire a woman who succeeded at that level and who has achieved things that I have achieved in my life. (…). And then, I am a role model for the kids, even if I don't live with them. Because I think that I am able to exhibit behaviour like we teach in PS" (S12, female staff, 28).

These SRV findings back up the self-confidence questionnaire results of coaches who by the majority (80,8%) perceived or rather perceived themselves as role models for participating children/youth. Furthermore, and again in accordance with most coaches, both programme managers felt respected in their communities for being PS staff. The fact that staff members understood themselves as role models for coaches and other colleagues gave rise to an additional relational dimension. In contrast to female coaches, the well-educated female programme manager did not experience any discouragement related to her position. However, explicit SRV statements regarding the importance of gender equity comply with questionnaire results. A vast majority of female coaches (SG1), female participants (SG2), and female staff members (SG3) agreed that gender fairness was an important topic, contrasting with their male counterparts. A male PS manager, for example, stated in his SRV session that he was not against gender equity, but emphasised prioritising other concerns.

1.3.4 Peripheral Informants (SG4)

As described, six peripheral informants were consulted via 'Key Informant Interviews' (KIIs) in Malawi. The interviewees held positions as FAM and PS officials in Blantyre, headmasters, deputy headmasters, and deputy head-teachers of the 'Chanunka Primary School' in Mulanje and the 'Makata Primary School' in Ndirande.

1.3.4.1 Key Informant Interview

All interview partners basically shared the opinion that PS coaches were role models for participating children. However, they emphasised that this status was not justified by the mere fact of being a coach: "Coaches are key players, if we talk about bringing helpful resources to disadvantaged communities through football. (…). The way they give instructions, their values, and their communication is very important. (…). Yes, and how they behave during and after the sessions. (…). They need to show good behaviour to be good coaches and good role models" (S1, male official, 37).

In accordance with questionnaire results, there was consensus among all interviewees that coaches were generally respected in the community. It was emphasised in several KIIs that the close collaboration with the school (many coaches are school teachers) increased the trust in the PS programme and its coaches/staff. Interviewees in Ndirande mentioned that besides the coaching, parents and caregivers especially appreciated that children were taken care of after school: "Thanks to PS, children know what to do after school. They also get something to eat and refreshments" (S5, male headmaster, 54).

According to the Ndirande deputy head-teacher, appreciation for PS staff was also linked to efforts outside the sessions. Since PS participation required school attendance, coaches and staff were as well lobbying for and promoting their goals beyond the sport sessions: "They [PS staff] inform and sensitise the chiefs about the problem of school drop-outs, for instance. We also try to sensitise the parents here at our school. Also, we try to get in touch with influencing and important people in the communities and talk to them about bringing children back to school. (…), we work hand in hand" (S8, female deputy head-teacher, 44).

Referring to the fairness between males and females, most interviewees welcomed that PS was open to both girls and boys. They were as well in favour of additional female coaches. However, especially male opinions were consistent with the trend found through the questionnaires: They did not at all oppose gender equity, but they felt that other issues like infrastructure needed to be taken care of first. Contrasting with questionnaire results, both female interviewees shared this male standpoint more or less, but were confident that things were changing automatically over time.

1.4 Meso / Exo Level: Intentional Teaching

This fourth analytical section deals with the intermediate level of influence referred to as 'intentional teaching' which builds on the above scrutinised pedagogical intervention level 'mind-set and presence'. The 'intentional teaching' level mainly targets behavioural and relational patterns as well as coping strategies. Results of this fourth section concern problem solving strategies and relationships (between coaches and participating children/youth as well as between coaches and parents/caregivers). With regard to gender issues, light is shed on didactical elements of sport sessions.

1.4.1 Coaches (SG1)

Since this fourth analytical section mainly targets coaches with practical PS experience, only 'active coaches' (Blantyre/Ndirande) were asked to answer these statements (N=26). Just the first item on whether participating children should share their problems with the coach(es) was presented to all coaches (N=31).

1.4.1.1 Questionnaire

Nine out of 34 questionnaire items dealt with 'Intentional Teaching'. Thereby, five items referred to empowerment in a broader sense, and four items were targeting gender issues.

Overall, 64,5% of the active and future coaches agreed ('rather yes' and 'yes') that participating children/youth should share their private problems with the coach(es). Among the active female coaches (Blantyre/Ndirande), nobody rejected this statement, while more than a third (39,1%) of their male counterparts did. Both male and female Mulanje coaches were reluctant about kids sharing their problems: No person fully agreed, but the majority (60%) picked 'rather yes' regarding this item.

The next two statements inquire about the strategies of active coaches to handle private problems of participating children/youth. Thereby, one option was to provide time and space during sessions, the second option involved taking care of participants outside sessions. Even though 57,7% of all active coaches stated that they usually take time to talk to participating children/youth about private problems during the programme, it basically turned out to be a female strategy. While all female coaches agreed or rather agreed to offer time during sessions, only half (52,1%) of their male counterparts shared this practice. This considerable gender gap even increased with respect to the second option which involved taking time to talk to young participants about private problems outside the programme. While again all female coaches agreed or rather agreed to taking care of young participants outside the programme, only 43,4% of their male colleagues were in favour ('rather yes' and 'yes') of it. In other words, female coaches usually take time to talk about children's problems before, during, and after their sessions. This seemingly boundless female strategy contrasts with a more reluctant male approach.

The following two statements intended to shed light on the relationships between coaches and parents/caregivers of participants. The first item inquired whether the coach knew most parents/caregivers of participating children personally. Overall, 61,5% of all coaches stated that they did know them personally. Once more, there was a considerable difference between male and female coaches. Whereas all women agreed or rather agreed to be familiar with participants' parents/caregivers, just a bit more than half of the male coaches (56,5%) shared this answer. Thereby, majority proportions were exactly inversed related to the next item inquiring whether participants' parents/caregivers approached coaches to talk about their children. An overall majority of 57,7% of all coaches stated that they were usually not (or rather not) approached by parents/caregivers. However, considering these results from a gender perspective, it turned out that more male coaches (43,3%) reported to have been contacted by parents/caregivers than female coaches (33,3%).

The following two items directly raise gender issues by asking whether boys or girls were more likely to share problems with their coach(es). Thereby, it became clear that female coaches (100%) were often (or very often) approached by girls, whereas only 26% of the male coaches stated that girls would share their personal problems with them. A different situation was registered for the boys. Thereby, still all female coaches stated ('rather yes' and 'yes') that boys shared their private problems with them, but there was as well a majority of male coaches (65,2%) who were approached by boys to talk about their problems. In a nutshell, female coaches were chosen to share problems with both girls and boys, whereas male coaches were primarily approached by boys to talk about personal difficulties.

The next two statements concerned the intentionality of didactical arrangements related to gender issues within sport sessions. The first item inquired whether coaches usually encouraged mixed-sex sport activities. An overall majority of 53,8% of all coaches rejected ('rather no' and 'no') purposefully encouraging such co-ed sessions. Whereas most female coaches were undecided between 'rather yes' and 'rather no' concerning this topic, a male majority (56,5%) stated that they were not (or rather not) encouraging mixed activities. The last item of this fourth section intended to explore, whether gender and sport issues were explicitly addressed by coaches as a part of the programme. Overall, more than three-fourths (77%) of all coaches stated that they were not (or rather not) explicitly raising this topic during their sessions. This time, there was only a modest difference between results of male coaches (78,3%) and female coaches (66,7%).

1.4.1.2 Focus Group Discussion

Generally, all seven male coaches agreed in the FGD that children should be able to share their private problems with the coaches. Many of them described challenging situations in which they were approached by children: "Anytime when kids are having problems they come and tell us. (…). And sometimes, we can't handle it. Then, we share these problems with other coaches" (S4, male coach, 24). Most coaches observed of children's behaviours varied by their age: "Between 8-15 years they have more problems than the younger ones. (…). The younger ones just feel alright whenever they can come to the pitch. That's what makes them feel happy" (S4, male coach, 26). With regard to the moments in which these conversations take place, most coaches seemed to be quite flexible: "Some will tell us before the lesson, some will tell us after. (…). Mostly it's confidential and not in front of everybody" (S4, male coach, 18). In accordance with questionnaire results, male coaches were not likely to deal with personal problems of participating children/youth during their sessions. However, questionnaire results are not consistent with the FGD statements that coaches take time to talk to young participants outside the programme, something which was denied by a majority (56,5%) of male coaches. Nevertheless, certain FGD statements explained this inconsistency. Most coaches related that they had not allocated specific time slots (neither during nor outside the sessions) for problem solving. They had a very pragmatic approach and were available for personal discussions with young participants whenever possible, but rarely during the sessions.

A certain inconsistency with questionnaire results was noticed related to girls' problems. Some coaches of the FGD stated that girls would approach them with private issues. Sometimes, they added, they were unable to cope with it: "Yes, they [girls] do tell me things (…). I mean personal things. (…). Sometimes we refer to a female coach as a woman to talk to. Then, I will say: Let's go and ask this other lady about it" (S4, male coach, 24). Even if girls were talking with male coaches about private matters, some FGD statements revealed a certain degree of insecurity and reluctance of male coaches in working with girls: "You know, sometimes we feel funny teaching girls. (…). I notice that they behave different. It's not easy to understand. Not always, but it's different than with boys" (S4, male coach, 18). The two youngest coaches participating in the FGD seemed to be more hesitant in coping with girls and their problems than their elder colleagues. One coach emphasised that coaches were also discussing their personal problems among themselves: "We do also share problems that

coaches are facing at home. If there is, for example, a funeral or sickness. (…). And then we try to do something about it" (S4, male coach, 25).

In line with questionnaire findings, most FGD coaches stated they knew many parents/ caregivers of participants personally. Thereby, again, the coaches' age was determinative. Consistent with questionnaire results, most FGD coaches agreed that few parents/caregivers would approach them to talk about their children. More often, the communication described was the other way around, even necessitating mediating agents due to tribal or social hierarchies: "Generally, I would say the interaction with parents is good. (…). Sometimes we do not talk directly. If a child fails to come to the programme, we usually follow up on it after a week. (…). Then we go to the chief. The chief will give us authority to talk to the parents. Or we reach them through the headmaster or teacher" (S4, male coach, 24).

A majority of FGD coaches was not in favour of promoting mixed-sex sessions. They emphasised that young participants themselves did not want to play co-ed after a certain age. Furthermore, they mentioned enough other challenges like waste management (garbage on pitches), water access, equipment, etc. that they wanted to handle first. Consistent with questionnaires, they rejected addressing gender issues explicitly. But, at the same time, they mentioned that every person deserved fairness and respect, and that these topics were addressed in their sessions.

1.4.1.3 Self-recording Video

Both coaches stated that children should be able to share their problems with PS staff. One coach mentioned that he was approached by both boys and girls, but that they would bring up different topics: "I think boys tell more things than girls. Boys talk about everything. You know, like man-to-man talk. (…). Girls talk about lack of food, school problems or at or sick family members. But they don't come up with girls' topics. (…). You know, it is not respectable for a girl to talk about everything with a man" (S11, male coach, 26). This view confirms findings from the questionnaire.

Referring to co-ed sessions, the 25-year-old coach said that he was often encouraging mixed activities. However, he emphasised that age was an important factor related to co-ed sport: "They play together. (…). We encourage that most of the time. (…). About 40% of the kids in our programme are girls. But girls' participation can vary a lot. There are a lot at a younger age. (…). When they are 12-15 years they are less. And we do not mix them anymore" (S11, male coach, 25). This opinion corresponds with a minority (17,4%) of male coaches who stated in the questionnaire that they were usually encouraging mixed sport activities.

1.4.1.4 Key Informant Interview

The 22-year-old female as well shared the opinion that children should talk to the coaches about personal problems. She mentioned cases in which PS participants, both boys and girls, would follow her home to talk to her about difficulties. She added: "For many kids coming to school and being part of PS is a relief. (…). They forget what has been happening at home". She also said that some of them were waiting in front of her house on Sundays to have a chat. She always tried to advise and support them, but sometimes she just had to postpone conversations.

Generally, she had the impression that parents/caregivers felt positive about football and PS. At the beginning, she stated, "many parents come to look what the kids are doing, but after a while they will just leave them and trust PS". Only a few parents/caregivers would approach the female coach to talk about their children. She mentioned that sometimes, parents/caregivers were having wrong expectations about football: "They think that a child can become a good player in the future. (…). They see a way to earn money". In such cases she had to recall the goals of PS which were not striving for performance and competition.

In her sessions with young children, she was usually encouraging mixed-sex activities. But she stated that it was more complicated when the children were older. She talked about risks of mixed activities with teenagers: "After sport, girls often don't go home immediately. They hang around and start their own business. (…). They are using sport as an excuse to go home late. (…). And then, some girls become pregnant" (S6, female coach, 22). However, when she had sessions with girls and especially with teenage girls, she would raise issues on early pregnancy, abstinence, hygiene, and diseases within her session. For her, raising these topics was part of her coaching responsibility reflecting interest in community welfare. Nevertheless, she added that she would feel uncomfortable discussing such issues with male teenagers. Her efforts to address gender issues during the programme correspond to a minority (33,3%) of female coaches in the questionnaire. However, these results need more in-depth analysis considering participants' age and sex.

1.4.2 Participating Children and Youth (SG2)

Since this fourth section mainly requires practical PS experience, only active PS participants (Blantyre/Ndirande) were asked to fill in questionnaires (N=28). Just the first item on whether participating children/youth should share their private problems with the coach(es) was answered by all children/youth (N=55).

1.4.2.1 Questionnaire

An overall majority of 61,8% thought that young participants should share personal problems with the coaches. Thereby, a difference between Blantyre/Ndirande and Mulanje was registered: PS participants were generally more favourable (67,8%) than future participants in Mulanje (55,5%). Additionally, a gender gap was noticed in both locations. Boys were rather reluctant to share private problems with coaches. While female agreement with this statement was almost three-fourths in both locations, 61,6% of the boys in Blantyre/Ndirande and only 40% of the boys in Mulanje shared this opinion ('rather yes' and 'yes').

Considering PS participants only, an overall majority of 57,1% rejected or rather rejected to usually talk about private problems with the coach(es) during the programme. However, there was substantial inconsistency between male and female participants: More than three-fourths of the boys (76,8%) rejected (or rather rejected) this statement, while this answer was shared by only 40% of the girls. In terms of conversations outside the programme, there was an overall positive trend (67,8%) of both girls (60%) and boys (77%). Summing up, the results of participating children/youth are basically in accordance with the coaches' statements. However, there were notable differences between male and female coaches in all three items which were not registered for participants. Again, the modest number of active female coaches (compared to male coaches) was probably a reason for these imbalanced

results. Therefore, despite the inconsistency at first sight related to private talks during the sessions, most children's answers were based on their experience with male coaches (due to the lack of female coaches) and thus still in line with questionnaire results for coaches.

There was general unanimity regarding parents/caregivers between girls and boys. Overall, 60,7% of the participating children/youth stated that their coach(es) knew their parents/ caregivers personally ('rather yes' and 'yes'). This answer is as well consistent with positive questionnaire findings for the coaches (61,5%). Furthermore, according to two-thirds of all participants (67,8%), the previously registered trend is confirmed that parents/ caregivers did not often come to talk with the coach.

Overall, 57,2% of PS participants reported they would share (or rather share) their problems with their coach(es). Thereby, more boys (61,6%) than girls (53,4%) stated they did approach their coach(es) with private issues. This greater proclivity among boys was most probably determined by the fact that PS coaches were predominantly men. These findings are consistent with questionnaire responses whereby female coaches were contacted by both boys and girls. In contrast, only a few male coaches (26%) were approached by girls to discuss private matters.

Referring to gender and didactics, a majority of all participants (67,9%) stated that their coach(es) were not (or rather not) encouraging mixed activities. This opinion was even more evident for boys (77%) than for girls (60%), and the trend basically in line with the coaches. More than two-thirds of all participants (71,4%) stated that issues related to 'sport and gender' were not (or rather not) explicitly addressed in the programme. Nevertheless, a different perspective is evident, if results for boys and girls are analysed separately: Whereas a large male majority (84,7%) stated that gender and sport topics were not (or rather not) discussed in PS, only 60% of the girls shared this view. Similar proportions were registered for female (66,7%) and male (78,3%) coaches, though with less of a gap.

1.4.3 Staff (SG3)

Two PS managers provided information on behalf of Malawian staff. Both of them also had coaching experiences.

1.4.3.1 Self-recording Video

Both staff members agree in their SRV sessions that children should share their problems with coaches. The female PS manager stated that many participating children/youth did not have many opportunities to talk about their difficult situations: "Some of these children are probably staying at home the whole day without seeing anyone. Or relatives are taking care, but they are often old and need to be looked after themselves. (…). So the kids actually have no one to provide parental care. Nobody is listening to what they say and need". She also emphasised that many young participants receive support from staff and coaches outside the programme. She mentioned difficulties linked to this constant availability referring to scarce resources: "We assist as many kids as we can; as good as possible, but poverty is all over. We can't take care of everybody. There is not enough. We need to make some rules like, for example, school attendance. But it's not easy" (S12, female staff, 28).

Both PS managers agreed in their SRV sessions that most coaches and staff members knew parents/caregivers of children. Since many PS participants belonged to the same family or

neighbourhood, it made it easier to keep track. The male manager furthermore emphasised that many PS coaches were also teachers. Therefore, for school purposes, they had been in contact with some of the parents/caregivers before. But in accordance with questionnaire results of both participating children/youth and coaches, the two staff members stated that parents/caregivers rarely came to talk about children, unless they had to.

Both staff members said that not only children approached them to talk about problems, but other staff members and coaches as well. The female manager stated that she was contacted by child participants of both sexes, but basically by female staff and coaches only. Her male counterpart described that he was predominantly approached by boys and male staff and coaches. These trends confirm questionnaire results and even provide an additional dimension of adult relationships.

Referring to gender and sport, the male manager mentioned that "topics like fairness, equal opportunities, respecting differences, discrimination, etc." were components of PS core curriculum, but that the implementation in the field was often difficult and "gender issues tricky to teach" (S12, male manager, 50). This gap between theory and practice was also confirmed in the questionnaires.

1.4.4 Peripheral Informants (SG4)

The six interviewed informants in Malawi were a FAM and PS official and senior staff at 'Chanunka Primary School' in Mulanje and 'Makata Primary School' in Ndirande.

1.4.4.1 Key Informant Interview

Basically, all six interviewees agreed that PS participants should be able to share their problems with coaches and staff. Both headmasters and their colleagues at Makata and Chanunka School stated that they did not have enough time to take care of all the pupils' personal problems. They already lacked enough teachers to handle basic tasks at the schools. Therefore, they welcomed PS and their efforts of supporting children beyond just feeding and spending time with them. The FAM offcial did as well stress the potential long-term impact of an S&D programme: "On the one hand, PS offers only a temporary relief by providing a meal and refreshments for children. But on the other hand, I am sure that PS will empower children for many years, because we are dealing with their minds and are preparing them for tomorrow. (…). Education and good behaviour is the key to it. Especially counselling, listening and talking to children are widening and empowering mechanisms" (S1, male official, 37).

While most interviewees observed that parents and caregivers rarely approached teachers, coaches or staff to talk about children, one deputy-head teacher from Ndirande described some feedback she received from parents: "Yes, and then I met this mother who thanked me for PS. (…). She told me that her kids have changed. (…). They have learned to clean themselves before going to bed and were less rude" (S8, female deputy head-teacher, 44). But generally speaking, most parents and caregivers did not directly contact PS or schools.

In terms of co-ed sessions, there were various opinions among interviewees. While the headmaster and his deputy in Mulanje stated that they encouraged mixed-sex P.E. activities at Chanunka School, school staff at Makata School in Ndirande was a bit more reluctant. The Makata headmaster mentioned the large number of pupils and the lack of safe grounds:

"Space is there, but it's not ready yet" (S5, male headmaster, 54). Since P.E. was not compulsory anymore in Malawi, investments were made in other domains. Most P.E. classes were skipped or reduced to some simple stretching exercises that were then performed by girls and boys together in school uniforms. According to one deputy-teacher, running and sweating was avoided as much as possible to keep school uniforms tidy.

Referring to pedagogical and didactical issues on gender and sport, the headmaster at Chanunka School described the latest development in his country: "The Malawian government initiated to teach gender topics at school. (…). The school books are reprinted every ten years. In the latest edition there was a chapter about gender. (…). But the Zambian society, for example, is more advanced than Malawi" (S2, male headmaster, 43). Most interviewees were basically in favour of mixed-sex activities, but only up to a certain age. They also approved explicit messages on gender and sport, but were very sceptical regarding their implementation in the field.

1.5 Macro Level: Transferability

The fifth analytical section on 'transferability' corresponds to the 'macro level' and top level of the coaching/pedagogy pyramid of the heuristic framework developed in Chap. VI. The transfer of skills into everyday life is probably the most important and challenging aspect of S&D interventions. This 'transferability level' builds on both already depicted pedagogical intervention levels. Since skills transfer refers to long-term impacts, measurement is complex and limited.

Results of this fifth section explore knowledge and skills transfer regarding health and ethics. Then, specifically focussing on gender, findings are presented in respect of self-confidence and public space.

1.5.1 Coaches (SG1)

Since the purpose of this fifth and last analytical section is to shed light on potential knowledge and skills transfer through PS interventions, only 'active coaches' (Blantyre/Ndirande) were asked to answer these statements (N=26).

1.5.1.1 Questionnaire

This fifth 'transferability section' involves the last seven out of 34 items of the questionnaire. Thereby, three items related to empowerment in a broader sense, and the other half concentrated on gender issues.

A vast majority of coaches (80,7%) agreed or rather agreed that participants' knowledge on health issues increased through PS sessions. Proportionally, most coaches picked 'rather yes' (53,8%) and 'yes' (26,9%) while nobody fully rejected this statement. All female coaches stated that health knowledge increased, while more than three-fourths of male coaches (78,3%) shared this view ('rather yes' and 'yes').

The second and third items involve observed ethical and moral changes of young participants and coaches themselves. A majority of 53,8% ('rather yes' and 'yes') of all coaches stated that PS sessions influence ethical and moral behaviour of participating children/youth. However, most coaches were quite undecided about this statement, since

34,6% picked 'rather yes' and 30,8% chose 'rather no'. No considerable gender differences were noticeable for these results. In contrast, clear statements were made in terms of the coaches' self-assessments. More than three-fourths of all coaches (76,9%) stated that their involvement with PS had influenced their personal moral and ethical behaviour. Almost half of all male coaches (47,8%) fully approved and 30,4% partly approved this item, while female coaches were more hesitant to agree. No woman chose the poles 'yes' or 'no', but two-thirds of all female coaches picked 'rather yes' and one-third 'rather no'.

The following three items refer to participants' and coaches' self-confidence. A clear majority of all coaches (80,8%) thought or rather thought that self-confidence of participating girls was increasing through the PS programme. While all the women agreed with this statement ('rather yes' and 'yes'), 78,3% of the male coaches shared this position. With regard to self-confidence, there was a different assessment of perceived influence on participating boys: More than half of all coaches (53,9%) stated that self-confidence of male participants was not (or rather not) increased through the sport programme. There was a hardly noticeable gender gap related to this item. However, differences between male and female coaches became more apparent when they were asked to assess their own self-confidence. Overall, more than two-thirds of all coaches (69,2%) reported an increased self-confidence since they started the programme. Thereby, the female approval was at 100% ('rather yes' and 'yes'), while 65,2% of male coaches shared this same opinion.

The last questionnaire item inquired about access to public spaces. A slight majority (53,9%) of all coaches agreed (or rather agreed) that PS sessions enabled young participants to access new public grounds. Thereby, no female coach clearly picked 'yes' or 'no', but two-thirds of all female coaches picked 'rather yes' and one-third 'rather no'. Overall, male coaches were also hesitant since they almost equally distributed their votes on the 4-point Likert scale on this final item.

1.5.1.2 Focus Group Discussion

All seven coaches of the FGD observed progress related to health issues in the behaviour of PS participants: "We spoke about diseases like cholera and the danger of waste dumps. (…). We repeat things again and again. (…). And then you see more kids washing hands and using the soap" (S4, male coach, 25). But they also emphasised that mere knowledge about health issues was insufficient, if children lacked proper food and mosquito nets for protection.

Most coaches registered that they noticed a behavioural change in young participants. They could tell a difference between programme beginners and those who were already participating for a while: "Some kids are very rough when they first come. (…). After a while they are getting more discipline. (…). We as coaches teach them respect. Children from very different backgrounds come together. Yes, it is a challenge. Sometimes we make them stop playing as a punishment, if they do not follow the rules. They have to sit outside and watch. (…). Later they can come back in again. But it is not easy, really" (S4, male coach, 26). This part of the FGD confirmed the questionnaire findings on ethical and moral behaviour of participating children/youth. Thereby, some influence of the programme was acknowledged, but with a hesitant majority. Referring to their own ethical and moral development, there was a general agreement among coaches that PS changed them for the better: "I used to drink in the bar and sometimes on the street. (…). Now, I don't drink anymore. If children see me drinking, I would feel embarrassed" (S4, male coach, 25). Another coach added that they

would lose credibility and legitimacy, if they taught health skills on nutrition, drugs, etc. and then behave differently. This self-assessment of changing in a positive way through the programme is strongly backed up by questionnaire results.

Referring to participants' self-confidence, most coaches agreed that there was an observable progress reached over time: "First some children are a bit shy. Then, as the programme continues, the confidence grows. (…). Finally, many talk in front of a group" (S4, male coach, 51). Contrasting with questionnaire results, they did not observe a greater increase for girls than for boys. Two of them explained that age, education, and family background were more decisive than gender.

Asked about their own self-confidence, some coaches were reluctant to answer within the FGD. Others openly shared their experiences. Overall, consistent with questionnaire findings, most coaches described an increase of self-confidence since their PS involvement. As most of them were unemployed, working as a coach - even voluntarily – made them feel needed and appreciated: "Somehow, what you do is important. Yes, it is important for the children and the community. (…). Not sitting around. And I think of it when I wake up in the morning. (…). Yes, doing something meaningful makes me proud and strong. It's a satisfaction" (S4, male coach, 26).

Regarding public space access, most FGD coaches stated that safe grounds were limited anyway: "There is a lack of space. (…). Sometimes the school wants to do a programme. Since there is only one ground our programme cannot be delivered when the school is doing something. (…). There is congestion all the time" (S4, male coach, 18). However, if they were able to run their sessions, girls and younger children in particular would profit. According to the FGD, free playgrounds were usually used by elder boys and men. One coach wished to have own PS spaces for ideal sessions, but, overall, they had a good cooperation with schools and felt privileged to use these safe grounds on a regular basis.

1.5.1.3 Self-recording Video

The two male coaches who recorded themselves did acknowledge a transfer of health skills, but deplored that resources for sustainable progress were missing. One coach verbalised a gap between theory and practice: "Even if you know how to wash yourself properly, it's difficult, if you don't have soap" (S11, male coach, 25).

Otherwise, the two coaches were mainly talking about self-confidence in terms of transferability. Thereby, the 26-year-old coach gave an account of how PS participants changed: "The kids are more confident. (…). Some teachers tell us that some children speak up in class who did not do this before". The coach also registered differences of discipline in the course of the programme: "Yes, at the beginning the behaviour of some children is bad with a lot of teasing. (…). They disturb and do not pay attention. (…). Then, after a while, they will feel more comfortable when you are talking to them. (…). They learn respect. They learn to respect us, each other and themselves". The coach further specified that "bad behaviour" was very much dependent on children's age (S11, male coach, 26).

The second coach stated that the programme had generally the potential to change behaviours. On the video, he mainly focussed on how PS involvement and working with children affected himself: "Talking in front of kids was a challenge for me. (…). It took me at least two months to feel comfortable doing this. Now I can talk in front of kids. In front of

many kids, and I have to talk. Now I can do it. It changed my confidence. (…). I didn't know how to handle kids before. Now I know (S11, male coach, 25). His colleague did also talk about the "personal transformation" he experienced being part of PS. He described his difficult situation growing up as an orphan and emphasised the trust and confidential atmosphere among coaches and staff members. Then, he mentioned the impact that participating children/youth had on him and reflected his behaviour: "I am more responsible now, because I'm a role model. (…). They are watching me. It changed me for a better. I pay more attention to what I am doing in life. (…). Now, I am like a platform of knowledge to help others" (S11, male coach, 26). These statements are in line with questionnaire results and the FGD findings presented above.

1.5.1.4 Key Informant Interview

Referring to health skills, the female interviewee noticed that many children remembered important messages that she was repeatedly teaching them. Depending on the age, she would emphasise different issues like brushing teeth or HIV prevention measures. Before starting a new sport session, she would ask children to recall key topics of previous sessions. She said that she was mostly satisfied with the results, but could not follow up on every child.

She stated that a teacher gave her positive feedback on behavioural changes: "Sport had really helped the teacher. (…). I was told that pupils were better to teach after sport activity. And children were attending classes more frequently. (…). Some kids came to school, because they did not want to miss sport". But there was also the other side of the coin: The 22-year-old mentioned that some boys stopped school, because they wanted to play football. They thought that PS would "discover them and that football would make them famous". Moreover, she specified that not all the PS children were changing in wishful ways, and thus needed further assistance.

Asked about her personal development, she emphasised newly acquired knowledge and skills. She talked about her initial fears to speak in front of people and to be in charge of many children. She was worried that her soft voice was not loud enough to be a successful leader. Because of her shortness, she doubted that anybody would pay attention to her. She explained that the first 'ToT' [training of trainers] helped her a lot. She still had to learn to work with children and to assert herself, but she received support from her fellow-coaches and some teachers. Since she started as a coach, she noticed major changes about herself: "It was not easy for me to start, but every session made me feel better; even the really difficult ones. Maybe the difficult ones made me even stronger. (…). And somehow, I am not intimidated anymore". Most of these statements are consistent with the questionnaire results which indicate an increased self-confidence of coaches through PS involvement.

Since PS was mainly working with schools and using their grounds, most participating children/youth were not really accessing new spaces. However, she said that girls especially were not used to having after-school activities on public or school grounds at all. Furthermore, she remembered events to which PS participants were invited such as the stadium or out-of-town tournaments. These were "mind-opening opportunities" for her as a coach and most participating children/youth which they had never experienced before (S6, female coach, 22). This differentiated answer is in line with the rather ambiguous questionnaire results on this final item.

1.5.2 Participating Children and Youth (SG2)

This fifth section analyses the potential transfer of skills acquired through active PS participation. Therefore, only participating children/youth in Blantyre/Ndirande were asked to complete questionnaires (N=28).

1.5.2.1 Questionnaire

The first item on learning health issues was clearly approved (82,1%) by most young participants ('rather yes' and 'yes'). There was only a slight difference between girls (86,6%) and boys (77%). This trend confirms questionnaire results of coaches.

Considerably less support received the second item which inquired whether participants had learned about good and bad behaviour through PS. However, there was still an overall majority (57,1%) who answered this statement positively ('rather yes' and 'yes'). This trend was in accordance with coaches' questionnaire results. Thereby, slightly more boys (61,6%) than girls (53,3%) stated that they had learned a lot about good and bad behaviour through the programme.

Assessing their coaches on moral and ethics, more than three-fourths of all young participants (78,6%) agreed that their coaches cared about good and fair behaviour. Related to this item, a few more boys (84,7%) than girls (73,3%) answered positively.

Asked about self-confidence potentially gained through PS participation, almost two-thirds of all children (64,2%) mentioned a personal increase ('rather yes' and 'yes'). Despite this overall majority, most female participants were not quite sure about this statement, since 40% of the girls picked 'rather yes' and only 26,7% fully approved. These same results were inverted for male participants: only 23,1% chose 'rather yes' and 38,5% fully agreed. These findings fairly contrast with the coaches' questionnaire results. Whereas coaches generally stated that girls' increase in self-confidence (80,8%) through PS was considerably more important than the one of boys (46,2%), not much difference was noticed between male (61,6%) and female (66,7%) participants themselves.

Concerning their coaches' self-confidence, three-fourths of all participating children/youth answered this item positively ('rather yes' and 'yes'). A large majority of girls (80%) thought or rather thought that their coaches seemed to be self-confident, while a few less boys (69,3%) shared this opinion. The perceived solid degree of coaches' self-confidence expressed by participating children/youth is consistent with questionnaire findings of coaches assessing themselves.

Asked about public spaces, most children (57,2%) agreed or rather agreed that PS participation had offered them new possibilities of access. Thereby, two-thirds of the girls (66,7%) answered this statement positively, while this view was only shared by 46,2% of the boys. The overall result confirms the coaches' questionnaires, whereas gender differences were not specified for this item.

1.5.3 Staff (SG3)

Two experienced PS managers provided information whereby their SRV sessions were mainly targeting personal development over time and new public spaces.

1.5.3.1 Self-recording Video

Referring to her personal self-confidence, the female manager explained her difficulties when starting her job with PS. She had the impression that individuals in the communities and herself were not speaking the same language: "The volunteers from the communities have a different understanding of life than people who went to school. (…). So it was very difficult for me to understand them and to learn the way they behave. (…). It was very difficult to understand the problems they brought forward and complaints they had". She thought about leaving PS and looking for another employment in town. She had worked with communities before, but had not been in direct contact with people like those in PS. After these initial challenges, she made up her mind: "I think I began to understand that unless you know the background of a person that you are actually able to work together. (…). So, now as I have understood their background and why they behave like they behave or why they talk as they talk sometimes, it is easier for me to work with them. (…). I even know how to deal with them. Now, they are very nice people to work with. (…). They make the programme happen in PS and improve the life of children out there in the community" (S12, female staff, 28). She emphasised how satisfied and proud she was with her capacity to change her mind and adapt to an unfamiliar setting. She said that this PS experience had helped her to handle other obstacles in life.

Her male colleague emphasised how PS offered opportunities for young participants, coaches, and staff to visit and access new places: "There were international games in the stadium and we were invited to come and paraded with teams from all over Africa. (…). It was exciting to see our children parade in the stadium in front of some head of states". He also spoke about travel opportunities PS gave him to attend a workshop abroad and share "knowledge and experiences with other organisations from South Africa and Zambia". For him, enabling participants and staff to travel and see other places was like living a dream. Besides offering regular sport sessions, he was convinced that special experiences "outside everyday structures" (S12, male staff, 50) might motivate young participants to go to school and study, and staff members to be even more committed.

1.5.4 Peripheral Informants (SG4)

Since information for this fifth section focussed on potential transfer of skills and knowledge acquired through PS, only peripheral informants who had such experiences were considered: These were three staff members at 'Makata School' in Ndirande. Not being directly involved in PS activities, they were able to comment on changes they had witnessed over time.

1.5.4.1 Key Informant Interview

The 'Makata' headmaster and his deputy head-teachers reported independently from one another on changes which they attributed to PS. Observed developments ranged from behavioural patterns, exhibited knowledge to declines in numbers of early pregnancies.

One deputy head-teacher referred to progress concerning nutrition, hygiene, and health: "As you know, we have big problems with water around here. (…). PS has brought a borehole which helped us a lot. (…). Also, PS helped the children to think. They raised awareness of issues such as HIV and AIDS, health, a balanced diet and things like that" (S8, female deputy head-teacher, 44).

The headmaster even ascribed a reduction of noxious behaviour to PS activities: "Children show less bad behaviour. There have been lots of problems in this community and youngsters were rude. (…). And some were aggressive. Thanks to PS, children know what to do after school. They also get something to eat and drink. (…). The number of registered children at our school has grown since PS started its activities on our grounds" (S5, male headmaster, 54). At the same time, he deplored the still existing large number of orphaned, neglected, sick, or handicapped children who were not attending school, and therefore neither PS activities. Nobody was looking after them. He talked about a vicious circle: On the one hand, school attendance was rewarded with after-school activities like PS. On the other hand, those who were not able to attend school were even more marginalised.

In line with the headmaster, the deputy mentioned reduced violence: "Since PS started its programme at our school, the situation improved a lot. (…). Before, there was a lot of vandalism. (…). PS gives the children something to do after school, and vandalism has dropped". Asked about more details on observed changes in children's behaviour, the interviewee answered: "Children have stopped smoking, for instance. Some have even stopped with the stealing. (…). Yes, actually many of them" (S9, male deputy head-teacher, 52). His female colleague specified observed changes referring to gender differences: "Speaking for the age group of 10-13, less girls get pregnant. (…). The boys changed mostly in regard to smoking, beating up people and vandalism. They do these things less nowadays" (S8, female deputy head-teacher, 44). On the negative side, she also mentioned that some out-of-school children waited for snacks and drinks to be distributed. Then, they stole them from PS participants to sell.

Early pregnancies were mentioned by all three interviewees. The headmaster even quantified the observed behavioural changes which he attributed to PS: "Before PS, between 20-30 girls at the age of 12-14 dropped out of school because of a pregnancy during one school period. (…). After school they did not go straight home, but they were spending time near the houses of some young men. (…). Since PS is active in Ndirande, this number has drastically dropped: Today only about 3-4 girls are getting pregnant during a school period at a very young age and drop out of school for this reason" (S5, male headmaster, 54). Besides meaningful time slots, school staff also linked the reduction of early pregnancies to increased female self-confidence and sense of belonging. In this sense, the above quotes are consistent with questionnaire findings of coaches who asserted that girls' self-confidence was increasing through PS. Otherwise, changes observed by peripheral informants – especially linked to ethical and moral behaviour of young participants - seem to be more evident than those stated by coaches and participants in the questionnaires.

The following two major subchapters will present summarised results for Zambia and South Africa following the same analysis structure.

2   ZAMBIA

Whereas the results for Malawi were presented in full detail and method by method, findings for Zambia will be more concentrated.[173] These Zambian results were obtained through the same triangulation procedure as applied for Malawi. In line with the first case study, these summarised results for Zambia follow the same structure consisting of five analytical

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[173] Full data sets on which the summarised results for Zambia are based, are available upon request.

sections: socio-cultural context, SRMs, and the three pedagogical interventions (presence and mind-set; intentional teaching; and transfer). Following these five sections, all 34 items of the questionnaire will be tackled in this sub-chapter on Zambian results.

In Zambia, 24 male and five female coaches (SG1) belonging to the ZSFN[174] filled in questionnaires (with 26 fully completed). Additionally, eight coaches participated in FGDs and 14 recorded themselves on video. Overall, 30 boys and 20 girls (SG2) provided information through questionnaires, whereby 45 questionnaires were completed. Furthermore, eight ZSFN staff members (SG3) and four peripheral informants (SG4) were consulted using FGD, KII, and SRV[175]. For the Zambian case study, the community of Kalikiliki served as the comparison group.

2.1 Socio-cultural Context: Status and Value of Sport

Overall, a majority of coaches (SG1) and young participants (SG2) stated that most people in their communities wanted children to do sports, but were more reluctant regarding girls. There was also a scepticism related to active adults which was even further increased when explicitly referring to women. It was more or less acceptable to most community members for girls to play football, but under the condition of decent clothing on and off the pitch. There were repeated statements that many people would prefer girls and women to play netball or to bottle-race, if they wanted to do sports. Therefore, age, gender, and the type of sport were three decisive factors in approving or disapproving physical activities.

Regarding the perception of female bodies, it was generally mentioned that athletic muscular women were not really considered attractive and beautiful in the communities of coaches and participants. Especially future participants in Kalikiliki stated an incongruity between trained sportswomen and female attractiveness. This perspective strongly contrasted with the assessment of athletic muscular male bodies which were almost unanimously considered highly desirable and attractive.

As already mentioned, acceptable female physical activity was often linked to age and proper clothing. Whereas both male and female coaches were rather open-minded, half of the male Zambian participants emphasised the expectation that girls and women should always wear dresses or skirts. In comparison, only a third of female participants shared this opinion. However, results indicate that it was socially acceptable for girls and women to wear shorts in public during physical activities. Here again, in contrast to girls, age concerns and restrictions were mentioned for women wearing shorts. Relating to this item, female coaches and participants were generally more in favour than their male counterparts, and active participants (Mtendere, Northmead, and Bauleni) were more favourable than future participants in Kalikiliki. These findings were underlined in an interview with a female teacher at 'Bauleni Primary School' (attended by 2'250 learners) on the outskirts of Lusaka: "In our African tradition, if you are not dressed accordingly, men are attracted. (…). Now, the tradition is changing a bit. Like in sports, it's okay. But after the activity the girls should get dressed properly right away. (…). Even leaving the ground they have to wear something. Trousers are okay nowadays for girls, but over the knees. Elbows should be covered as well. (…). There is the risk that girls get pregnant, but not married. (…). They use her and dump

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[174] Zambian Street Football Network. See Chap. II for more details.
[175] Focus Group Discussion (FGD), Key Informant Interview (KII), and Self-recording Video (SRV).

her, because she was attractive, but not respectful to tradition". The same interviewee also mentioned content changes in official Zambian pupil's books on 'Social and Development Studies' in terms of gender perceptions. She emphasised extensive chapters on gender-based occupations (such as driving trucks or playing football) which were targeting both boys and girls. The teacher said that not all learners accepted such changes: "Most kids think a man should not cook or wash dishes, if women are in the house. Then they watch TV. It depends very much on the parents. (…). Some children do protest when I say that men should cook as well" (S17, female teacher, 28). Overall, traditional gender norms and stereotypes still prevail in Zambia, but seem on the verge of change.

2.2 Sporting Role Models: Choice and Attributes

Considering SRMs choices in Zambia, international and African male footballers are predominantly selected. A second particularity of the results is linked to the incredible popularity of the Zambian boxer Esther Phiri[176]. The third major finding concerns the nominations of male NGO staff. The following Graph 11 illustrates the categories of SRMs mentioned by coaches, whereby the proportions of female (N=5) and male (N=24) coaches need to be considered for the results' representativeness:
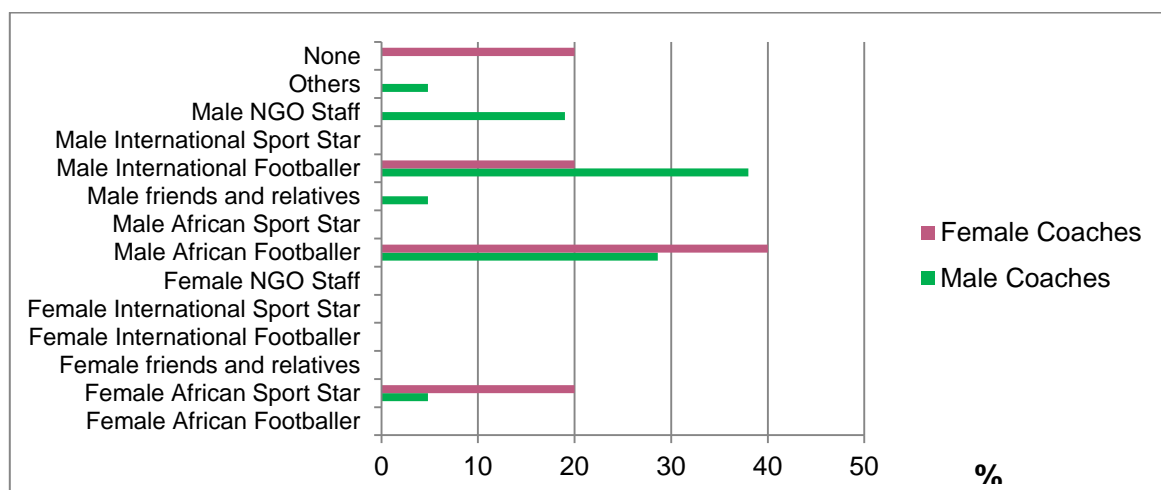
Graph 11: Categories of SRM Choices Mentioned by ZSFN Coaches (Zambia)

It's noteworthy that the category 'Female African Sport Star' consisted only of votes for Esther Phiri Thereby, it is remarkable that the female boxer was as well mentioned as personal SRM by men. In the course of a SRV session, a 22-year-old coach provided more details on his choice: "My role model is Esther Phiri. (…). I feel strongly that she is my role model, because she has brought sports to Zambia. And she managed to reach out to many kids to understand that they need to do sports. (…). And that is why I picked Esther. (…). And she does boxing. So I am impressed with her. (…). Last month she just opened an Academy here in Lusaka for kids to box and to do other sports. She came out of nowhere. And today Esther is respected in the whole country. If one girl like her can do it, then all of us can make something out of life" (S25, male coach, 22). The two main reasons for SRM nominations by coaches were 'excellent football skills' and 'great personality/character', whereby the second reason was proportionally more often mentioned by female coaches.

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[176] See Chap. III for more details on Esther Phiri.

Almost half of all male participants chose international male footballers as personal SRMs, while the majority of female participants did not mention any SRM. Graph 12 presents categories of SRMs mentioned by female (N=18) and male (N=27) participants:
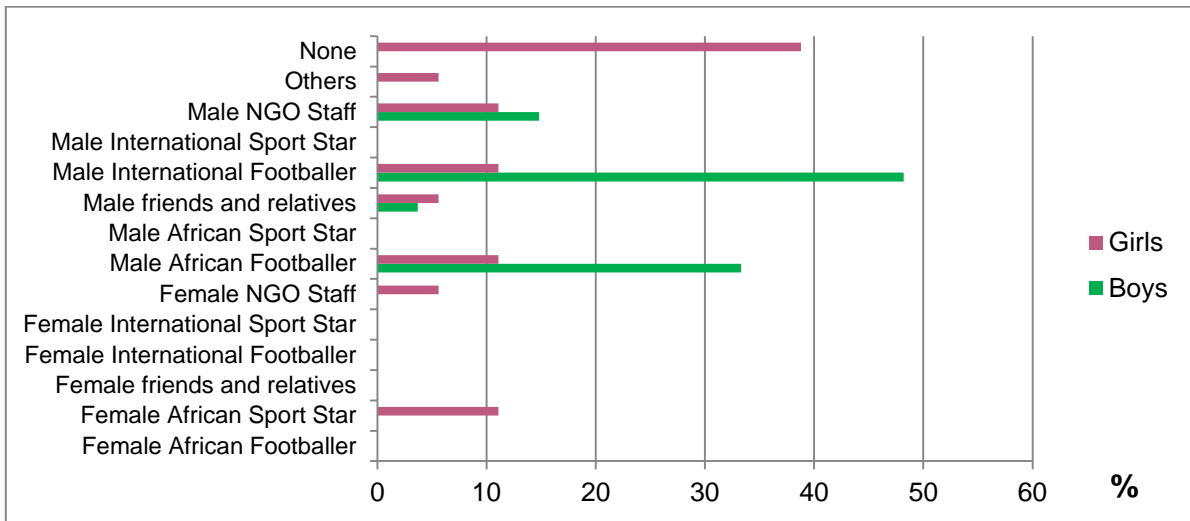
Graph 12: Categories of SRM Choices Mentioned by ZSFN Participating Children/Youth (Zambia)

Contrasting with their male counterparts, girls' choices were much more diversified. However, NGO staff was chosen by both boys and girls, and even female staff was picked as SRM. Again, only Esther Phiri was named as 'female African sport star'. The two most frequently reasons mentioned by participating children/youth for naming SRMs were 'excellent football skills' and 'muscular body / style / looks'. Most of the girls and a third of the boys did not provide a reason for their choice.

Explicitly asked about their favourite female athlete in Zambia, most coaches as well as most boys named Esther Phiri. In accordance with the previous question on personal SRMs in general, most girls did not mention any name. The following Graph 13 illustrates the domains in which the nominated female athletes were active:
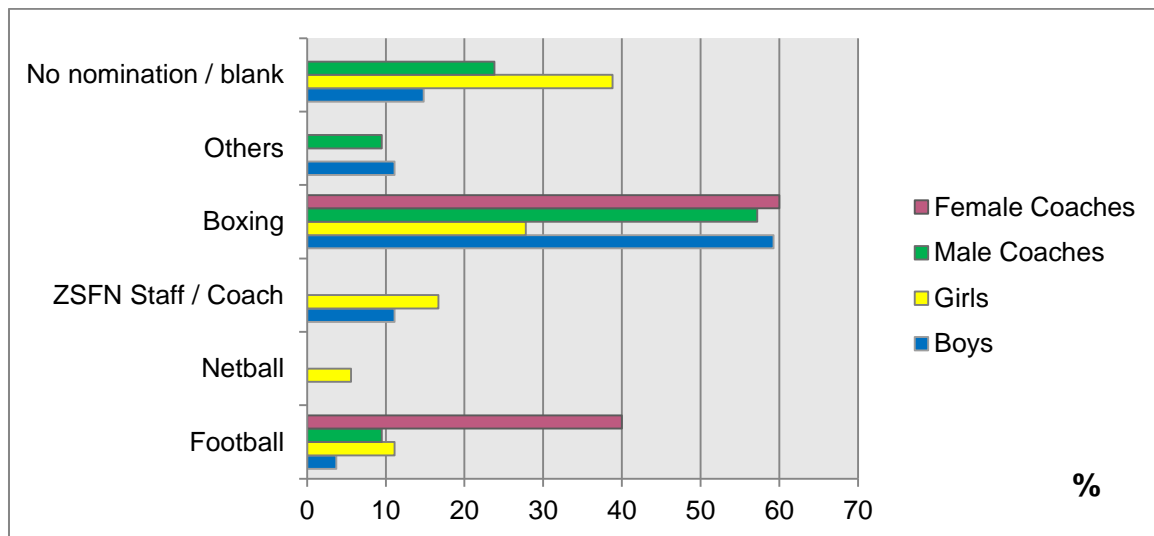
Graph 13: Chosen Domains of Favourite Female Athletes in Zambia

Female coaches especially mentioned female footballers and mostly referred to former ZSFN participants who had made it to the national team. Otherwise, it is noteworthy that both boys and girls mentioned ZSFN staff as favourite female athletes in Zambia.

2.3 Micro Level: Presence and Mind-set

Almost all coaches considered themselves as role models for young participants. In SRVs they talked about ZSFN participants who were looking up to them, because of their healthy lifestyle and community work. Most coaches perceived themselves as models with extended outreach: "Yes, I think I am a role model for the kids, the people in the community, my fellow players, my fellow coaches, because every time I am working with the kids in the field everyone just comes to me. I don't know. (…). I am a role model, especially for the young kids. Even if I am not coaching and I am standing just in the compound everyone wants to spend time with me" (S24, male coach, 26).

Many coaches emphasised their volunteerism and "passion for the right cause", and that they felt communal respect for their social commitment: "I have been to school, I am doing community service and family care. And this makes me a respected person and role model. And I think I am a good role model" (S24, male coach, 25).

Only a few coaches reported on discouragements from volunteering for a ZSFN organisation. The main reason for such dissuasion was economic scarcity: Some people thought that looking for properly paid work, farming, trading, etc. was more important than "just playing around with kids" (S24, male coach, 26). One female coach was initially discouraged by her stepfather who was worried that she would not find a husband.

The following list (

Tab. 11) presents the most frequently named motivations provided by 26 male and female coaches whereby the rating considers first, second or third choices:

Overall Ranking	Motivation Category	Rating[177]	%
1.	**Teaching life skills and/or personal skills**	**44**	**28.2**
2.	**Community welfare / well-being of children**	**38**	**24.4**
3.	**Potential job opportunity / education / travel**	**18**	**11.5**
4.	Social interaction / meeting friends	14	9.1
5.	Fun and recreation	13	8.3
6.	Hope for money and/or material goods	9	5.8
7.	Good performance / winning	8	5.1
8.	Recognition and reward by community	6	3.8
9.	Increasing personal sport skills / fitness	3	1.9
10.	Others	3	1.9

Tab. 11: Ranking of Motivations to be a ZSFN Coach (N=26)

Overall, a majority of coaches felt responsible for participating children/youth during and beyond the ZSFN programme. Referring to the sport sessions, numerous coaches deplored the lack of adequate equipment and infrastructure for conducting proper activities for

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[177] For this calculation, 1st choices were multiplied by 3, 2nd choices were multiplied by 2, and 3rd choices were multiplied by 1.

participants. However, five out of seven coaches who recorded themselves on video explained that their responsibility and care for participating children/youth was not limited to the football pitch. Many of them described that there were contacts and even friendships beyond ZSFN. Due to a recently established peer leader system, more experienced participants were given special tasks and responsibilities for younger participants. Youth peer leaders were then receiving training to become coaches and thus prepared for future coaching tasks. According to ZSFN staff members, this peer leader strategy helped to minimise the age gap between coaches and participants, reduced fluctuation, and facilitated valuable peer-to-peer relationships as well as the recruitment of motivated offspring. The sense of belonging of coaches, participants, and staff was increased through this reliable network which was repeatedly referred to as 'family'. Therefore, many coaches emphasised that their interest in children/youth participating and the programme was "more than just a job" (S24, male coach, 25). Beyond the programme, they were proactively concerned with young participants' well-being and education: "We have a lot of kids that want to go to school, but cannot afford it. So it is a challenge for us to fundraise for them" (S24, male coach, 18). In various similar statements and domains, commitment and empathy of ZSFN staff for the benefit of young participants were registered.

Female coaches seemed to be generally more sensitised to gender equity. Many male coaches expressed their interest in fairness and equal opportunities, but they did not specifically care about gender. Even though the number of active female coaches was considerably lower than that of male coaches, a majority of all coaches mentioned an open-minded atmosphere concerning gender issues within the ZSFN.

Findings reinforced the fact that the ZSFN is a young and still a bit fragile construct consisting of three formerly autonomous organisations (BSA, BUSA, and KSC)[178]. Most coaches were still identifying with their original NGO and to a lesser extent with the 'artificial' ZSFN which was also facing financial challenges. However, the common denominator for all coaches was to improve the lives of young participants against all odds, even hazarding the consequences of personal (financial) constraints.

2.4 Meso/Exo Level: Intentional Teaching

This fourth analytical section refers to 'intentional teaching' which builds on the results presented above on 'mind-set and presence'. Findings of this section explore, for instance, problem solving strategies and respective relational settings.

There was broad agreement among and within all consulted subgroups that young participants should share their private problems with coaches. It was emphasised that most vulnerable children did not have many other options to talk about their difficulties: "You know, here in Africa we have so many kids who we want to help. (…). Many of them are orphans and have nothing and nobody. And us as leaders, if we don't go… I mean, if we don't do something, nobody will help. (…). So we are the only persons" (S28, female coach, 22).

Overall, the majority of coaches (75,4%) stated that they were taking time to privately talk with participating children/youth outside the programme. But questionnaire results showed that they were also available to children during the sessions, but to a lesser extent (55,2%). However, many of them explained that during the sessions they really wanted to focus on

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[178] Breakthrough Sports Academy (BSA), Bauleni United Sports Academy (BUSA), and Kalim Sports Council (KSC).

teaching life and sport skills to as many young participants as possible. Therefore, during the sessions, they would basically only discuss private issues in emergencies. Nevertheless, there was a gender difference related to this item: female coaches mentioned that sometimes, before or during the session, they were raising issues of general interest in front of the group and gave advice from which everybody could potentially profit. Often they indirectly answered frequently asked questions, but without alluding to any names. Male coaches, in contrast, did not refer to such strategies.

Most female coaches stated that both girls and boys shared private problems with them. However, they emphasised that boys would approach them only up to a certain age. In contrast, a majority of male coaches reported that it was boys who predominantly approached them to discuss personal problems and only seldom did girls. Two male coaches said that they were contacted by girls in small groups, but rarely one-to-one. During the FGD, coaches agreed that male coaches were mostly consulted by girls for practical reasons such as food, equipment, transport, school exams, or tournaments. More delicate and emotional 'girls' issues' linked to sickness, hygiene, health, violence, pregnancy, etc. were almost exclusively shared with female coaches. Three coaches emphasised that Zambian tradition did not allow for respectable young females to have discussions on delicate issues with men.

Slightly more than half of all coaches (52,3%) did (or rather did) know most parents/caregivers of young participants personally. However, they made efforts to involve them as much as possible, since ZSFN coaches and staff were aware of their potential impact. Referring to environmental problems, for example, one coach described community clean-ups within the football programme: "We even had cholera in the compound because of garbage. (…). Parents and families need to be included. (…). Parents have bad feelings to dump garbage, if they know that their own children have to collect it before playing football" (S28, male coach, 24). Despite these convictions and efforts, most coaches said that parents/caregivers did not often approach them to talk about their sons, daughters, or fosterlings. According to a female teacher, many parents/caregivers were busy and struggling to make a living from scarce resources and had no time to look after every child. Coaches reported on parents/caregivers who initially came to the pitch to get an impression of the sessions. But since community chiefs were generally in favour of the ZSFN programmes, parents/caregivers trusted them as well. Coaches mentioned that now and then some adult relatives still kept an eye on the pitch. Many coaches said to receive gratitude and felt respected by parents/caregivers and the community.

Concerning co-ed sport activities, half of the coaches were reluctant. Some of them stated that, once in a while, they would encourage playing netball in mixed teams. Thereby, they emphasised the advantage of netball's limited body contact. But most of the time, teams and groups for the sessions were formed according to age and sex of young participants. Depending on available staff and coaches, sessions with the youngest girls and boys were usually mixed. Whereas most coaches approved this practice, a majority also agreed that co-ed sessions should not be further encouraged for teenage participants. Thereby, dangers of indecent behaviour and early pregnancies were highlighted.

Most coaches reported that they did not explicitly raise issues related to gender and sport as part of their ZSFN activities. However, there was a considerable gender gap linked to this item: all female coaches stated that they intentionally talked about gender issues regularly or occasionally during their sessions. In contrast, only a few male coaches said they explicitly

raised issues related to sport and gender at all. Nevertheless, some of them clearly emphasised that they would not accept any form of discrimination relating to girls or women. In the FGD, male coaches agreed that some topics did not need more words for implementation, but action. And since the ZSFN was offering and publicly supporting female sport activities and especially football, the organisation's direction of impact as well as mind-set of coaches and staff were obvious and clear enough, according to these male coaches.

2.5 Macro Level: Transferability

The fifth analytical section for Zambia concentrates on the transfer of acquired skills into everyday life and corresponds to the 'macro level' of the coaching/pedagogy pyramid of this study's 'Heuristic Framework' (Chap. VI).

Three-fourths of all coaches were convinced that participating children/youth gained health knowledge through their ZSFN involvement. Besides information on nutrition, hygiene, malaria, and tuberculosis, most coaches emphasised that they especially focussed on vital messages concerning HIV and AIDS. Some coaches mentioned that HIV and AIDS information was particularly important for female participants who were statistically more affected than their male counterparts. One coach stated that he could tell the difference between ZSFN participants and children who were not attending ZSFN programmes based on the knowledge on HIV and AIDS and respective prevention. Within the ZSFN there seemed to be a strong belief in sport as a tool for development: "Sport and sport events have helped our young people to understand the pandemic, the disease about HIV and AIDS. (…). If we take HIV and AIDS and sport together, it will be easier, because a lot of people participate in sport. And a lot of people love sport" (S21, male staff, 24). A female teacher confirmed in an interview that the ZSFN was successfully imparting health messages to children who were her pupils. She talked about a 'knowledge gap' between ZSFN participants and other children. However, she also mentioned that for some ZSFN boys football was outweighing the value of school and education which caused other problems.

This last comment leads to the next questionnaire section on observed changes of participants' and coaches' ethical and moral behaviour. Thereby, half of the coaches stated that ZSFN involvement of participating children/youth had an influence on their behavioural patterns. Contrasting with rather reluctant coaches, a school teacher described changed behaviour which she valued positively: "Sport makes children frequently attend classes. (…). Some kids come to school, because they don't want to miss sport. (…). For me, children are better to teach after sport. They pay more attention to what I say". However, the teacher also mentioned new dangers which football entailed: She deplored that especially female participants did not immediately go home after the sport sessions: "Girls who hang around late risk to get pregnant" (S17, female teacher, 28). According to staff members (KII) and parents in Mtendere (FGD), behavioural changes were noticed related to environmental issues. Since most ZSFN football pitches were in desolate condition and polluted by all sorts of garbage, sessions often started with clean-ups. Such regular clean-up activities raised awareness of participants about environmental care and proper waste disposal. Fathers of participating children/youth related that their children would criticise neighbours who were dumping garbage on public grounds such as football pitches. One father even acknowledged that his son had influenced him as well to think more about proper garbage disposal.

Referring to self-perceived changes of ethical and moral behaviour, a broad majority of coaches stated that ZSFN involvement had influenced them in a positive way: "Sport keeps me fit and keeps me away from doing bad things like drinking in bars or just watching basketball on TV. (…). And being a coach makes me feel awake and somehow alive" (S28, male coach, 25). Similar statements were captured through SRV: "Sport is my life, and BUSA my home base. (…). I didn't understand life before. (…). BUSA brought me here and I am who I am because of sport" (S24, male coach, 22). Many coaches mentioned that their responsibility for the kids made them more emphatic, self-conscious and appreciative of life.

The item on coaches' self-confidence was closely linked to the ethical and moral self-assessment. Thereby, a majority of coaches indicated increased self-confidence since their ZSFN involvement. Most coaches mentioned their personal development of new skills over time: "I learnt a lot of things on how to be a leader, and how to teach things on HIV and AIDS. (…). It was not always easy. And now I am used to this. I am experienced now for this and happy" (S24, male coach, 25). Younger coaches and peer leaders were linking their gained self-confidence mainly to individual achievements such as participating in tournaments or travelling abroad. One peer coach remembered his involvement as participant: "My personal highlight was when I went to Spain to play football. And when I was selected to play in the under-17 Zambian national team" (S24, male coach, 18). Older and more experienced coaches instead gave examples of organisational highlights such as publishing books on the role of peer leaders which increased their self-confidence.

Overall, there was consensus among coaches and staff members that participating children/youth also gained self-confidence through their ZSFN involvement. However, both male and female coaches stated that this increase was more noticeable for girls than for boys. Nevertheless, survey results from young participants themselves did not confirm this gender difference: more or less two-thirds of both girls and boys equally stated that they gained self-confidence through the ZSFN.

Referring to the last item, slightly more than half of all coaches supported the statement that ZSFN programmes enabled participating children/youth to access new public spaces. A female coach especially highlighted participation in sport events which offered access to other communities: "We have gone to the 'Kicking AIDS Out' tournament and we participated in the International Women's Day. (…). Like this we bring kids to new places. They see new things. (…). Especially girls are not used to this" (S24, female coach, 24). Thereby, proportionally more female than male coaches thought that new areas were opened up to children/youth through the ZSFN. This gender difference was registered as well for participants' results: Overall, about two-thirds of all the children reported having gained access to new public spaces. However, there were considerably more girls than boys mentioning that they were able to enter new grounds because of their ZSFN involvement. A senior staff member raised the issue of ZSFN community clean-ups that created new safe places for children to play. However, he mentioned that "safe places for boys are not always safe places for girls". Furthermore, he emphasised the insufficient public infrastructure which many Zambians were facing: "Many places are filled with mud and water, because the draining system is not functioning. (…). And the main problem is garbage" (S23, male staff, 27). Whether access to safe and clean spaces was gained through exceptional events or obtained on a regular basis, there is a consistent majority of all subgroups arguing that ZSFN programmes generally enabled young participants to access new public spaces.

3   SOUTH AFRICA

After Malawi and Zambia, this third subchapter will present summarised results for South Africa. Thereby, the same previously applied triangulation procedure and analysis structure were followed. In consistency with the two case studies already described, South African findings are as well depicted along five analytical sections.

In South Africa, questionnaires were filled in by 7 male and 17 female coaches **(SG1)** belonging to GRS[179], whereby 23 questionnaires were fully completed. Furthermore, four FGDs were conducted with a total of 21 coaches (14 female, 7 male). Additionally, 14 coaches (10 female, 4 male) recorded themselves on video. Regarding the second subgroup **(SG2)**, 38 boys and 50 girls were asked to fill in questionnaires, whereby 82 questionnaires were completed. Considering the third and fourth subgroups of staff and peripheral informants, five GRS staff members recorded themselves on video **(SG3)** and one headmaster was interviewed **(SG4)**.

For the South African case study, children attending two different schools ('Lamani School' and 'David Vuku School') in New Brighton/Port Elizabeth were consulted. Thereby, data was collected from two classes in each school: one class consisted of children who already attended GRS lessons, whereas children of the other class had not yet participated in GRS activities. Therefore, one class from each school served as comparison group.

3.1   Socio-cultural Context: Status and Value of Sport

Most coaches (SG1) and participating children/youth (SG2) unanimously stated that a majority of people in their communities wanted children to do sports. There was no major reluctance registered with regard to girls' sport activities. Results showed a general approval of athletically active adults, and only limited scepticism when specifically referring to active women. However, findings demonstrated more disapproval in communities regarding football. There were various statements associating football with smoking and drinking alcohol, and female football with homosexuality: "Some people think that every girl who plays football wants to be a boy. Such ideas are still alive. (…). They are talking about 'tomboys' or lesbians" (S30, female coach, 21). Repeated statements by coaches emphasised that such stereotypes were barriers of female participation: "And I guess many lady footballers in my community are lesbians. (…). And the community knows about it. (…). But there is this striker who played for the national team. And she is for example not a lesbian. But the prejudice is there. And it's a very strong prejudice. (…). In some houses, girls are not allowed to play football, because of this. My sister for example wants to play football, but she is not allowed. My mother doesn't want her to become gay. I'm trying to convince my mother to let her go. She just wants to join the team. She has a great passion for soccer" (S30, male coach, 26). Many statements confirmed that most community members generally wanted sporting children and adults. The headmaster of Lamani School said that P.E. classes were not compulsory, but that his school offered sport activities after school: "Both girls and boys play soccer, basketball, and cricket. (…). Then, rugby is only played by boys, and only girls do play netball" (S36, male headmaster, 39). However, major concerns were raised by different protagonists when girls and women were extensively concentrating on football and, for example, wanted to play competitively.

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[179] Grassroot Soccer. See Chap. II for more details.

Results demonstrated that athletically muscular women were not perceived as attractive and beautiful in the communities of coaches and young participants. However, there was a strong general agreement that trained sportsmen were considered highly attractive and desirable.

In terms of adequate female clothing, there was a noticeable difference between male and female coaches. While a majority of female coaches clearly rejected the social expectation that girls and women should always wear dresses or skirts, half of the male coaches were in favour of it. This gender discrepancy also prevailed for participants, even if the approval of female participants was not as obvious as the one expressed by female coaches. However, there was broad consensus that it was acceptable for girls and women to wear shorts or trousers in public during physical activities. Relating to this item, female coaches and participating girls were generally more in favour than their male counterparts. However, there was no difference between children who did attend GRS sessions and children who did not yet participate in GRS activities. Some coaches stressed the fact that GRS, despite its name, was not really about playing football: "Our curriculum is not only about soccer. (…). We do games such as 'team handball' and other things. (…). And kids do not really play much soccer. But we use the soccer language to talk about HIV and AIDS. Why are we putting 'soccer' even in our name? I don't know. If it was me, I would use the name 'Grassroot Squad' or something like that, and not soccer" (S30, male coach, 26). Besides shorts or trousers, many female coaches mentioned sport bras as necessary equipment for teenage girls and women. They referred to sport bras especially focussing on safety concerns. In the course of various FGDs and SRVs, the danger of being raped was repeatedly emphasised. Thereby, challenging or breaking traditional norms and local decency codes were considered serious risk factors. In all four FGDs, the most frequently described episode concerned the murder of a female footballer in the community: "Some people have very violent thoughts. They think 'I will rape her to show her what it is like to be a lady'. (…). You know, to get her a child to make sure that she is a lady. (…). A lot of people would agree with these thoughts. (…). There has been a very bad incident with the 'City Ladies': One of the players was raped and killed because she was gay. (…). Yes, some guy was approaching her, but she didn't want to have a man. She refused him. He felt offended and wanted to show her that she was a woman by raping her. (…). As you can see the stigma is not only concerning people with HIV and AIDS. It's all over, and it's a problem" (S30, male coach, 35).

Generally, results for South Africa displayed open-mindedness and tolerance regarding male and female sport participation. But at the same time, resistance was very outspoken and explicitly related to sportswomen who were seriously pursuing traditionally male sports.

3.2 Sporting Role Models: Choice and Attributes

The first noteworthy aspect of SRM choices relates to the variety of sports. Even though most mentioned SRMs in South Africa were international and African male footballers, some selections concerned as well athletes who participated in swimming, tennis, rugby, or cricket. Secondly, neither male coaches nor male participants mentioned any female SRMs, while most female coaches and girls picked male SRMs. The third observation involves the fact that both female and male GRS staff members were mentioned as SRMs by coaches, but no participant named GRS staff or coaches as SRMs.

The following Graph 14 shows the categories of favourite SRMs mentioned by GRS coaches in detail, whereby the proportions of female (N=17) and male (N=6) coaches need to be recalled for a sound understanding:
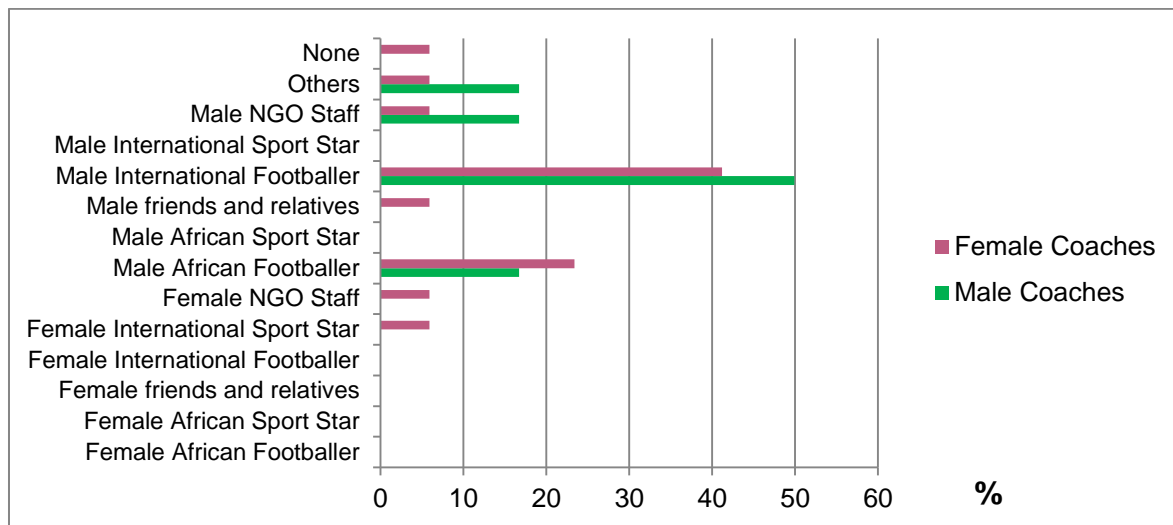
Graph 14: Categories of SRM Choices Mentioned by GRS Coaches (South Africa)

It's noteworthy that the number of female coaches who did not know or have a SRM is very low. The only nomination in the category 'Female International Sport Star' was the US tennis player, Serena Williams. The main reason given for SRM nominations by female coaches was 'great personality/character', while the top reason for male coaches consisted of 'excellent football skills'.

The following Graph 15 gives an overview on categories of SRMs mentioned by female (N=49) and male (N=33) participating children/youth:
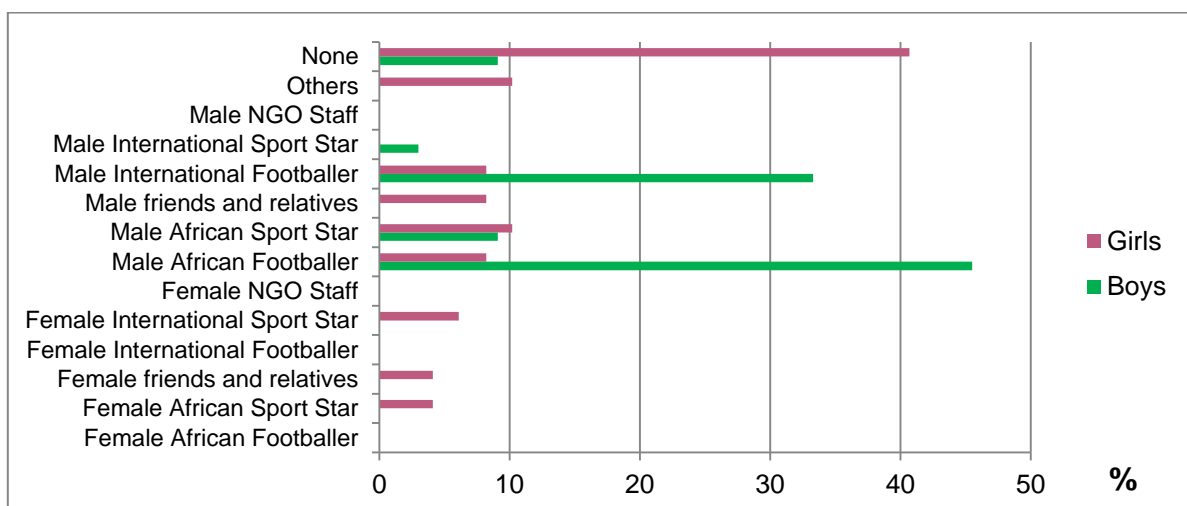
Graph 15: Categories of SRM Choices Mentioned by GRS Participating Children/Youth (South Africa)

Almost half of all male participants chose African male footballers as personal SRMs, followed by international male footballers. The majority of female participants did not mention any SRM. However, contrasting with their male counterparts, girls' choices were much more

diversified including male cricket and rugby players as well as female tennis stars[180]. Moreover, the South African swimmer Natalie du Toit[181] was selected by girls as personal SRM. It's noteworthy that no GRS staff or coach was chosen as SRM by any girl or boy. Young participants' two most frequently mentioned reasons for naming SRMs involved 'excellent football skills' and 'muscular body / style / looks'. Most boys and half of the girls did not indicate any reason for their selection.

The only nominated 'female African sport star' was Natalie du Toit who was also by far the most mentioned personality in the category of 'favourite female athlete in South Africa'. The successful both Paralympic and Olympic swimmer was nominated by more than half of all consulted coaches and participants as favourite female athlete. The following Graph 16 illustrates the activity domains of the female nominees:
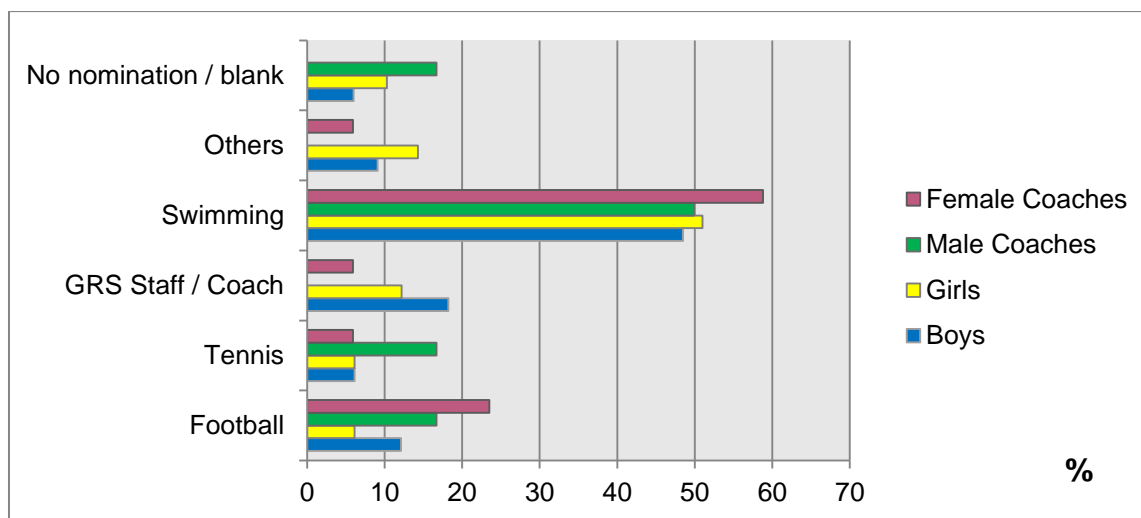
Graph 16: Chosen Domains of Favourite Female Athletes in South Africa

GRS staff and coaches were selected as favourite female athletes by girls, boys, and female coaches, but not by male coaches. The only tennis nominees were the US Williams sisters. Nominations of the few female footballers mostly referred to former or current players of the South African national team 'Banyana Banyana'.

3.3 Micro Level: Presence and Mind-set

Every GRS coach and staff member who participated in SRV sessions (N=19) clearly stated that he or she was thinking of himself or herself as role model. These descriptions were strongly confirmed by questionnaire results. Thereby, coaches perceived themselves mainly as role models for the community and participating children/youth. Thereby, female coaches especially emphasised their football skills: "I think I am a role model. Since I play soccer some of the girls want maybe to join some soccer teams and some of the boys in school want me to teach them in soccer. (…). And inside the community, too, I am a role model. Because there are only a few girls in my community who play sports especially soccer. Most of them are playing netball. And the guys are the ones to play soccer" (S35, female coach, 24). Staff members, depending on their position, considered themselves primarily as role models for coaches and fellow staff members and to a lesser extent for participating

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[180] Bryan Habana (Rugby), Makhaya Ntini (Cricket), Venus and Serena Williams (Tennis).
[181] In 2008 Natalie du Toit became the first athlete in history to qualify for both the Olympic Games and the Paralympic Games in the same year.

children: "Yes, I see myself as a role model, especially for the staff. (…). I don't spend so much time with the participants. Even though I go and see what is going on. So for the staff, I am a role model. Because everything I ask them to do, I make sure I am the first one to do it. (…). So that when I tell them to do things in a certain way they know that I am doing it the same way. (…). I always make sure that I practice what I preach" (S33, female staff, 22). However, there was a considerable argumentative difference between local African staff and foreign (USA) staff members: "I think we are all, I mean all the Americans, definitely role models for the coaches. They see how White people, Westerners, handle things. The locals often see only money. (…). So we show them how to be responsible and how to be on time. (…). So it is definitely more to our colleagues and voluntary coaches than to the kids, because we don't interact with the kids so much. (…). I also think that we are role models for the women. We play soccer. We show them that you can be feminine and play soccer at the same time" (S33, female staff, 23). Many coaches stated that they received appreciation, respect, and gratitude in their communities, because they were "keeping kids away from bad things like drugs and alcohol" (S35, female coach, 25). Overall, a majority of GRS coaches was never discouraged from being a coach, but some of them mentioned that their families would prefer paid employment. Relating to volunteerism, coaches repeatedly emphasised that adequate payments would make their tasks much easier and more encouraging. According to the coaches, they could invest all their time, efforts, and energy into GRS work and would not have to worry about income generating activities inside and outside the community. The following ranking (

Tab. 12) lists the main motivations of coaches to be involved with GRS:

Overall Ranking	Motivation Category	Rating[182]	%
1.	**Teaching life skills and/or personal skills**	**32**	**23.2**
2.	**Community welfare / well-being of children**	**24**	**17.4**
3.	**Potential job opportunity / education / travel**	**20**	**14.5**
4.	Hope for money and/or material goods	20	14.5
5.	Social interaction / meeting friends	13	9.4
6.	Fun and recreation	12	8.7
7.	Recognition and reward by community	9	6.5
8.	Good performance / winning	3	2.2
9.	Increasing personal sport skills / fitness	3	2.2
10.	Others	2	1.4

Tab. 12: Ranking of Motivations to be a GRS Coach (N=23)

Most coaches stated that their responsibility towards the children was basically within the timeframe of GRS interventions and ended with graduation. Since GRS activities only take place during a limited period of time with the same children, many coaches struggled to stay in touch with children beyond the programme: "I am very much interested how the kids are progressing outside GRS. (…). But I think it's a challenge. It's hard to keep up with them. (…). I think it's only possible for close ones. And it might be even difficult with them" (S32, male coach, 27). Most coaches expressed their interest in future contacts with GRS participants, but deplored lacking resources and structures: "To keep up with kids, you really have to make your own efforts as a coach. (…). There is no support from GRS to do this. I

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[182] For this calculation, 1st choices were multiplied by 3, 2nd choices were multiplied by 2, and 3rd choices were multiplied by 1.

am still in touch with some kids after one year. (…). You will meet them on the street and have a chat. But there is no real follow-up. (…). Basically it is a coincidence, if a relationship stays or not" (S32, female coach, 24). Many coaches did as well mention that they were asked by children "Why don't you come back?" or "Why are you stopping your activity with us?" (S32, female coach, 25). Summing up, statements confirm the questionnaire results that a majority of coaches wanted to stay in touch with children and "check on them" (S31, male coach, 22) beyond the programme, but that they were not able to do so in reality.

Due to the fact that female GRS coaches exceeded their male colleagues in number in Port Elizabeth, discourse on gender equity was strongly backed-up by everyday life situations. Furthermore, most female GRS coaches were excellent and active footballers, mostly playing for the club 'City Ladies', while some of the male coaches were less skilled and did not mention football as their favourite sport. These non-stereotypical combinations already sent out a certain message and addressed gender issues which were, in addition, repeatedly emphasised as commitment and concerns of female coaches: "Throughout the years GRS has allowed me to think beyond the box and to say 'yes I work with kids who look up to me'. Even if I like it or not, whether I know it or not. That automatically makes me a role model to kids and young people. (…). And as a woman my role is even more serious. (…). I know that I can influence women and girls, and the way men and boys look at them and treat them" (S35, female coach, 22). Even though most male coaches stated as well that they considered fairness between male and female individuals as an important issue, they were less sensitised to this topic. The male questionnaire results on this item were not confirmed by corresponding statements in SRV sessions or FGDs.

3.4 Meso/Exo Level: Intentional Teaching

This fourth analytical section builds on the above presented results on 'mind-set and presence'. Thereby, the coaches' intentions to build and sustain relationships with young participants and their parents/caregivers are addressed and strategies to cope with children's problems scrutinised.

There was consensus among all consulted subgroups that participating children/youth should share their personal problems with coaches and staff. Almost a fourth (23,6%) of all GRS coaches stated, however, that they did not (or rather did not) have the time to talk with children about private problems during their sessions. Many coaches explained that the limited time was needed to deliver the predetermined GRS curriculum which was not meant to be changed. Nevertheless, coaches emphasised that this curriculum foresaw a personal presentation of the coach to create a confidential climate: "We usually start with the story, our personal story, about who we are and why we are doing what we are doing. We do also share our own personal experiences with HIV and AIDS to introduce ourselves. (…). After they know and trust you a bit, they will share their own problems with you. (…). It's about going to school on an empty stomach or about the long distance between home and school. Some have a hard time to handle friends or neighbours affected by AIDS or being tested HIV positive. (…). Sometimes they just don't know what to do about it" (S30, male coach, 25). More than two-thirds of all coaches (69,7%) mentioned that they usually take time to speak with children individually after or outside the programme. Some reported on difficulties they were facing to "draw the line between being a coach and being a friend at the same time" (S29, female coach, 27). Furthermore, in three out of four FGDs, the coaches agreed that

they were often unable to cope with children's problems themselves. They stated they needed more knowledge beyond HIV and AIDS to advise children on other diseases, violent incidents, school drop-out, early pregnancies, sexual abuse, homelessness, death of family members, alcohol addiction of parents or relatives, etc. Several coaches suggested adding such topics to the GRS curriculum which was, according to them, concentrating too much on HIV and AIDS at the expense of other vital issues. However, a possible adaptation of the curriculum to the target group was appreciated: "It's not easy working with kids, you know, but it helps. (…). What we deliver is relating to life orientation. We add knowledge to this subject and adjust the messages to their age. We tell it in different ways so that they will understand. (…). We make them feel free and laugh with them" (S30, male coach, 26). Some coaches described situations in which children approached them in their private setting: "I am like a role model in my area. (…). Sometimes children come to talk to me when I'm with my friends or sometimes at my home. They trust me and ask for advice. (…). I mean even after graduation" (S30, male coach, 35). Overall, on the one hand, most coaches stated that they really cared about children's well-being and made efforts to support or advise them. On the other hand, they had the feeling of being left high and dry by GRS who was not providing follow-up strategies after children's graduation and unsatisfactory curriculum content. Various claims expressed by coaches were confirmed in an interview with the 'Lamani School' headmaster: "Visits of GRS should be more formal in the future and incorporated in the official curriculum. (…). It should be in our time table all year around. Teachers are not able to offer this. It would be very useful, if workshops were run not only for kids, but for teachers as well. (…). GRS should not only talk about HIV and AIDS. I would add a moral education and themes like rape, theft or domestic violence. They should contribute to build the moral of children and their self-confidence. They could also focus on the love for nature and their neighbours. These themes are only covered at the surface in the life orientation class. (…). Furthermore, we should bring parents to school as well" (S36, male headmaster, 39).

Some coaches did also mention the lack of a thoughtful debriefing and supervision strategies: "We used to have 'development sessions' and meet every Friday. All coaches came together and could share experiences. Now we only meet once a month. So we can't discuss how to overcome challenges and have to face the problems over and over. (…). This kind of support is missing and we can't get advice on time to really use it and make a difference" (S30, male coach, 26).

Most GRS coaches (68,7%) indicated that they did not (or rather did not) know most parents or caregivers of the children personally. However, several coaches mentioned that some parents or caregivers would attend the final graduation ceremony. Since GRS sessions were often delivered within the school framework, various coaches said that some parents or caregivers were even not really aware of their children attending GRS. According to many statements, children were asking coaches to approach their parents or caregivers as a kind of mediator and to speak on their behalf. Nonetheless, a few coaches reported the inverse situation: "They come one by one after the session. (…). One child is telling me that her mother was drinking again. She asks me to escort her home. (…). And sometimes parents approach me and come to speak about their personal problems themselves. (…). Some of them are impressed with what we do" (S31, female coach, 20). However, according to most coaches, it was rather rare that parents would contact them to talk about their children.

Almost all female coaches agreed that both girls and boys shared their private difficulties with them. In contrast, most male coaches stated they were primarily approached by male

participants to talk about personal matters. There was consensus regarding the different nature of topics which were shared by boys and girls respectively: "Girls and boys talk about different issues. (…). Boys are usually more open than girls. Boys tell me stuff right away. Girls need more time to open. (…). Then it might be too late and the programme is over" (S31, female coach, 24). Again, many of the collected statements deplored the time-bound interventions and the insufficient follow-up with GRS graduates.

Concerning mixed-sex activities, almost all coaches stated they encouraged this form of teaching. Many of them considered co-ed sessions as a part of their educational message. Furthermore, especially related to knowledge on HIV and AIDS, many coaches emphasised the importance of mixed groups to increase mutual understanding, respect, care, and prevention. Questionnaire results on this item were clearly confirmed by various statements from SRV sessions and FGD.

There was a considerable difference between male and female coaches with respect to raising issues related to gender and sport in GRS programmes explicitly. Most female coaches stated that they were both explicitly and implicitly sensitising children for these issues. Due to the fact that most female GRS coaches in Port Elizabeth were excellent footballers, they challenged certain stereotypes on gender and sport already by demonstrating their skills. Additionally, many of these sportswomen stated they motivated children, and especially girls, to be active in sports. Numerous coaches mentioned that the most tedious stigma linked to gender and sport was the widespread prejudice that all female footballers were lesbians. Since several female GRS coaches stated in SRV sessions and FGDs that they were openly gay, this issue became relevant both theoretically and practically: "When it comes to homosexuality it's still a taboo in society in general: You don't talk about it, you don't ask questions about it, you just don't be gay. (…). Gay people are discriminated in everyday life. They are called bad names when they are passing by" (S32, female coach, 25). However, some coaches expressed the wish to indirectly address this topic in the curriculum as "education on stigma and discrimination" (S29, male coach, 25). Most coaches agreed to raise this issue, but not explicitly referring to GRS: "Well, we don't really have to talk about gay coaches or something like that. It would be great to integrate the message in one activity about 'values and believes' or something like that" (S29, female coach, 20). However, this opinion was not shared by all coaches. Some of them rejected the idea of talking about homophobia and stated they felt unable to cope with it. Some coaches predicted reluctant and adverse reactions from parents and caregivers: "It would be a challenge for most parents. Parents will not feel comfortable about it. (…). They will say 'This programme should not be in school'. Some parents are already surprised regarding our current messages. How open we talk about sensitive issues. (…). But all parents need to know about these things as well. Sometimes kids know more than parents about AIDS and other sensitive things" (S31, female coach 24). Even though openly gay coaches were talking freely about their life and experiences of discrimination, they mentioned that they did behave differently when GRS participants were around: "Kids do not know that we are gay. (…). Okay, some know it and ask questions. (…). If we meet them in the street, we try to hide it. We want to protect them. We know the places where we can walk hand in hand. And we know the places where we are not showing it. We know our communities. (…). I think they could handle it at the age of 16 or 17. But if they are younger most of them will not understand and get confused" (S31, female coach 24). Summing up, despite a general open-mindedness and tolerance towards homosexuality within GRS, gay and straight

coaches had ambiguous opinions and feelings with regard to this topic. On the one hand, most GRS coaches and staff intended to proactively tackle stigma and discrimination of any kind. On the other hand, raising the topic explicitly bore the risk of damaging the programme's communal reputation and maybe even endangering some coaches personally.

3.5 Macro Level: Transferability

Transfer of acquired skills into everyday life is the main focus of this fifth analytical section for South Africa. The following topics concentrate on health issues, ethical and moral behaviour, self-confidence as well as public space on a 'macro level'.

Since main GRS efforts concentrate on HIV and AIDS prevention, a vast majority of coaches was convinced that participants' knowledge on vital health issues had generally increased after their GRS involvement: "After graduation, it is my highlight to see how many kids we made aware of this killer virus which is HIV and AIDS. (…). They go out and tell what they know to families and friends. And they will tell the right stuff, make good choices, and reduce the spreading of AIDS" (S35, male coach, 35).

Most coaches were rather sceptical of the claim that GRS interventions had an influence on ethical and moral behaviours of participating children/youth. Again, the missing follow-up was mentioned as a means to really observe behavioural changes over time: "I would love to see the kids again. I keep asking myself 'how did the programme change them?'. (…). Just to see, if we really made a difference and if the choices they made in life were right for them or not" (S32, female coach, 25). The school headmaster interviewed was convinced that GRS activities and sport in general were helping children to display "good behaviour" and to reduce "bad behaviour" in everyday life: "Sport can teach discipline. And discipline is the foundation of all behaviours. (…). It's generally known that kids are very energetic. If kids are not given a good platform to expose their talents and get rid of this energy, they are likely to do bad things. If they don't exercise in the field, they will exercise in the bed-room. We say that 'an idle mind is the devil's workshop'. After being active on the fields, kids will be tired and go to bed alone to sleep or read books" (S36, male headmaster, 39).

While many coaches were reluctant to clearly answer the previous item on moral and ethical influence of participating children/youth through GRS programmes, numerous coaches reported on self-experienced moral development: "GRS has changed me. I'm not having prejudices against people with HIV and AIDS anymore. Yes, I used to have them before. (…). I am more responsible now, because I'm a role model. Kids are watching me. This changed me for a better. (…). I pay more attention to what I am saying and doing now" (S32, female coach, 24). Many coaches emphasised their key role as knowledgeable persons entailing new responsibility for other community members: "It changed me from being a reckless person to someone responsible. Now I'm having knowledge about HIV and other topics and can give this back to the kids who don't know it. I feel like a platform of knowledge to help others" (S32, female coach, 25). Some coaches mentioned travel opportunities they were given through GRS which broadened their horizons: "I was able to go to the 'Football for Hope South America Festival'. There I saw new interesting people, people with passion. Not people who are doing things for the sake of money, but people who devote themselves for the love of what they are doing. (…). This experience changed me and made me see things differently" (S35, male coach, 20). Many similar statements confirmed the

questionnaire results that a majority of coaches registered an influence of their GRS involvement on their personal moral behaviour.

Coaches approved of the statement on increased self-confidence in an even more emphatic manner. They stated that GRS trainings and experiences as a coach really helped them to overcome fears, to feel better about and to believe in themselves: "It changed my confidence. (…). I am a shy person. But now I can be in front of many kids and talk. (…). And I feel comfortable" (S31, female coach, 23). Many statements were about being selected for official trips to represent GRS at public events which evoked pride and self-satisfaction. Other coaches emphasised given opportunities to display leadership skills.

Overall, two-thirds of coaches thought that children's participation in GRS programmes increased the self-confidence of both girls and boys. However, statements differentiated between two main aspects. According to coaches' observations, girls gained more self-confidence speaking up in front of a group, something which was often less difficult for boys. Otherwise, most coaches agreed that boys seemed to become more self-confident through the newly received knowledge and acquired know-how of handling sensitive issues. Correspondingly, a majority of both girls and boys stated that they felt more self-confident after GRS graduation. There was again the issue of follow-up on participating children/youth, and many coaches deplored that they did not really know, if the gained self-confidence they observed in participants was sustainable. Scrutinising an outside perspective on this topic, the interviewed Lamani school headmaster did notice changes over time which he directly associated with GRS interventions: "GRS started working here last year. The positive change is that children have gained confidence and they have become much more open learners. (…). When it comes to answering questions, they now speak up. Before, kids were somehow 'sitting in their closets'. But now they have come out of it. They speak up and have lost some of their shyness. (…). Other teachers would share that opinion of mine". Moreover, the headmaster did not notice variations between girls and boys: "I don't think that there is a difference with regard to gender. (…). I think it is more a question of the child's character" (S36, male headmaster, 39).

Referring to the last item, a broad majority of coaches rejected that the GRS programmes enabled participating children/youth to access new public spaces. Since GRS sessions almost exclusively took place on school compounds or associated grounds, many coaches stated that the children's radius was probably not increased through their interventions. However, many of the female GRS coaches who were elite football players mentioned that some children would follow and visit them outside the programme in new locations: "Yes, now some kids even come to watch our soccer training [of the 'City Ladies']. They can't get enough of us. You go to a place and all of a sudden you hear 'ki-loo' [GRS slogan]. You can hear 'ki-loos' everywhere. Even on the street. (…). It's like stalking, but in a right way" (S31, female coach, 20). Following these and other statements, children gained access to new public spaces by visiting their coaches at the occasion of regular training sessions or league games. Thus, besides access to new public ground, they were provided an insight into a new world and rather unusual female sport culture. Therefore, many coaches agreed that GRS sessions impacted rather indirectly and coincidently in respect of new spaces, but were very valuable.

X   DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The major aim of this concluding chapter is to discuss and summarise the results of the previous chapters to answer this study's initial research question: In what ways do 'sporting role models' have the potential to promote empowerment under special consideration of gender issues? Regarding this question, relationships are going to be highlighted between obtained outcomes and earlier literature sources. The previous chapter presented results for each of the three sites of investigation separately. This vertical presentation of findings in Chap. IX allowed for an in-depth view of the studied settings within their specific contexts.

The first subchapter of this last part will compare and scrutinise these findings along a horizontal axis, thus identifying potential generalisations and country-specific peculiarities. Taking into account the three cases' heterogeneity in terms of socio-cultural context, curriculum, staff, organisational structure, resources, etc., comparisons need to be drawn and understood with caution. Thereafter, a second subchapter is going to present general reasoning, while the following third part specifically relates to the initial research question. The fourth subchapter involves recommendations and practical implications. To conclude, a fifth subchapter critically reflects on the study and formulates indications for further research.

1   Comparison of Three Case Studies

This first subchapter is going to compare results of the three settings identifying potential generalisations and specifics. Thereby, the 'Heuristic Framework' (see Chap. VI) serves as basic grid systematically covering the five analytical sections utilised in Chapter IX. Each of these sections starts with a comparison of the three case studies along a horizontal axis, followed by country-specific particularities.

1.1 Socio-cultural Context

This first analytical section outlines the socio-cultural 'landscape' in which the three NGOs of this study are operating. This section depicts socio-cultural contexts with a particular focus on the status and value of sport in these specific communities.

1.1.1 Status and Value of Sport

Overall, a majority of coaches and participating children/youth of all three NGOs stated that most people in their community approved of children being active in sport. More reluctance was mentioned in all three sites – although in different proportions – related to sporting adults. With regard to female sport participation, much more scepticism was mentioned by individuals from Malawi and Zambia compared to respondents from South Africa (GRS). The same grouping was registered in terms of girls' football which seemed to be more acceptable in South Africa. The item on the social attractiveness of male and female bodies entailed broad consensus: A majority of all respondents in all three countries clearly stated that an athletic muscular male body was considered attractive/beautiful in their communities. Again, there was unanimous assent across all sites that muscular sportswomen were not (or rather not) considered attractive/beautiful in the respective communities. Nevertheless, half of the female GRS coaches did not share this view.

Concerning adequate female clothing, in all three sites there was a majority of female coaches rejecting the statement that women and girls should always wear skirts or dresses. However, the degree of approval seemed to be influenced by the location as well as the duration of experienced programme involvement. Only in Zambia a majority of male coaches shared this female opinion on adequate clothing. In contrast, most male coaches in Malawi and South Africa supported the statement that women and girls should always wear skirts or dresses. This gender difference across all three sites was also registered for participating children/youth. The majority of male participants in all settings agreed that women and girls should always wear skirts or dresses. This standpoint contrasts with most female participants in all three countries who generally disagreed. However, this rejection by participating girls was not as obvious as the one expressed by female coaches. While this item on female everyday life clothing was quite contested, there was consensus across all sites that wearing shorts or trousers in public during athletic activities was acceptable for girls and women. Mainly in Zambia and Malawi, serious concerns on social decency and the age of sporting females were explicitly raised.

1.1.2 Country-specific Peculiarities

Even if all three NGOs operate in disadvantaged communities, there were considerable socio-economic differences: both schools in South Africa, for example, had electricity and running water. In contrast, there was water, but no electricity in Zambia. And both of these features were missing in Malawi. Furthermore, all young South African respondents were wearing school uniforms, whereas only about two-thirds of children in Zambia and one-third in Malawi had uniforms which were moreover mostly in bad condition. These different socio-economic settings also influenced the following country-specific reasoning.

Recalling the already described socio-economic difference between **Malawi** and the other two sites, there was an additional gap between rather suburban Ndirande and rural Mulanje within the Malawian setting. However, an urgent need for basics such as food, water, soap, mosquito nets, etc. was repeatedly mentioned by respondents in both Ndirande and Mulanje. In contrast, the value of life skills and further education linked to PS activities was explicitly acknowledged in Ndirande only, whereas material needs dominated in Mulanje.

Overall, the legitimacy of PS after-school activities in Malawi was primarily based on the offered social relief and support in favour of deprived children and youth. Despite the thoughtful pedagogical PS structure involving health, sport and social issues, most community members valued the programme mainly because of its care and supply function. Thereby, the fact that PS participants received snacks and refreshments was broadly recognised. Moreover, PS was widely appreciated for reducing social troubles involving early pregnancies, drug abuse, and vandalism. Nevertheless, it was generally stated that the status of S&D programmes would further increase, if coaches and staff were fully paid.

Besides poverty and lacking infrastructure, another barrier to female sport involvement consisted of predominant traditional perception that females should always wear skirts or dresses, or at least a wraparound garment. In Malawi, only children, youth, and adults who were personally exposed to sport programmes took up a different position. Thereby, a certain sensitisation and/or modelling effect was noticeable. However, there was no such effect regarding traditional beauty ideals: Whereas athletic female bodies were rather frowned

upon, a muscular male body was predominantly considered attractive/beautiful by all respondents in Ndirande and Mulanje.

Many particularities for the **Zambian** socio-cultural context strongly coincide with Malawi. Thereby, besides poverty, similar traditional approaches deciding on approval or disapproval of sport activities were primarily referring to the protagonist's age and sex. Additionally, the chosen type of sport was another relevant factor. Adequate clothing was crucial for female sport participation. Concerning differences between active and future coaches and children/youth, respondents who were already used to female football and women/girls wearing trousers or shorts were generally less in favour of stereotypical gender statements. Again, regular sport involvement and experience over time seemed to entail a certain sensitisation and/or modelling effect. In Zambia, this open-mindedness concerning gender issues was registered for both male and female coaches. While most male coaches in Malawi and South Africa approved the traditional statement that women and girls should always wear skirts or dresses, active Zambian male coaches (in accordance with all female coaches from all three countries) rejected this claim. Due to a relatively low fluctuation rate of ZSFN coaches and staff, long-term experience in the field seemed to have an impact on stereotypical gender perceptions. Moreover, the ZSFN also promoted female football on competitive levels, and seriously trained young women as a part of the programme. These female participants were really wearing shorts to play football on the pitch. Therefore, publicly visible athletic females were a constitutive element of the ZSFN programme.

In **South Africa**, in contrast to Zambia, GRS activities were usually conducted with participants wearing school uniforms. However, most female GRS coaches were active elite footballers, but they did not really play football with participants as part of the curriculum. Therefore, GRS participants were indirectly sensitised for non-stereotypical gender issues like active female footballers, but not directly involved.

Contrasting with Malawi and Zambia (where homosexuality was illegal and completely tabooed), the discussion on symbolism of un-femininity and homosexuality related to active sportswomen involved in traditionally male domains was possible in South Africa. The relevance of this topic in South Africa reflects a certain socio-cultural 'open-mindedness' concerning gender issues on the one hand, but also leads to outspoken and even palpable homophobia on the other hand. This ambiguity became also obvious for certain GRS messages on HIV and AIDS which were containing information on sex, condoms, etc. Some locals criticised that such untraditional topics should not be raised with children, since they might get them into mischief. Other voices welcomed explicit messages and early prevention referring to the vast numbers of teenage pregnancies and young AIDS-infected persons. Despite a seemingly less traditional socio-cultural context in South Africa and - compared to Malawi and Zambia - a better economic situation, inhibiting factors of female sport involvement (relating to clothing, age, types of sport or beauty ideals) manifested a certain inconsistency: these impediments were at the same time more tangible and more subtle.

1.2 Sporting Role Models

This second section strives for a basic inventory of choices and corresponding attributes of SRMs. Selected SRMs may offer clues regarding the 'radius of awareness and access' of persons and reveal social priorities, community structures, etc. Of course, popularity and

visibility of SRMs also reflect snap-shots linked to a specific timeliness of events, tournaments, etc. However, it still allows for certain trends and categories to be elicited representing a kind of 'SRM landscape' which is by its nature subject to change over time.

1.2.1 SRM Choice and Attributes

Whereas the previous chapter presented country-specific selections, common trends and peculiarities concerning Malawi, Zambia, and South Africa are now going to be identified. Three major features of this overall perspective involve the predominance of male football, the lacking SRMs for girls and female youth, and the evident tendency to select male SRMs. The following chart summarises the categories of mentioned SRMs by coaches from all three NGOs. Thereby, respective proportions of female (N=28) and male (N=52) coaches need to be emphasised. Whereas some trends like, for example, the most frequent nomination of male international footballers as SRMs by male coaches were identical in all three countries, many results varied from site to site. However, there were certain similarities between Zambia and Malawi as well as between Zambia and South Africa. Most substantial differences were registered between Malawi and South Africa.
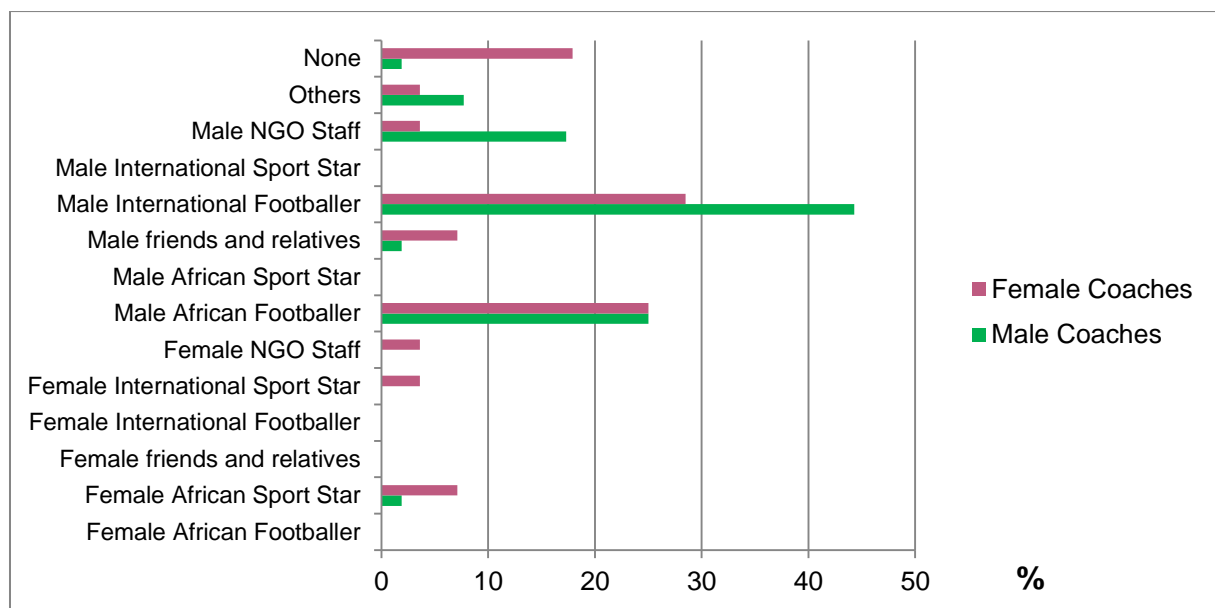
Graph 17: Overall SRM Choices Mentioned by Coaches in Malawi, Zambia, and South Africa.

Overall, most coaches as well as most participating children/youth mentioned male footballers as favourite SRM. The nominees were mainly international players, but African footballers were also fairly considered. Especially boys and male teenagers nominated national football players or stars from other African countries.

The following Graph 18 gives an overview on categories of SRMs mentioned by female (N=94) and male (N=88) participating children/youth of all three sites:
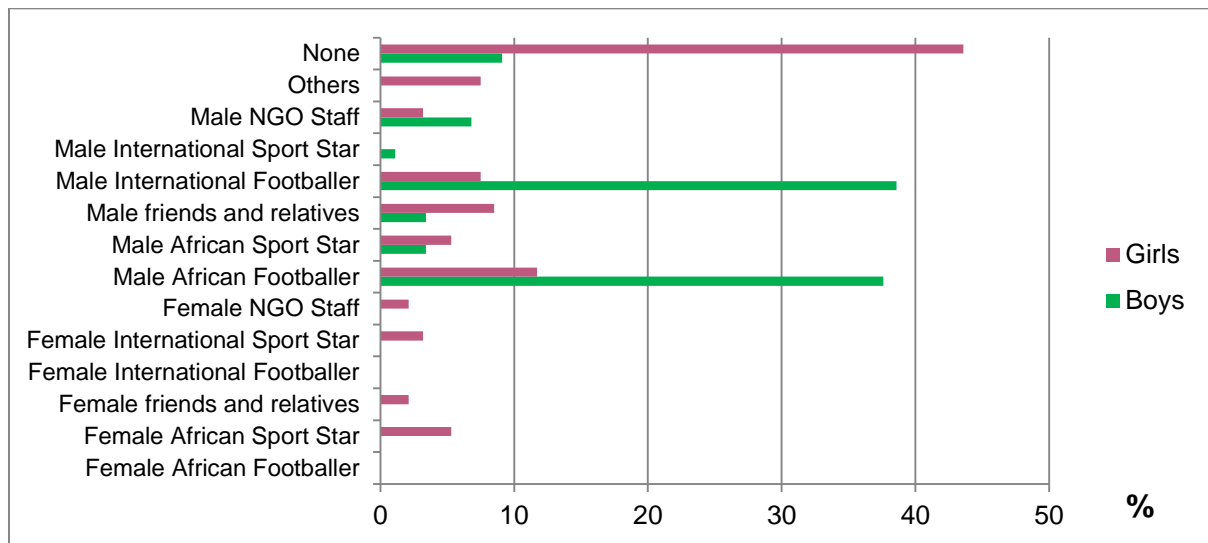
Graph 18: Overall SRM Choices Mentioned by Participating Children/Youth
in Malawi, Zambia, and South Africa.

Heavily contrasting with boys and young males, almost half of all the girls and young females did not mention any favourite SRM. Even though this trend was obvious in all three sites, most female non-nominations were registered in Malawi. Among those girls and young females who did nominate a SRM, the most popular choice consisted of male African footballers followed by male friends and relatives.

Overall, there was a noticeable gender difference of given reasons for effectuated SRM choices: Most male coaches and boys linked their nomination to outstanding athletic skills and technique, while most female coaches and girls predominantly emphasised character, behaviour and personality. Generally, style, body, and looks of a nominee were more often mentioned as a motive by participating children/youth than by coaches. However, about a fifth of both boys and girls did not know a reason for their choices or never thought about it.

Investigating on the reasons for the considerable non-nominations of female coaches (17,9%) and girls in particular (43,6%), the lack of knowledge was the most mentioned motive followed by a lack of interest. Some respondents who did not nominate one personal SRM stated that they had different role models from various fields they were looking up to. However, a third of respondents who did not select a SRM abstained from giving any reason.

Whereas no male participant in any country nominated a female SRM, one Zambian male coach mentioned the boxer Esther Phiri as his favourite SRM. Apart from this exception, no other male coach in any site selected a female SRM either. On the whole, 14,3% of all female coaches and 12,7% of all the girls picked female SRMs.

With respect to mentioned NGO staff, almost a fifth of the male coaches in all three countries nominated other male staff members as favourite SRMs. Thereby no female NGO staff was selected by any male staff or male participant. In both Zambia and Malawi, neither male nor female staff members were chosen by female coaches. In South Africa, in contrast, both male and female coaches selected male staff as SRMs. As already described, no male coach nominated female GRS staff, but female coaches did. Focussing on the SRM

selection of participating children/youth, the issue at hand changed significantly: A few boys and girls in both Malawi and Zambia picked male staff members as favourite SRMs. Furthermore, female staff members were selected by two girls in both sites. These findings contrast again with South Africa where no participating children/youth nominated any GRS staff as their SRMs.

Considering the second aspect of this analytical section on SRMs, coaches and participating children/youth were asked to name their favourite female athletes. The following chart (Graph 19) summarises the activity domains of nominated female athletes (including non-nominations):
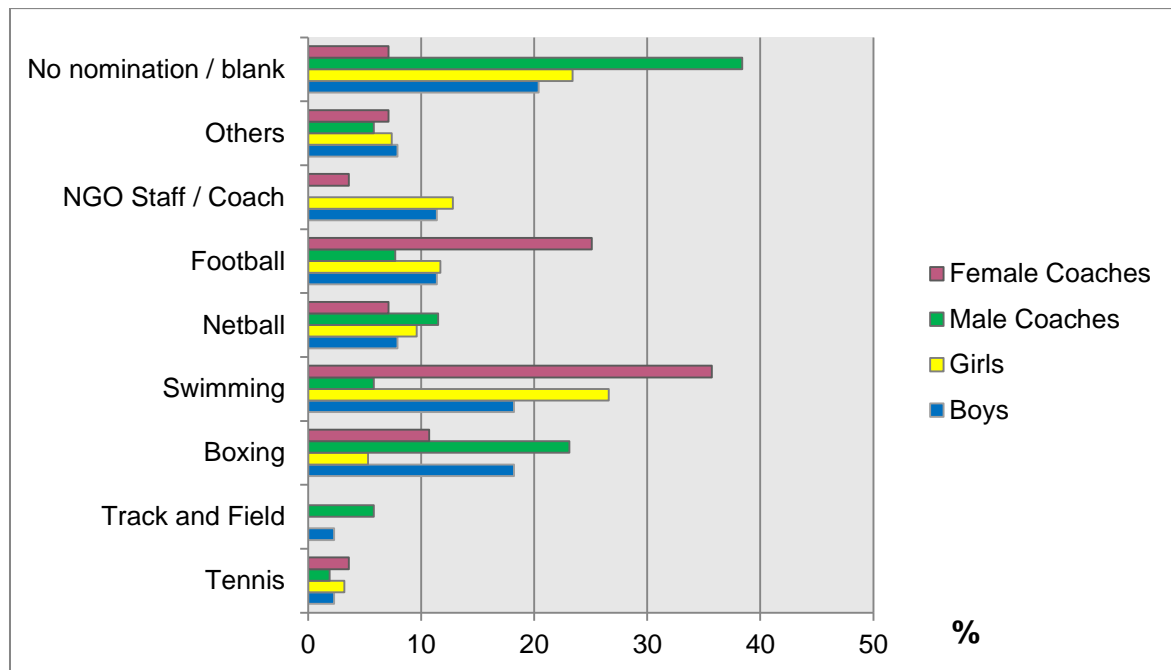
Graph 19: Chosen Domains of Favourite Female Athletes in Malawi, Zambia, and South Africa.

Even though above presented graph gives an overview of activity domains of chosen female athletes, certain categories were exclusively nurtured by specific countries: Favourite female athletes in swimming (Natalie du Toit) and tennis (Venus and Serena Williams), for example, were only mentioned by GRS coaches and participating children/youth in South Africa. Nobody in Malawi or Zambia mentioned any swimmer or tennis player. Nonetheless, Malawi was the only site where respondents nominated a runner (Catherine Chikwakwa) as favourite female athlete. Thereby, this track and field athlete was only mentioned by male coaches and boys in Malawi. However, most respondents in Malawi who nominated a favourite female athlete picked a netball player. Otherwise, netball was not mentioned in any other country (with the exception of one female coach in Zambia). The third country-specific domain was boxing represented by Esther Phiri in Zambia. Thereby, about 60% of all ZSFN coaches and 50% of all participating children/youth in Zambia named the box champion as favourite female athlete. In contrast, nobody in Malawi or South Africa mentioned a boxer.

After these specifics, female nominees belonging to the two activity domains 'football' and 'NGO staff' were nominated in all three countries. Female footballers were nominated by 8% of all male coaches and a fourth of all female coaches. Overall, about 12% of participating girls and boys mentioned female football players. Whereas women's football in Malawi was

only represented by one nominee (Maggie Chombo), a variety of female footballers was mentioned in Zambia and South Africa.

As a matter of fact, coaches did generally not suggest NGO staff as their favourite sportswomen (with the exception of one female coach in South Africa). In contrast, about 12% of young male and female participants selected NGO staff and especially their coaches as favourite female athletes. Thereby, most female NGO staff nominations were registered in South Africa (15,2%) and Zambia (13,9%) followed by Malawi (7,3%). Almost a fifth of all male participants in South Africa picked female GRS staff as favourite sportswomen.

Last but not least, non-nominations of favourite female athletes were found in all three countries. However, a considerable difference between male (38,5%) and female (7,1%) coaches was noticed with regard to this item. Additionally, there was an imbalance between certain countries: Whereas a third of the female coaches in Malawi did not nominate a favourite sportswoman, none of the female GRS and ZSFN coaches left this item blank. Compared to the coaches, the gender gap between boys (20,5%) and girls (23,4%) was not as evident, but slightly inverted. Again, there were major variations between the three sites: most non-nominations of participating children/youth were registered in Malawi (39,9%) followed by Zambia (26,9%) and South Africa (8,1%).

Overall, selections of sportswomen were strongly influenced by the presence and knowledge of existing local, regional or national personalities in specific disciplines who were successful and socially admired. The registered narrow range of such mentioned female athletes might indicate a certain shortage of available publicly known and appreciated sportswomen.

1.2.2 Country-specific Peculiarities

Even though considerable female non-nominations of SRMs were observed in all three countries, this trend was most obvious in **Malawi**. Most common choices of girls and young females who did nominate SRMs involved male African footballers followed by male friends and relatives. Assessing these results may demonstrate, on the one hand, a potential female lack of interest, but also indicate, on the other hand, a limited horizon of knowledge and media access. This reasoning is further nurtured by a noticeable socio-economic difference between the suburban Blantyre/Ndirande and the rural Mulanje. In other words, the gender gap is proportionally increasing in an economically backward setting. Furthermore, being exposed to available peers and/or adults who are active in sports seemed to enlarge the potential SRM panoply of young Malawians: Many PS participants who did not select international or African male football stars mostly picked PS staff or local personalities such as, for example, athletes who were selected for the 'Homeless World Cup'[183] tournament in Melbourne 2008. However, if participating children/youth nominated PS staff as SRMs, they never referred to persons who worked at the same time as teachers at their school.

Whereas a broad majority of PS participants (Blantyre/Ndirande) nominated a favourite female athlete, only a minority of future participants in Mulanje named a sportswoman. Most nominated female athletes were Malawian netballers. It was noticeable that nominees mostly reflected the generation of the mentioning person. In other words, adult female coaches selected former national team netballers whereas participating children/youth nominated current 'Queens'. However, the two Malawian icons Mary Waya (netball) and Maggie

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[183] For more information see http://www.homelessworldcup.org (accessed 04-08-2012).

Chombo (football) were mentioned by all ages. The fact that one of the most successful sportswomen in Malawi competing internationally, the runner Catherine Chikwakwa, was only mentioned by boys and men, might again indicate limited female media access.

The highest percentage of NGO staff selected by participating children/youth was registered in **Zambia**. Thereby, both girls and boys picked male staff members, and girls also nominated female ZSFN staff. Furthermore, Zambia was the only country in which men selected a woman, the boxer Esther Phiri, as personal SRM. A fifth of all female coaches and more than 10% of all girls in Zambia mentioned Phiri as favourite SRM. Even though most female coaches mentioned African male footballers as preferred SRMs, non-nominations, male international footballers, and Esther Phiri equally followed as second options. For the Zambian girls, non-nominations prevailed (about 40%), but were a bit lower than in Malawi.

Specifically asked about their preferred female athlete, the Zambian boxer was named by about 60% of male and female coaches as well as boys. In contrast, only a third of the girls mentioned Phiri while most of them did not know or mention any athlete. The only overall female nominees mentioned in Zambia either as 'personal SRM' or as 'favourite female athlete' consisted of Esther Phiri or female ZSFN staff.

In contrast, the spectrum of female nominees in **South Africa** was broader involving international and African athletes, friends/relatives, and NGO staff. However, a South African particularity was the fact that no GRS staff members were mentioned as SRMs by participating children/youth. At the same time - again contrasting with both Malawi and Zambia - only South African female coaches selected both male and female GRS staff as personal SRMs. Nevertheless, specifically asked about their favourite female athletes, boys and girls as well as female coaches did nominate female GRS staff. Overall, almost a fifth of male participants in South Africa picked female GRS staff as favourite sportswomen. The activity domains of the mentioned 'favourite female athletes' were manifold, but mainly involved swimming, tennis, and football. However, swimming only concerned the South African Paralympic and Olympic athlete Natalie du Toit who was nominated by more than half of all consulted coaches and participants as favourite female athlete.

1.3 Micro Level of Pedagogy/Coaching

This third section represents the basic level of the pyramid which illustrates coaching and pedagogical interventions in the 'Heuristic Framework' of this study (Chap. VI). This subchapter on 'presence and mind-set' is focussing on the self-perception, interaction levels with participating children/youth, community acceptance, and motivations of coaches.

1.3.1 Presence and Mind-set

In all three countries, a vast majority of both male and female coaches considered themselves as role models for participating children/youth. Overall, 58,2% of young participants agreed that they perceived (or rather perceived) their coaches as role models. Generally, boys were more likely to think of their coaches as role models than girls. This tendency was more evident in Malawi and Zambia where more than 80% of all coaches were male. In South Africa, in contrast, where more than two-thirds of all coaches were women, there was hardly any difference between girls and boys. However, the number of young

participants who agreed that they considered (or rather considered) their coaches as role models was lower in South Africa (43,2%) than in Malawi (64,3%) and Zambia (67,2%).

In all three countries a majority of coaches generally felt respected in their communities for being a coach. Thereby, the longer a programme was running, the more coaches received positive feedback from teachers, headmasters, parents/caregivers, and other community members. Most coaches in all three sites were never really discouraged to be a coach. However, there was a considerable difference between male and female coaches. In Malawi, for example, all of the few female coaches mentioned (at least initial) discouragement for social indecency. There were also some reports on female discouragement in Zambia, but not in South Africa. Male coaches in Zambia and Malawi and all coaches in South Africa who mentioned discouragement mainly referred to their families wanting them to find a paid and permanent employment or put time and efforts into family care.

In terms of coaches' motivation to perform their function, the overall ranking of all three countries (Tab. 13) listed 'community welfare / well-being of children' as number one:

Overall Ranking	Motivation Category	Rating[184]	%
1.	**Community welfare / well-being of children**	**121**	**25.2**
2.	**Teaching life skills and/or personal skills**	**106**	**22.1**
3.	**Potential job opportunity / education / travel**	**52**	**10.8**
4.	Social interaction / meeting friends	51	10.6
5.	Fun and recreation	43	9.0
6.	Hope for money and/or material goods	38	7.9
7.	Good performance /winning	27	5.6
8.	Recognition and reward by community	20	4.2
9.	Increasing personal sport skills / fitness	13	2.7
10.	Others	9	1.9

Tab. 13: Ranking of Motivations to be a PS, ZSFN or GRS Coach (N=80)

The second best ranked category involved 'life skills and/or personal skills teaching'. These two top categories were registered as first or second in all three countries. However, the 3rd position referring to 'potential job opportunity / education / travel' was also a top three ranking in South Africa and Zambia, but not in Malawi (where it ranked 6th). The 3rd motivation category in Malawi concerned 'social interaction / meeting friends' followed by 'fun and recreation'. These two motivation categories were less important in Zambia (ranked 4th and 5th) and even less important in South Africa (ranked 5th and 6th). In contrast, the importance of the category 'hope for money and/or material goods' was the other way around ranking 4th in South Africa, 6th in Zambia, and 7th in Malawi. In other words, besides the unanimous top two motivation categories on welfare/well-being and life skills, 'potential employment and

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[184] For this calculation, 1st choices were multiplied by 3, 2nd choices were multiplied by 2, and 3rd choices were multiplied by 1.

material goods' linked to coaching seemed to be more important in South Africa than in Malawi where social and recreational motives prevailed. In Malawi, even the category 'good performance/winning' (ranked 5th) was mentioned more prominently than material or monetary incentives.

Regarding coaches' responsibility for participating children/youth during the programme, considerable differences between the three sites were registered: Whereas more than two-thirds (69,4%) of coaches in South Africa felt (or rather felt) responsible for GRS participants during the programme only, a bit more than half of the PS coaches (53,8%) in Malawi and just a third (34,6%) of the ZSFN coaches in Zambia shared this opinion. In other words, a clear majority of Zambian coaches stated that their responsibility and care for participating children/youth was not limited to the sport pitch. However, numerous coaches in South Africa deplored the situation of not being able to follow up on GRS participants beyond the programme. Relating to this item, there was a noticeable gender gap in Malawi which was not registered in Zambia or South Africa. Thereby, female PS coaches felt more responsible for participating children/youth beyond the programme than their male counterparts. The item on staying in touch with participating children/youth beyond the programme strongly coincided with the results and tendencies of the previous responsibility issue. Thereby, this follow-up beyond programme structures was facilitated in Zambia through a 'youth peer leader programme' which created an additional level between coaches and young participants. Many South African statements suggested that a follow-up beyond graduation heavily depended on private initiative and good-will of coaches who could often not handle the numerous requests on their own. In Malawi, follow-ups beyond the programme were closely linked to children's school attendance, since many PS coaches were teachers.

Overall, a majority of coaches in all three countries stated (or rather stated) that fairness between male and female individuals was important to them. Thereby, coaches in South Africa (78,2%) were most in favour of this statement followed by Zambia (68,9%) and Malawi (64,6%). However, in all three sites gender differences were registered which indicated that female coaches were generally more sensitised to the topic than their male counterparts.

1.3.2 Country-specific Peculiarities

All of the few female coaches in **Malawi** mentioned that they were (initially) discouraged in one form or another to be a PS coach. Whereas male coaches were only occasionally discouraged in terms of the unprofitable character of PS involvement, many of their female counterparts faced double criticism of non-profit activity and socio-cultural indecency. However, since PS voluntary work was obviously increasing the communal well-being, at the end of the day it still received social respect and acknowledgment.

Besides the two most mentioned motivation categories on welfare/well-being and life skills, coaches in Malawi mainly stated social and recreational motives for being involved in PS activities. This seems to contrast with above described reasons for discouragement. But somehow, material goods or even employment opportunities did not seem primordially aspirational or conceivable in the context of S&D activities. Potential causes might be linked to the relatively low status of sport which was usually not associated with income generation. The fact that many PS coaches were teachers and therefore already employed, was another explanation for the stated motives of being a coach. Therefore, coaches' employment status and economic situation also seemed to determine the motives to be a coach. Furthermore,

voluntary work of many teachers as PS coaches facilitated the follow-up on children/youth beyond the programme; however, mainly limited by school attendance.

The seemingly most effective follow-up on participating children/youth beyond the programme was set up in **Zambia** where a 'youth peer leader programme' facilitated an additional level between coaches and youngsters transcending ZSFN sessions as well as regular school attendance. This structural dimension in Zambia was also corroborated by a strong commitment of most ZSFN coaches who felt responsible for participating children/youth before, during, after, and even beyond the programme.

Whereas teaching life skills and increasing welfare/well-being were the most frequently mentioned motivations of being a coach in Zambia, a ZSFN involvement was also considered as potential (future) job, education, and/or travel opportunity. The ZSFN was not 'just recreational' for most coaches. They perceived their activities as a kind of 'life philosophy' and alternative to change the situation of the younger generation for the better.

Such a mind-set was also registered among most GRS coaches in **South Africa**, but the programme structure did not allow for the same sustainable follow-up on participating children/youth. Due to the GRS intervention modus, such follow-ups beyond programme delivery basically depended on personal commitment of coaches who mostly deplored these short-term relationships with participating children/youth. Many South African coaches aspired to future employment linked to their GRS involvement. Even though they worked voluntarily just receiving stipends, many of them perceived their GRS activities as 'real jobs' offering further educational or income-generating opportunities. Due to the elevated number of female coaches in South Africa, topics on fairness between male and female individuals as well as general gender sensitivity related to sport and football were raised implicitly and explicitly through the curriculum.

1.4 Meso/Exo Level of Pedagogy/Coaching

This fourth analytical section builds on the above presented findings on 'mind-set and presence'. This section mainly refers to problem solving and respective relationships.

1.4.1 Intentional Teaching

About two-thirds of all coaches and staff members in all three settings basically agreed that participating children/youth should share private problems with coaches. While this tendency did not vary a lot from country to country, gender differences were noticed. Generally, female coaches were more in favour of participants who shared their personal problems with them than male coaches.

Scrutinising coaches' strategies to handle private problems of participating children/youth, a majority exceeding two-thirds in all countries stated that they usually took care of participants outside their sessions. Thereby, a considerable difference between female and male coaches was registered in Malawi, and to a much lesser extent in Zambia and South Africa. The general trend suggested that women seemed to be more committed to handle personal problems of participating children/youth than their male counterparts. This tendency became even more obvious in terms of provided time and space during sessions to tackle private problems. Overall, this strategy was approved by a slight majority in Malawi (57,7%) and Zambia (55,2%), but clearly rejected in South Africa (23,6%). Again, female coaches were

generally more in favour of this strategy than male coaches who mainly wanted to focus on teaching programme content. Female coaches in Zambia mentioned that they were sometimes picking up on difficult issues of general interest before or during the session and provided advice in front of the group. But such strategies were not mainstreamed and heavily depended on individual disposition and skills. However, this gender gap was not registered in South Africa where both male and female coaches primarily wanted to deliver the GRS curriculum during the limited slots they were allocated at schools.

Establishing a link between sharing private problems and gender, a similar pattern was found in all sites: Generally, most female coaches stated that both girls and boys were sharing private problems with them. Male coaches, in contrast, were primarily approached by boys to talk about personal difficulties. In Zambia and Malawi, numerous statements emphasised socio-cultural norms of decency which condemned discussions on sensitive topics between children/youth and adults, and especially between (teenage) girls and male adults.

Referring to contacts between coaches and parents/caregivers, considerable differences between the three sites were registered: While a majority (61,5%) of PS coaches (who were often school teachers) stated to know most of the participants' parents/caregivers personally, only half of the ZSFN coaches (52,3%) agreed with this statement. However, compared to Malawi and Zambia, not even a third of GRS coaches (31,3%) were personally familiar with parents/caregivers of participating children/youth. These varying facts were mainly linked to the different structures and intervention set-ups of the three studied NGOs. Despite these dissimilar positions, most coaches in all three sites generally agreed that they were rarely approached by parents/caregivers to have conversations about participating children/youth.

The last two items of this fourth section dealt with the intentionality of didactical arrangements related to gender issues within delivered programmes. Thereby, slight majorities of coaches in Zambia and Malawi were usually not (or rather not)[185] encouraging mixed-sex activities. In contrast, almost all GRS coaches in South Africa promoted this form of teaching which they mostly considered as a part of their educational message. In Zambia and Malawi, participants' age was often the decisive factor to encourage or discourage co-ed sessions. Generally, there was hardly opposition against mixed-sex activities with young children in all three sites. The same difference between Zambia and Malawi, on the one hand, and South Africa, on the other hand, was registered explicitly addressing gender issues within sessions: Whereas about three-fourths of both PS and ZSFN coaches denied proactive discussions on gender issues during their sessions, a majority of GRS coaches stated to do so. However, contrasting with the previous item, opinions of male and female coaches in South Africa diverged regarding explicitly raising gender issues. Generally, female coaches in all three sites were more often talking about the nexus 'gender and sport' in their sessions than male coaches.

1.4.2 Country-specific Peculiarities

Even though most coaches in **Malawi** followed the overall trend to take care of participating children/youth outside their sessions, there was a noticeable gap between female and male PS coaches. These findings might be linked to traditional gender roles of Malawian women being considered more caring, affectionate, and consoling than men. Since many PS

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[185] These results refer to the four questionnaire answering options 'yes', 'rather yes', 'rather no', and 'no' (see Annex E).

coaches were teachers and thus usually persons of authority, children seemed to be more reluctant to share their private problems with them. An advantage of having many teachers volunteering as coaches was the fact that contacts with many parents/caregivers were already established. However, depending on social status, school attendance, performance or discipline such pre-existing contacts between parents/caregivers and coaching teachers were not always neutral and at eye level.

In terms of socio-cultural decency and early pregnancy prevention, mixed-sex PS sessions were discouraged in Malawi at a certain age. Therefore, gender issues were not explicitly addressed, but structurally avoided and rarely raised within PS sessions neither.

Between Malawi and **Zambia**, there were major similarities related to the organisation of co-ed sessions and explicit discussions on gender issues. These parallels were probably linked to similar socio-cultural and socio-economic contexts.

Relating to coaches' strategies of handling personal difficulties of participating children/youth, especially female coaches in Zambia mentioned to deal with problems proactively. Thereby, delicate issues of general interest were raised anonymously in front of the group to start or end a session. However, this proceeding was not institutionalised within the ZSFN and depended on individual competence and commitment. Since most ZSFN coaches worked in the communities they were brought up or still living in, half of them knew most of the participants' parents/caregivers personally.

This personal contact level between coaches and parents/caregivers was considerably lower in **South Africa**. Due to the limited intervention phase within the school setting, coaches and parents/caregivers were basically only meeting – if at all - at graduation. Most GRS coaches did not tackle participants' private problems during their sessions, but after delivering the predefined curriculum. During their sessions, however, gender issues were substantially addressed.

1.5 Macro Level of Pedagogy/Coaching

The fifth analytical section corresponds to the top level of the coaching/pedagogy pyramid of the 'Heuristic Framework'. Transferability of skills into everyday life refers to long-term impacts and thus involves major complexity of measurement. This section explores knowledge and skills transfer related to health and ethics and also focuses on self-confidence and public space.

1.5.1 Transferability

Overall, there was broad consensus among coaches of all three NGOs that young participants' knowledge on health issues was increased through the programmes they delivered. This tendency was confirmed by participating children/youth in all three countries.

In contrast with this first item, more scepticism was mentioned in all three sites regarding the influence of S&D programmes on ethical and moral behaviour of participating children/youth. Whereas only a slight majority of Malawian PS coaches (53,8%) did approve an influence on participants' ethical and moral behaviour, less than half of the ZSFN coaches (47,2%) and a bit more than a third of GRS coaches (36,8%) shared this opinion. Many GRS coaches stated that they could not really judge this potential development, since they were working

with and observing participating children/youth only until their graduation. In all three sites, but especially in Malawi and Zambia, behavioural changes were registered by coaches in terms of discipline and fairness on the pitch which were normally increasing the longer a young participant stayed in the programme.

Whereas most coaches were reluctant to approve an influence of programme interventions on children's ethical and moral behaviour, a broad majority of coaches in all three sites perceived behavioural changes about themselves: More than three-fourths of coaches in all the three sites reported on influences they personally experienced as coach. Many statements were explicitly linked to the fact that coaches wanted to be 'good role models' for participating children/youth and changed their behaviour and attitudes accordingly. Other frequently mentioned arguments involved the gain of knowledge acquired through coaching trainings which enabled and fostered personal behavioural changes. This item on ethical and moral self-assessment was closely linked to coaches' perception of their self-confidence.

Consistent with the results on ethical and moral behaviour, most coaches in all sites indicated increased self-confidence since their PS, ZSFN, or GRS involvement. On average, three-fourths of all coaches in the three countries stated that they gained more self-confidence since they started to work as coaches. However, this self-assessed increase seemed to be generally more relevant to female coaches than to their male colleagues.

In terms of participating children/youth, an overall majority of coaches in all sites agreed that both girls and boys were gaining self-confidence through programme involvement. In Malawi and Zambia, however, the increase of girls' self-confidence was rated considerably higher than the gained self-confidence by boys. In South Africa, in contrast, GRS coaches suggested about the same increase of self-confidence for both boys and girls, but with accordingly different focal points. Though this overall trend of young participants gaining self-confidence through programme involvement was confirmed by children/youth themselves in all three countries, the approval turned out to be more modest than the one expressed by coaches. Additionally, overall results from children/youth showed hardly any gender difference related to an increased self-confidence through programme participation.

The last item of this fifth section inquired whether programmes enabled participating children/youth to access new public spaces. Overall, coaches' answers were a bit ambiguous in all countries. However, a slight majority of coaches in Malawi and Zambia agreed (or rather agreed) [186] that PS or ZSFN involvement opened up new grounds. Information provided by young participants indicated that most girls and boys themselves felt that they were given access to new spaces through the programmes. Thereby, at least in Malawi and Zambia, more female than male participants reported on newly gained spaces. In South Africa, in contrast, a majority of coaches denied that GRS interventions enabled participating children/youth to access new spaces. Consistent with GRS coaches' results, most South African children themselves stated that GRS did not facilitate access to new grounds.

1.5.2 Country-specific Peculiarities

A majority of coaches in **Malawi** believed that PS programmes particularly increased girls' self-confidence on the long run. However, results from PS participants confirmed such a general increase, but without differences between girls and boys. Due to the fact that PS

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[186] These results refer to the four questionnaire answering options 'yes', 'rather yes', 'rather no', and 'no' (see Annex E).

activities were mainly conducted on school compounds, most coaches were sceptical that PS involvement opened up new spaces for children. But additional sources emphasised that even 'theoretically accessible' school compounds were not freely at disposition of all children at any time. Restrictions were common linked to age, sex, and/or the socio-economic status. Therefore, a main concern of an organisation like PS which was closely collaborating with schools was to provide and ensure safe spaces for all participants during their sessions. Such a transfer was acknowledged by most participating children/youth who indicated themselves that they were given access to new spaces through PS sessions. Thereby, more girls reported on newly gained grounds than their male counterparts.

A majority of coaches and participating children/youth in **Zambia** perceived an increased 'movement radius' through ZSFN involvement. Contrasting with Malawi and South Africa, public 'safe space' in Zambia was newly created and made accessible through ZSFN programmes. Thereby, community clean-ups were organised involving ZSFN staff, coaches, participants, and even their family members. Furthermore, many Zambian coaches and participating children/youth mentioned tournaments or public events which allowed for many individuals to travel and access new locations.

Referring to the influence of GRS sessions on participants' ethical and moral behaviour in **South Africa**, most coaches stated that they were incapable of assessing such a potential development, because they were only dealing with participating children/youth for a few weeks until graduation. However, a majority of GRS coaches mentioned an increased self-confidence for both boys and girls, but with accordingly different focal points: girls become more self-confident in public speaking while boys seemed to gain more confidence addressing sensitive issues.

Since GRS sessions were most often conducted on school compounds, many coaches in South Africa suggested that their participants' radius was probably not really increased through their sessions. However, a differentiation between direct and indirect impact is needed. Many statements referred to children visiting their female GRS coaches (who were elite footballers) on the pitch which indirectly gave access to unusual and new spaces.

2 General Reasoning and Suggestions

After comparing results of all three sites and emphasising selected country-specific particularities, this second subchapter will now present general reasoning on a more abstract level referring to reviewed literature. Most elements of these overall reflections refer to specific analytical sections, but others represent sectional cross-cutting issues.

In tendency, the order of the following issues ranges from the macro to the micro dimension. Despite the fact that the 'Heuristic Framework' contains all three defined SRM types, this study mainly concentrates on type 2 ('role models') and type 3 ('heroes'). This concept relates to a continuum referring to the degree of interaction between the observer and a potential model (MacCallum et al. 2002). Due to practically blurred boundaries and overlaps, this continuum (involving three types) is divided into two main parts: lower and higher degree of interaction. This division accommodates coaches, teachers and facilitators (type 2) with different interaction degrees, but also considers both poles (types 1 and 3).

The first subchapter deals with socio-cultural issues mainly addressing SRMs with a lower degree of interaction (both type 2 and type 3). Arguments and suggestions from this part

mainly target distant SRMs and involve one-way relationships with little or no real contact. The second subchapter - based on the premise that caring and supportive staff are crucial factors of quality S&D programmes potentially facilitating empowerment - focuses on type 2 SRMs (mainly coaches). Formulated suggestions in this part mainly concern SRMs with a higher degree of interaction usually consisting of reciprocal and personal contacts.

At this stage it needs to be mentioned that 'close SRMs' need to cumulatively fulfil expectations for both a lower and higher interaction degree to have a potential influence on children/youth. In other words, both groups need to meet basic minimal standards, whereas 'close SRMs' have to live up to even more exigencies to promote empowerment.

2.1 Socio-cultural Context and Sporting Role Models

Drawn from the case study comparison, the three major overall findings are: the predominance of nominated male footballers, the common trend to select male SRMs, and the female lack or non-nomination of SRMs. All these results basically confirm theoretical arguments (see Chap. V) of 'gendered heroism' (Hargreaves 2000) and the 'model-observer similarity' (Bandura 1977, 1986) including educed key concepts of 'relevance' and 'attainability' (Lockwood & Kunda 1997, 1999).

2.1.1 Poverty and Infrastructure

Overall, most people in the community were basically in favour of the activities conducted by the three NGOs, but there was no tremendous enthusiasm about it. Due to extreme poverty entailing problems of health, nutrition, housing, education, etc., sport and recreational activities were not top priorities for communities. However, out-of-school programmes generally received public credit for keeping children and youth meaningfully occupied and thus out of trouble. Scepticism towards sporting adults was often linked to the wide-spread opinion that grown-ups should rather use their time and energy to earn money for their struggling families and not 'just playing around'. This position was especially evident in more conservative settings such as Malawi and Zambia, and even more obvious concerning female sport participation. In numerous traditional African settings, domestic work – which is usually performed by women and girls - is not acknowledged as 'real labour', since it does not generate direct income. Therefore, no or minimal leisure time is conceded to domestic workers. If this limited spare time is then spent doing untraditional sport activities in potentially indecent clothing, a certain social reluctance is nurtured. Statements in all three sites repeatedly emphasised that the lack of proper equipment was a major inhibiting factor of sport participation and in fact especially for girls and women.

Generally speaking, the poorer a community, the less adequate infrastructure and equipment were available and accessible for sport and leisure time activities. Additionally, a correlation between the socio-economic situation of a community and its basic acceptance of sport activities was registered. Thereby, increased poverty and lacking infrastructure were especially affecting adult and more precisely female sport involvement.

2.1.2 Media Access, Topicality and Availability

Media access and its limits are closely linked to poverty and lacking infrastructure. Therefore, socio-economic differences between locations were decisive for the selection of preferred SRMs and favourite sportswomen. In economically deprived settings, the already existing lack of available female SRMs in everyday life was reinforced through poor media access which could potentially have provided inspiration from outside the community. In the three African contexts of this study, the shortage of visible and publicly known Black sportswomen (Burnett 2002; Rulashe 2004; Engh 2010) became obvious. Of course, referring to the concept of 'gendered heroism' (Hargreaves 2000), mere media access is futile, if media reports do not properly cover female athletes. Therefore, the appearing lack of female SRMs is linked to invisibility as well as to absences per se.

According to the range of generally nominated SRMs and favourite sportswomen, media access in Zambia or Malawi seemed to be more restricted than in South Africa where participants and coaches seemed to be up-to-date well beyond national level concerning athletes' success stories. International tennis stars like Venus and Serena Williams, for example, were only mentioned by respondents in South Africa. In Mulanje, the poorest setting in Malawi, more boys than girls could name female athletes. Most female non-nominations were registered in Malawi.

Certainly, the dimension of topicality needs to be emphasised when commenting on preferred SRMs or sportswomen. In the case of South Africa, more than half of all consulted coaches and participants selected the Paralympic and Olympic swimmer Natalie du Toit as favourite female athlete.[187] This overwhelming unanimity reflected the situation of the South African sport world at the end of 2008 like a snap-shot: After extremely unsuccessful Olympic Games for the South African delegation in Beijing, very successful Paralympic athletes restored the nation's pride.[188] One of these victorious athletes was Natalie du Toit who won five gold medals in Beijing. Similar circumstances led to the uncontested nomination of the Zambian boxer Esther Phiri as favourite female athlete by most ZSFN coaches and participating children/youth.

Therefore, topicality, respective media coverage and access need consideration when investigating on SRMs and female sport stars. Furthermore, awareness is raised that other circumstances could have generated different nominations. SRM choices are rarely set in stone, but subject to change over time.

Media coverage and access as well as topicality entail the availability discourse as another key factor of SRM choices. Results of this study basically confirm the availability hypothesis supported by Giuliano et al. (2007). Due to the unavailability, scarcity, and invisibility of female role models in the gender-stereotyped areas such as sport, women and girls tend to chose male role models (Balswick & Ingoldsby 1982; Ely 1994; Gibson & Cordova 1999; Singh et al. 2006). Referring to this study's findings, the more available female SRMs, the more were nominated as favourite female athletes by participating children/youth or coaches. Thereby, even a fifth of male participants in South Africa (counting more female than male coaches) selected female GRS coaches as favourite sportswomen.

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[187] In 2008 Natalie du Toit was the first athlete ever to qualify for both the Olympic and Paralympic Games in the same year.
[188] South Africa only won one Olympic silver medal in Beijing 2008 and ranked at the 70th medal count position together with countries like Iceland, Sudan, Vietnam, etc. In contrast, the South African Paralympic team 2008 won overall 30 medals and achieved the impressive 6th medal count position.

However, a mere quantitative increase of potential female SRMs women is not enough, if media coverage and social status are inadequate (Yancey et al. 2002; Vescio et al. 2005). Furthermore, prerequisites for sportswomen to be considered role models – even if they are highly successful - are not identical with their male counterparts. In the light of this study's overall trends and the concept of 'gendered heroism' (Hargreaves 2000), asked about general SRMs, sportswomen were rarely mentioned. Investigating on 'favourite female athletes' specifically, the athletes Esther Phiri and Natalie du Toit were predominantly mentioned in Zambia and South Africa respectively. However, both female sport stars did and do not comply with 'classical ideals of female SRM attributes' which would in most cases exclude disability and male-stereotyped sports (see Chap. V). Nevertheless, these female SRMs gained visibility and legitimacy because they excelled internationally, thus displaying patriotic values and national bravura. They were also 'made available' to a broader audience through corresponding (male dominated) media coverage. These findings correspond to Maguire's (2009) statement that athletes may achieve heroic status, if they "embody the elements that a society holds most dear" (p. 1261). Thereby, the overwhelming nomination of the White swimmer Natalie du Toit is even more remarkable, since she was selected by children/youth and coaches who exclusively belonged to Black communities.

Summing up, the appearing lack of available female athletes and coaches needs to be defined as invisibility of female SRMs rather than as an absence per se. But in the end, as demonstrated by numerous female non-nominations, the consequence remains the same (Vescio et al. 2005).

2.1.3 Attributes and Status

The continuum and three 'model types' served as structural framework of this study. However, inherent dynamic role modelling features were also considered defining role modelling as "a cognitive process in which individuals actively observe, adapt, and reject attributes of multiple role models" (Gibson 2004, p. 136). Thereby, each type could potentially provide both positive and negative attributes and offer coping and mastery models. Furthermore, consistent with the literature review, SRM selection processes were mainly influenced by socio-cultural factors, age, topicality, media access as well as personal and idiosyncratic priorities (Bailey et al. 2005; Giuliano et al. 2007). Moreover, specific role model attributes were often perceived to be more relevant than selecting 'entire' models (Biskup & Pfister 1999; Gibson 2004).

On the one hand, the massive non-nominations of SRMs by participating girls in all three sites confirm unavailability, scarcity, and invisibility of female SRMs. On the other hand, it reflects the widely sustained opinion that youth and especially children tend to select 'outstanding individuals' who adhere to traditional gender stereotypes (e.g. Bandura 1986; Biskup & Pfister 1999; Gibson & Cordova 1999; Gilpatric 2010). This trend becomes even more evident in socio-cultural contexts where sportswomen are under-represented at all levels and traditionally considered un-feminine. Based on 'gendered heroism' (Hargreaves 2000) and the 'model-observer similarity' (Bandura 1977, 1986), boys and men are offered both similarity and status by picking male SRMs (Giuliano et al. 2007). There seems to be a contradiction for girls and women to choose male SRMs, but the noticed overall predominance of nominated male footballers depicts another situation. The selection of male SRMs by girls and boys confirms the concept that adult power status represents a decisive

factor of same-sex or cross-sex modelling (Bandura 1986; Giuliano et al. 2007). Therefore, due to the high social status and admiration of male athletes in the typically masculine domain of sport, and especially football in Africa, both sexes seem to be attracted by male footballers. Even though most girls and women who did nominate a SRM selected publicly well-known male athletes, some females – contrasting with boys and men – also picked male SRMs from their family and personal surroundings (Bailey et al. 2005; Vescio et al. 2005).

Referring to the given reasons for effectuated SRM choices, there was a noticeable overall gender difference: Most male coaches and boys linked their nomination to outstanding athletic skills and technique, while most female coaches and girls predominantly emphasised character, behaviour and personality. These results are comparable to an investigation by Giuliano et al. (2007) on adults who chose elite athletes as role models. Thereby, "women reported preferring athletic role models who work hard, who are good people, who are team leaders, who are self-confident, and who balance personal and professional life well". Moreover, compared to their male counterparts, "they [women] placed significantly less value on their athletic role models having star qualities, dominating other players, and being of the same gender as themselves" (p. 12). These results reflect the relatively consistent general findings that girls and women tend to select both male and female role models alike, while boys and men usually avoid female role models (Bandura 1986; Gash & Conway 1997; Bromnick & Swallow 1999; Gibson & Cordova 1999; Melnick & Jackson 2002; Yancey et al. 2002; Giuliano et al. 2007). The considerable overall number of males in this study who did not nominate any female athlete was also mirroring above mentioned tendency.

2.1.4 Coping, Mastery, Attainability and Relevance

Referring to the role modelling continuum (MacCallum & Beltman 2002), this study focussed on SRMs of type 2 ('role models') and type 3 ('heroes'). Thereby, it became obvious that public visibility and appreciation of sportspersons (types 2 and 3) who do not conform with traditional gender roles, heteronormativity, exemplary bodies, etc. remain rather modest. Whereas the overwhelming choice of the Zambian boxer Esther Phiri may be explained by the similar background and skin colour, the multitude of Black children and coaches who nominated the South African swimmer Natalie Du Toit seems to pose more questions.

Both types of SRMs (2 and 3) may influence children and youth positively or negatively which requests further investigation on above alluded mastery and coping models (Kitsantas et al. 2000). Whereas mastery models display excellent skills from the beginning, coping models have to suffer setbacks and overcome various obstacles striving for their goals (Vescio et al. 2005). It is argued by various scholars that learners who observe a coping model are more likely to acquire self-regulatory skills enabling them to perform well and stay motivated than learners who are exposed to an expert or mastery model (Schunk & Zimmermann 1996; Bandura 1997; Weiss et al. 1998; Kitsantas et al. 2000). Since coping models had or have to defy many adversities in life, they represent often role models who an observer can identify with (Singh et al. 2006). Again, this does not exclude a potential positive influence of mastery models.

Based on Bandura (1977) and derived from their empirical research, Lockwood & Kunda (1997, 1999) defined prerequisites of outstanding personalities to potentially inspire and motivate youngsters: "the perceived relevance of the superstar to the self and the believed attainability of the star's success" (p. 92). Attainability is closely linked to the 'coping model'

and the 'model-observer similarity'. Therefore, considering 'attainability and relevance', exposing children and youth to outstanding mastery models does not automatically imply morally or socially desirable positive effects, but can even be counterproductive and entail frustration and self-deflation. All selected SRMs in all three sites were actively involved in sports which were relevant for the specific countries. Thereby, football was of course omnipresent. But swimming and tennis were only mentioned in South Africa, running and netball in Malawi, and boxing in Zambia. Such relevant sports were often linked to popularity and patriotism potentially entailing prestigious medals and national pride. These arguments together with the 'coping model' – seemingly contradictory with the 'model-observer similarity' - might explain the multiple nomination of Natalie Du Toit. In accordance with these findings, an Australian survey on 'SRM profiles' appealing to female teenagers found that a "similar sporting background" was one major element (Vescio et al. 2005, p. 166). In a nutshell, promising SRMs need to display traits or play sports which are valued in the envisaged socio-cultural context (Gilpatric 2010) and thus relevant for respective individuals.

Potential role models really need to matter to the audience. But a role model can be considered relevant to an individual even if there is not a total congruence. Of course relevance and attainability are subjective issues varying and depending on age, sex, ethnicity, disability, education, sport disciplines, social status, etc. On the one hand, a role model can – to a certain extent - decide which 'part of the role' he or she wants to portray and emphasise. But on the other hand, it is the observer (or target group) who picks and assimilates certain traits, behaviours or messages. This is why the observer's perspective and needs of the target group always have to be considered carefully. Knowing 'the audience' means delivering better, motivating, and more appropriate messages.

2.2 Mind-set, Intention, and Transfer

Referring to the 'Heuristic Framework' and in accordance with Bronfenbrenner's (1979) socio-ecological approach, this study divided pedagogical interventions into three mutually interacting levels: presence and mind-set; intentional teaching; and transferability. The ultimate goal of S&D programmes should be transfer of life skills to facilitate empowerment. The following reasoning is based on five summarised aspects of empowerment: First of all, empowerment is perceived as both an outcome and ongoing process, since a stage of absolute empowerment cannot be reached by definition (Mosedale 2003; UNIFEM & UNGC 2010). Secondly, this study supports the commonly acknowledged resource-oriented approach of empowerment fostering existent skills and capacities (Scales & Leffert 1999; Gould & Carson 2008). Therefore, empowerment is a vision and mind-set to constantly strive for. A third significant aspect involves the reminder that nobody can be 'empowered' from the outside (Rowlands 1995; Herriger 2006). Fourthly, this study supports a holistic concept of empowerment involving all human beings who are disadvantaged or neglected for whatever reason. Fifthly, interdependence of individual, collective, and societal levels with regard to empowerment needs to be mentioned.

2.2.1 Supportive Relationships
The crucial role of coaches, for example, as caring adults or peers is acknowledged and repeatedly emphasised in the literature. Specifically referring to sport programmes, coaches

were described as 'agents of change' (Brook 2011) and coach-participant relationships labelled as 'transmission mechanisms' (Schulman & Davies 2007). The utmost importance of this 'human and relational factor' was confirmed by results of this study. The need for relatedness and connectedness heavily depends on a basic motivation, true commitment and social competence of coaches, facilitators, peers, etc. While setting boundaries, being caring and consistent in delivering messages are essential traits of trustworthy instructors. Thereby, staff mind-set and attitudes turned out to be more relevant than ethnicity, gender or age (NRCIOM 2002). However, the process of teaching and role modelling did not only benefit participating children/youth over time, but also instructed SRMs themselves. Such reciprocal effects on both parties were important features of quality relationships.

Results of this study demonstrate that 'power imbalance' between coaches and participating children/youth may be an inhibiting factor of trustful relationships. In Malawi, for example, the fact that many PS coaches were school teachers generally led to a more 'distant relationship' between young participants and coaches than in Zambia. In both countries, most schools still cultivate a rather authoritarian teaching style. Since many coaches were considered mediating figures for participating children/youth between school and home, 'coaching teachers' were not really confidants in this regard and less understood as SRMs. 'Power imbalance' may also represent an issue in NGOs with heterogenous staff members involving, for example, different nationalities and educational backgrounds. Another crucial element of 'quality relationships' concerns the consistency over time (Benard 1997). This study found that no young participants nominated any coaches or staff as their SRMs in South Africa. This might be linked to the time-limited character of GRS interventions. Both coaches and participants deplored the lack of official ongoing 'exchange mechanisms' after a programme's completion. However, increased media access might also be a South African factor for nominating more SRMs of type 3 than type 2.

Active participation and the motivation of getting involved were formerly depicted as surplus elements of potentially empowering quality relationships. Such aspects were identified in Zambia where a 'youth peer leader programme' facilitated an additional level between coaches and youngsters transcending ZSFN sessions. Thus, an effective follow-up on participating children/youth beyond the programme was ensured as well as an interaction between adult or peer facilitators and young participants solidly embedding such relationships in everyday life structures. In Malawi, contacts between parents/caregivers and coaches existed, but mainly from a teacher's perspective. In contrast, the non-permanent intervention set-up in South Africa only allowed for a limited exchange between coaches and participants' personal day-today environment.

These results basically confirm the well-known coaching adage 'players don't care what you know until they know you care' (quoted in: Gould & Carson 2008, p. 67). This humanistic perception features the need for relatedness and urges all parties to act accordingly.

2.2.2 Terms of Employment: Volunteerism vs. Professionalism

Even though this study was not primarily focussing on structural management topics such as wages or other terms of employment, issues related to volunteerism and/or professionalism were repeatedly brought up in all three sites. Considering the main overall coaching motivation, the category called 'potential employment, education, and travel opportunities' ranked third, whereas the 'hope for money and/or material goods' held the sixth position.

Statements on proper salaries were often made in connection with the value and legitimacy of sport programmes in and for communities. At the same time 'being paid' was put at the same level with respect for and recognition of coaches. Criticism of voluntary sport engagement of adults in development settings are often linked to economic reasons. Paradoxically, monetary and employment demands were found to be more articulated in settings which were economically a bit better off such as South Africa compared to Zambia and Malawi. Maybe this basic dilemma of most S&D programmes becomes even more evident, if certain improvements seem to be within somebody's grasp. However, if a certain level of economic security is reached and assured – like in many 'Western' countries – 'giving back' to society and working voluntarily receives again another connotation.

Of course, 'ideal volunteerism' also involves a promotion of prosocial behaviour for the sake of a community. Coaches who voluntarily spend their time and energy to support youngsters are SRMs who stimulate prosocial behaviour taking on responsibilities for others (Eisenberg et al. 1989). Therefore, volunteerism has a moral value in itself which is worth of emulation. Hart et al. (2006) describe research which found that "youth participation in community service is increased by the presence in the home of a parent who volunteers. Not only do parents serve as role models for community service, but for activism as well" (p. 640).

Following these premises, but often because of lacking organisational funds, most coaches are working for NGOs as 'volunteers'. A few of them have permanent jobs (e.g. teachers), but the majority is unemployed. If such volunteer coaches receive proper education, they are likely to be hired by other companies which are able to pay salaries. Of course, providing income-generating jobs for staff members would be a positive side-effect of such training interventions, but fluctuation of qualified people is substantially weakening an organisation in the long run. Furthermore, if passionate volunteers are not paid, time and energy which they can dedicate to an organisation is limited, since they need another activity to earn their living. But if a NGO does not constantly train its staff, the organisation is probably not improving and motivation decreasing, because people might be either overstrained or not challenged enough. However, if sport coaches are paid, there is the danger of attracting people with questionable mind-sets who are not really interested in the cause, but in the money. As a matter of fact, people in paid positions are taken more seriously in the community and legitimacy of their work is increased. It needs to be acknowledged that some organisations simply do not have sufficient funds to pay staff members and are – if possible at all - just able to provide stipends. Many activities could not be carried out anymore without volunteerism.

Irritations are especially noticed for NGOs in which some (foreign) staff members are paid, some are partly paid and others are not paid at all potentially indicating different levels of power and influence. Such non-transparent wage scales, privileges and hierarchies are demotivating and create tensions which can destabilise an organisation. Since the third overall motivation to be a coach involved 'potential job opportunity / education / travel' and not just money, NGOs should possibly plan for such capacity-building incentives which are of course costly, but promising long-term investments. Nevertheless, there seems to remain an ideological antagonism between an ethically valuable approach of volunteerism and certain real-world necessities dictated by socio-economic parameters of poverty.

2.2.3 Authenticity, Consistency and Motivational Climate

A major aim of S&D interventions consists of the transfer of acquired life skills into 'real life' settings. Such transfers can be understood as pathways to facilitate empowerment. One relevant mechanism to foster transfer consists of behaviour modelling or role modelling (Paisley et al. 2008). Behavioural modelling is based on Bandura's (1997) theory on self-efficacy. Meta-analytic research demonstrated that transfer can be enhanced through behavioural modelling (Taylor et al. 2005). In this study, a vast majority of all coaches considered themselves as role models for participating children/youth and sporadically even for other staff members. In line with this result, almost 60% of all young participants perceived their coaches as well as role models. The awareness of coaches to be considered role models by participating children/youth is important. However, in order to face the challenges dealing with children and youth, the key word is authenticity (Guggenbühl 2002). If facilitators try to hide deficiencies and override problems, their function as role models becomes hypocritical. The credibility of a role model is increasing, if she or he is able to admit and communicate weaknesses and doubts. And it is even more impressive to see how they were or are able to deal with everyday hassles or serious problems, thus modelling coping strategies. Furthermore, implicit and explicit messages and actions of credible role models need to be consistent. All types of SRMs need to be aware of this hidden potential and grasp "the power of their own lives, deeds, and words as catalyst for children's positive development" (Berkowitz et al. 2006, p. 695).

Besides role modelling, other transfer enhancers involve active participation and decision-making processes, didactics, self-monitoring, learning techniques, the use of metaphors and analogical reasoning as well as feedback mechanisms such as frequent behaviour-contingent praise or immediate encouragement and reinforcement (Smoll et al. 1993; Alexander & Murphy 1999; Smith et al. 2005; Taylor et al. 2005; Burke & Hutchins 2007; Sibthorp et al. 2011).

Since many coaches work with children/youth on a day-to-day basis, possible strategies to teach life skills and promote empowerment can be used complementary to parents' or caregivers' tasks. Berkowitz et al. (2006) defined five core parental behaviours that most clearly "promoted positive youth outcomes"[189]. These five strategies consisted of induction (parents explain disciplinary behaviour), nurturance (involving warmth and affection), demandingness (holding high but realistic standards), modelling (teaching by example), and democratic family processes which comprises decision making (p. 694). Thereby, being empathic seemed to be a guiding principle to work with and educate children and youth.

As previously mentioned, the potential of sport to foster physical and psycho-social well-being, to increase cognitive performance and transmit cultural and moral values heavily depends on pedagogical flair, skills and knowledge of responsible facilitators. These key persons, and especially their practical commitment and philosophies, are decisive for the motivational climate of any programmes or activities. Besides the broadly expressed self-perception as role models which indicates a basically conscious and responsible mind-set, a fourth of all coaches mentioned 'community welfare and well-being of children' as major motivation of being a coach. This involvement motive underlines the 'development through sport' approach and is also indicating quality relationships driven by intrinsic motivation. Coaches and other caring peers or staff members need to create a 'task-oriented or mastery

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[189] These positive youth outcomes were defined as "altruism, social orientation, self-control, compliance, self-esteem, moral reasoning, conscience, and empathy" (Berkowitz et al., 2006, p. 694).

climate' based on appreciation of efforts, enjoyment, and self-referenced improvement. In contrast, promoting a 'winning is everything' mentality and solely focussing on external motivations such as competiveness, ego-orientation, favouritism, money and public recognition entail a performance-focused climate which is often associated with negative outcomes (Petitpas et al. 2005; Wiese-Bjornstal 2007). Furthermore, effort-based and task-oriented strategies foster the participants' sense of competence which is again enhancing motivation (Ames 1992; Smith et al. 2005; Wiese-Bjornstal 2007; Bowler 2009).

This study claims that the transfer of life skills through SRMs can only be envisaged, if facilitating empowerment is perceived as an educational mandate which necessitates pedagogical reasoning. In other words, being involved in sport activities does not automatically 'empower' participants or convey life skills. Since more than a fifth of all coaches ranked 'teaching life skills and/or personal skills' as secondary motivation of being a coach, the three studied NGOs offered promising conditions in this regard, despite their economic and environmental constraints. Sport involvement may create opportunities to enhance empowerment and life skills and/or personal skills, but success truly depends on thoughtful programmes, adequate delivery and coaching (Fraser-Thomas 2005; Holt & Neely 2011). Sport may, for example, offer the possibility to deal with a moral dilemma within a game. But to effectively take advantage of such an opportunity, there needs to be a link between an intended educational content and the activity followed by a participatory discussion and reflection phase (Nucci 2006).

Results of this study indicated that not intentionally imparted messages were not retained by target groups. Therefore, it needs to be emphasised once more that "life skills are taught not caught" (Gould & Carson 2008, p. 75) which is analogously of utmost importance for effective coaching competences. According to Stephens et al. (1996) a coach "can provide the type of experience that contributes to a child's development of social values". In order to reach this purpose, a coach needs to know how to create "a team atmosphere that emphasizes mastery as opposed to a performance-outcome approach, coupled with a philosophy of sport based on a sense of fair competition" (p. 171). Other training elements should emphasise personal preconditions of ideal educators or coaches. Brux (1997) mentioned authenticity, esteem, trustfulness, respect and empathy as the most important pillars. Coaching education should also comprise explicit and critical debates on role models. Such a self-reflection may influence individual core values, goals and utopias of children and youth (Guggenbühl 2002). Besides adequate training, supervision and other supportive structures should be provided for coaches to assist them in difficult situations and foster their personal well-being.

Following a holistic and systemic approach, educational opportunities should also be provided for other staff, peers, officials, parents/caregivers, teachers, etc. since the entire setting is decisive to deliver adequate S&D interventions ultimately entailing empowerment.

3   Summary and Conclusions

This subchapter is taking on the research question providing a summary and conclusions on the potential of SRMs to promote empowerment specifically focussing on gender. This subchapter's structure follows the major components of the 'Heuristic Framework' of this study describing their dynamism and interaction processes.

3.1 'Sporting Role Models' and Pedagogy/Coaching

First of all, the generic and at the same time complex notion of 'SRMs' needed to be cut down into graspable categories. For this purpose, a continuum referring to the degree of interaction between the observer and a potential model (MacCallum et al. 2002) was used coining three different types of SRMs: type 1 ('mentors'), type 2 ('role models') and type 3 ('heroes'). Due to the generally uncontested predominant influence of type 1 SRMs belonging to the immediate family or surroundings, this study was mainly focussing on type 2 and type 3 SRMs. In order to make this approach more practical, SRMs were divided into two groups based on the type of connections which were encompassed: lower and higher degree of interaction.

Since quality S&D programmes require, among other essentials, caring and supportive staff who offer sustained relationships, most SRMs belonging to type 3 may struggle to effectively facilitate empowerment. However, this limited (or even absent) interaction and availability of type 3 SRMs per se does not fully exclude a potential influence on children/youth, but it exceeds basic pedagogical grasp.

In accordance with Bronfenbrenner's (1979) socio-ecological approach, this study defined three pedagogical intervention levels which were based on each other: presence and mind-set; intentional teaching; and transferability. The ultimate goal and constant focus of any S&D programme and its facilitators should be transferring life skills to enhance empowerment. Other transfer enhancers besides role modelling involve participatory and democratic approaches calling upon personal responsibilities, pedagogical and didactical learning techniques as well as a constructive and motivating feedback culture (e.g. Smoll et al. 1993; Alexander & Murphy 1999; Burke & Hutchins 2007; Sibthorp et al. 2011). Transfer is based upon intentional teaching and the presence and mind-set of all involved stakeholders such as parents, teachers, coaches, journalists as well as top athletes. If education specifically strives for gender equity in everyday life, all of these 'significant others' need to be aware of their own (stereotypical) perceptions as men and women and their – willing or unwilling - function as role models. Based on the theoretical premise that one cannot abstain from communicating (Watzlawick et al. 1990), every intentional or unintentional interaction between SRMs and young participants involve a form of role modelling and thus a 'micro-intervention' (Conroy & Coatsworth 2006).

Besides awareness and adequate mind-sets, intentional teaching needs consideration. If empowerment is understood as education in its broadest sense comprising "competence, but also confidence, connection, and character" (Côté & Gilbert 2009, p. 318) and should be fostered, certain minimal pedagogical standards need to be met. Sustainable personal development does not happen coincidentally, and "life skills are taught not caught" (Gould & Carson 2008, p. 75). Referring to gender and sport in particular, passing on messages as 'by-product' is not effective. Sport offers many opportunities to practice an equitable co-existence between the sexes, but these occasions need to be intentionally created and addressed by coaches and other SRMs. Thereby, various options such as open discussions on gender cliché or, in contrast, gender-neutral activities are indicated.

Compared to type 3 SRMs which also need to fulfil certain standards to have an impact, type 2 SRMs such as coaches are in a promising position as 'significant others' for children/youth to sustainably foster interpersonal competencies, life skills, psychological assets, and thus empowerment. However, adequate trainings and support structures are

necessary for all facilitators to enable intentional teaching and transfer (Benson 1997; Fraser-Thomas et al. 2005; Gould et al. 2006; Harwood 2008). This study emphasised the reciprocity of empowerment through teaching and role modelling with effects on both parties. In other words, quality relationships not only influence participants over time, but also affect personal development and well-being of SRMs themselves. Thus, whoever wants to sustainably facilitate 'empowerment through SRMs' needs to foster 'empowerment of SRMs'. Other basic preconditions of any pedagogical or coaching intervention (involving all types of SRMs) comprise authenticity as well as consistency of actions and messages.

3.2 Empowerment, Gender and Socio-Cultural Context

This subchapter will combine the two dimensions 'empowerment' and 'gender' of the 'Heuristic Framework' targeting SRMs in an African context. In the course of the data collection process of this study certain issues such as unequal salaries, homophobia, infrastructure, pregnancy, rape, decency, clothing or 'sex-talk' repeatedly emerged emphasising the relevance and transversal character of such topics related to gender, sport and empowerment in sub-Saharan Africa.[190] Thereby, the interwoven character of macro, meso/exo and micro levels and different interpretations of morality became obvious.

Major 'gender and sport' implications were elicited for SRM selections. Based on 'gendered heroism' (Hargreaves 2000) and the 'model-observer similarity' (Bandura 1977, 1986) including subsequent key concepts of 'relevance and attainability' (Lockwood & Kunda 1997, 1999), there was no contradiction for boys and men to select SRMs (Giuliano et al. 2007). However, for sportswomen – especially those performing in male-dominated domains - achieving outstanding athletic results was often insufficient to receive public appreciation. Across all sites, a vast majority of respondents exclusively named male SRMs.

Whereas 'power status' and traditional gender stereotypes were decisive factors of general SRM selections, the importance of Bandura's (1977, 1986) concept of 'model-observer similarity' increased with respect to nominations of 'favourite female athletes'. It was, for instance, noticeable that female nominees mostly reflected the generation of the mentioning girls and women. Besides the age, sharing a similar socio-economic background seemed to be another key factor for picking female athletes. Local nominees were not only brought up in similar conditions, but had to tackle familiar obstacles to succeed in life and/or sport which enhanced their credibility as motivating coping models. Nevertheless, next to successful performances, obviously displayed 'traditional femininity' and heterosexuality were necessary to counterbalance the traits of stereotyped masculinity associated with certain sports (Biskup & Pfister 1999; Vescio et al. 2005).

However, omnipresent SRMs were not 'imprints of reality', but rather appealing 'social constructions' which underlined prevailing values and norms. Besides the visibility and public appreciation of mostly mainstream SRMs, the absence of sport personalities who did not apply to traditional gender roles, heteronormativity, exemplary body forms or health status, reflected the open-mindedness and tolerance of a society. Next to patriarchal, conservative or religious ideologies, the (non-)existence of publicly visible and admired 'deviant sportspersons' was often also related to poor socio-economic and educational situations.

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[190] It's worth mentioning again that topics such as homophobia and ‚correctional rape' were only openly discussed and raised in South Africa.

The concept of 'bracketed morality' (Bredemeier 1994) was coined to describe socially undesired behaviour which was legitimate in a sport context, but would be immoral in 'real life'. This concept potentially involves both transformation opportunities and risks related to empowerment and gender issues in many African communities. Against the background that the contradiction between 'being a sportswoman' and 'being a woman' still prevails in many socio-cultural contexts, 'bracketed morality' linked to S&D gains relevance for SRMs of both types 2 and 3.

To start with type 3 female SRMs, international trends and athletic success commonly determine communal permissivity in terms of 'deviant' individuals who challenge exisiting gender norms as famous people 'from the top'. Former and current African top athletes such as Nawal El Moutawakel (Morocco), Hassiba Boulmerka (Algeria), Natalie du Toit and Caster Semanya (South Africa), Tegla Loroupe (Kenya), Maria Mutola (Mozambique), or Esther Phiri (Zambia) sustain this statement.[191] Even though performing in stereotypically contested domains or touching on traditional tabooes, all of above mentioned sportswomen ultimately brought pride to their nations which somehow 'excused' their publicly displayed indecencies. 'Bracketed morality' was thus applied in the name of patriotism and allowed for these sportswomen to become respected SRMs setting new standards for the next generation.

Focussing on type 2 female SRMs, in contrast, they were given less credit and legitimation to push traditional boundaries. They were mainly respected for setting good examples of socially desired behaviour and temperately negotiating conditions for decent and safe female sport. From this bottom-up perspective, contrasting with lower interaction degrees (type 3), less known, but more easily accessible female SRMs (type 2) either had to conform to expected gender roles or endure more social resistance and even stigma. Female coaches risked losing public respect and support, if their behaviour was not consistent with 'mainstream femininity'. In most cases, these 'everyday SRMs' are directly connected to children's lives. Since such caring and supportive adults or peers are even more 'attainable and relevant' (Lockwood & Kunda 1997) than famous top athletes (type 3), their potential to influence or assist children and youth on the long term is valuable and traceable to a certain extent. The fact that both male and female participating children/youth shared their personal problems with female coaches, while male coaches were predominantly approached by boys, underlines the potential of and need for more female SRMs (type 2). More visible and publicly acknowledged female SRMs (type 3) would probably also facilitate an increased recruitment of female grassroots coaches. On a small scale, the supportive presence of well-known personalities may increase the 'raison d'être' of a female sport event and attract media. However, the leeway provided by 'bracketed morality' decreases, if female SRMs are not famous enough or not respecting minimal requirements of traditional femininity.

Moving away from individual SRMs, 'bracketed morality' also allows for a potential influence on socio-cultural settings: In some locations, for instance, girls and women were permitted to wear trousers or even shorts for the time they played football or basketball. After the physical activity, they had to put their dresses or skirts back on before walking home. Regularly repeated over time, community members got used to sporting females wearing untraditional clothes during defined time slots. After a while, such active girls and women who claimed public spaces were setting new parameters of 'normalcy' and 'acceptability' within a community. Such 'eye-opening effects' may – depending on the context - also be enhanced

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[191] See Chap. III for more details on these former or current African top athletes.

by e.g. mixed-sex sessions or males playing netball. Therefore, thoughtful S&D interventions involving respective collective and peer-to-peer role modelling may entail new perceptions of gender symbolism, structure, and identity over time.

4   Critical Reflection on the Study

After presenting summary and conclusions, this study's ultimate subchapter involves a critical review. Thereby, light is shed on limitations as well as practical implications and opportunities. Moreover, preliminary expectations linked to this study are reflected on and potential pathways for further research indicated.

4.1 Limitations

As a White European female researcher working in sub-Sahara African communities, one of my major constant concerns was to proactively address possible bias impacting the relationship between my informants and me. Adopting a constructivist approach, there seemed to be frictions between gathering authentic local voices through various data collection methods and my attempt to limit my personal interaction with people on the ground (Chap. VII). After scrutinising various circumstances, I decided to mainly focus on adults to collect data. However, participating children/youth were still considered as secondary target subgroup filling in questionnaires. Despite this valuable information provided by young participants, their registered perceptions were limited in this study. Besides above mentioned intercultural challenges, additionally collected qualitative data from participating children/youth in three countries would have definitely exceeded the scope of this already extensive study. But some initial findings were surveyed for further research.

A second limitation of this study involved the numeral disparity of male and female coaches within the three NGOs. Whereas in both Malawi and Zambia only less than a fifth of all coaches were women, the percentage of South African female coaches was 70%. Of course, a more equal distribution of male and female coaches in each site would have been favourable for cross-country comparisons and general reasoning, but availability of female SRMs (type 2) were identified beforehand as indicators for the ambit of 'sport and gender'.

All three African NGOs used football as a tool for development and considered coaches as potential role models for participating children/youth. But otherwise, and this is another limitation of this study, the investigated NGOs had distinct organisational structures, resources, philosophies, activities, etc. and were located in different countries. Even though all NGOs were situated in sub-Saharan Africa, this study never claimed to be representative for this entire region or any country as a whole. The scope is limited to defined communities in the surroundings of Blantyre and Mulanje (Malawi), Lusaka (Zambia) and Port Elizabeth (South Africa). However, the chosen case studies did reflect the socio-cultural and -economic situation of major population groups of these countries, thus assuring certain representativeness. Considering the heterogeneity of the studied sites, the 'Case Study Design' was chosen to give credit to both distinctiveness and similarities. Of course, equally scrutinising three countries within the same study necessitates a holistic perspective, but also limits the degree of in-depth analysis for each site.

Due to time and resource restrictions, findings of this study were subject to a certain topicality and momentum. Since especially the choice of type 3 SRMs depends on specific timeliness, tournaments, media coverage, etc. fostering or reducing popularity and visibility of protagonists, the 'snap-shot awareness' needs to be re-emphasised. Speculations are therefore legitimate whether other data collection periods would have influenced the results of this study. Only long-term studies would allow for reliable findings beyond identifying certain trends. At the same time, it needs to be acknowledged that 'SRM landscapes' are social constructions and thus subject to change over time and space by definition.

The last major limitation concerns the scarcity of African academic literature on role modelling, pedagogy/coaching, gender, sport, and empowerment. Therefore, the literature review and the frames of reference were mainly based on 'Western' or 'Northern' research which is suitable to only a limited extent (Chap. I). Thus, valid transfer to the African setting requires caution and further academic work.

4.2 Practical Implications and Opportunities

This study was aiming at a future benefit for the investigated organisations and respective informants. Main findings may support the three NGOs, but also other organisations which work in similar circumstances using SRMs and sport as pedagogical instruments for social change and development. This study does not provide one-size-fits-all recipes, but raises awareness on how SRMs of all types may be perceived, fostered, constructed, and supported in the development setting. Since effective 'empowerment through SRMs' (type 2) in favour of participating children/youth on grassroots level is based on solid support structures and development opportunities for coaches ('empowerment of SRMs'), this study's results may also provide input for coach training modules and/or structural programme designs involving e.g. psychological assistance or vocational counselling. Findings from this study may be suited to potentially sensitise SRMs for their 'key position' and provide practical recommendations on intentional teaching and especially preconditions to foster transfer of life skills and other messages into 'real life'.

This study may be of special interest to academics planning to investigate various socio-cultural settings. The constructivist mind-set and qualitative mixed methods approach may also be applied to investigate other domains and contexts outside sport and Africa.

Specifically related to SRMs with no or a lower degree of interaction (type 3), this study may indicate potential pathways on how SRMs may address specific target audiences adequately and effectively. Of course, there is again no universal approach, but certain erroneous assumptions and pitfalls may be identified in advance and thus potentially avoided.

This study also emphasises the opportunities for faculties of 'sport science' in industrialised countries to focus on the developing world for mutual benefit. Moreover, attempting to support African NGOs and their programmes as much as possible, transnational cooperation between universities in developed and developing regions are necessary. Thereby, students from 'both worlds' should be enabled to explore and adapt their respective knowledge to new contexts. Based on results of this study referring to quality relationships, students from e.g. Europe should not just substitute local African staff, but contribute to their empowerment (as committed 'transfer enhancers') for the benefit of children and youth. Such exchange experiences should be systematically reported on. In the long term, this growing body of

scientifically sound knowledge could benefit both grassroots and academic efforts, and ultimately foster credibility and future investments in the two branches.

Thus, this study may also serve as a source for governmental agencies, sport federations, corporate enterprises, and other organisations which regularly 'use' SRMs for their purposes. Furthermore, awareness of 'constructed reality' and media influence is raised focussing on social deviance and diversity.

4.3 Expectations and Further Research

Overall, this study confirmed the expectations of the author more or less based on personal experience and knowledge from the frames of reference. No completely astonishing results were registered. However, some clear trends across all three sites were identified despite the heterogeneity of the three investigated settings: the predominance of male football, the lack of SRMs for girls and female youth in general (and lacking sportswomen in particular), and the overall tendency to select male SRMs. More surprising results involve the noticed notoriety and popularity of theoretically 'deviant, but outstanding athletes' such as Esther Phiri or Natalie du Toit among Black children and youth in Zambia and South Africa. These findings indicate that athletic success fuelled by a certain degree of patriotism may soften rigid socio-cultural norms and ultimately transcend gender, ethnic, bodily, or economic constraints. Furthermore, emphasising the breadth and cross-cutting relevance of the topic under study, unexpected issues such as terms of employment and early pregnancies in all three sites as well as homophobia and rape in South Africa repeatedly emerged in the course of the data collection. More than initially expected, the concept of 'bracketed morality' revealed its relevance for all types of SRMs potentially changing stereotypical gender perceptions over time. Considering type 2 SRMs such as coaches, basic expectations based on transfer and 'quality relationships' were generally confirmed by the obtained results. Whereas preliminary expectations were mainly focussing on influenced participants, findings demonstrated that 'being a coach' had an impact on type 2 SRMs themselves. Subsequently, such results also underline the assumed importance that 'empowerment of SRMs' represents a precondition to successfully facilitate 'empowerment through SRMs'.

This study provided an extensive frame of reference from which more thoroughly theory-driven research could follow. In further research quantitative instruments could be used to validate the frame of reference constructed in this study using comparison groups. In this way, mutual relationships between the components of this study's frame of reference could be further investigated. More empirical research – and especially a comparison of results of this study's approach with research in e.g. 'Western' countries - is needed to investigate the construct and ecological validity of the frame of reference of this study. Thus, systematic applications of this study's 'Heuristic Framework' to other socio-cultural contexts are necessary for cross-cultural validation.

As already alluded, academic research on this study's main topic is very limited and thus needed. Since most of the few investigations touching on gender, sport and empowerment in Africa were conducted by Americans or Europeans, there is a basic necessity for more native African researchers and Universities to study these domains. Furthermore, due to the complexity of the topic, interdisciplinary research and respective African as well as international networks are requested to aptly cover and combine various disciplines within

human and social sciences. Know-how and different perspectives from sport science, pedagogy, psychology, philosophy, anthropology and sociology are indispensable to provide scientifically sound evidence on effectiveness or dysfunctions of S&D interventions using various 'transfer mechanisms' such as, for example, role modelling.

Future research might follow up on gaps of this study. Addressing a limitation of this study, future investigations – ideally conducted by local scholars - could also focus on young participants and scrutinise their perceptions.

Whereas this study tried to provide an overview involving three NGOs in three countries, more in-depth analysis of single settings would add value to the current body of knowledge. Besides the contexts, more empirical evidence is needed specifically focussing on the SRM types identified by this study. Other valuable future research contributions could involve biographical surveys on African personalities such as Natalie du Toit or Esther Phiri and, for example, how they were/are presented in the media and publicly perceived by men, women, girls, and boys. There is another need in Africa, for instance, to cover female team-sports and its protagonists. Whereas this 'nice to have' enumeration of future research areas could go on and on, the two following 'must have' considerations will conclude this subchapter.

In avoidance of 'research ethnocentrism', methodological open-mindedness is a precondition to develop appropriate and effective study designs. In other words, the target population, its context and the research question determine methodological decisions, not vice versa. In sum, there is a need for reliable cross-fertilising research involving qualitative, quantitative and multiple methods approach investigations.

Last but not least, since empowerment is understood as outcome and process, measurement turns out to be very complex. Similar difficulties occur by measuring transfer of acquired skills or knowledge into 'real life'. Since both concepts involve long-range perspectives comprising sustainability over years and even decades, systematic long-term studies are indispensable in the field of S&D to foster credibility and grasp potential impacts.

Summary of all Chapters

'Sporting Role Models' as Potential Catalysts to Facilitate Empowerment and Tackle Gender Issues: An Empirical Study in Malawi, Zambia and South Africa.

This study is structured in ten chapters: After kick-off (Chap. I), a sociocultural framework (Chap. II) as well as contextual information (Chap. III) pave the way for this investigation. Subsequent Chapters IV, V, and VI constitute the theoretical frame of reference ranging from the general to the specific pedagogical application. Then, methodology (Chap. VII) and study design with respective methods (Chap. VIII) are defined, followed by the presentation of empirical results (Chap. IX). Ultimately, discussion and conclusions are displayed in a final Chapter X. A brief content summary and recap of every chapter are now going to be presented.

The **first chapter** introduces and situates the problem and defines major research parameters. This study tries to screen and bundle existing interdisciplinary sources on role modelling and role models related to sport, gender and development. The lack of indigenous research leads to a modest number of available sources. Because of the scarcity of local sources, 'Western' concepts for African settings are applied with caution. Based on this frame of reference, the African 'Sport and Development' (S&D) context is explored to confirm, reject, or amend potentially derived assumptions. The following research question is investigated: In what ways do 'sporting role models' have the potential to promote empowerment under special consideration of gender issues? This question is illustrated by the 'Heuristic Framework' designed for this study (Chap. VI).

The **second chapter** depicts the geographical and socio-cultural framework in which the target group of this research is situated. The geographical focus is on sub-Saharan Africa with a special consideration of Malawi, Zambia and South Africa. Referring to selected social, demographic, cultural, economic and educational facts and figures, this chapter identifies quite a few similarities between Zambia and Malawi, contrasting with South Africa. Thereby, socio-politics as well as health and gender issues linked to HIV/AIDS, unemployment, criminality, children's rights, and urbanisation receive special attention.

This study's target group involves three African organisations 'Play Soccer' (Malawi), 'Grassroot Soccer' (South Africa) and the 'Zambian Street Football Network' (Zambia) which bear resemblance and display differences regarding organisational structure, resources, philosophy, and programmes. All of them use football as a tool and consider coaches as potential role models for young participants.

The **third chapter** sets the contextual stage by presenting the complex nexus of gender, sport and development as well as all the linkages between these interacting domains. Thereby, special consideration is given to the fact that such constructs are always situated in and thus dependent on specific socio-cultural contexts. With regard to the potential of sport addressing gender issues, three relevant aspects are identified: (1) historical link with masculinity, (2) claiming space and (3) focus on the body and its functions. Since football is the most popular sport in Africa and an epitome of masculinity, this game seems predestinated to raise awareness and facilitate gender equity and empowerment. However, the potential of female sport (and football in particular) reveals risks and opportunities.

One broadly mentioned obstacle to African girls' and women's sport involvement is the lack of female 'sporting role models' (SRMs). This study's inventory of female SRMs notices an imbalance in African media coverage and public attention between Black and White sportswomen. Moreover, internationally best-known African female athletes predominantly perform in track and field athletics, whereas women's team sports do generally not receive a lot of attention. Furthermore, this third chapter scrutinises female role models in untraditional domains and identify assumed functions and claims of female SRMs.

The **fourth chapter** represents one out of three chapters of this study's frame of reference. It is generically focussing on role models and role modelling. This study mainly follows Pleiss & Feldhusen (1995) and MacCallum & Beltman (2002) utilising the three adapted categories 'Mentors', 'Role models', and 'Heroes' which reflect different model types situated on the continuum of interaction. This trichotomy accommodates some inevitable overlaps and suits the African context. The continuum with the three 'model types' serves as structural framework of this study, but not at the expense of dynamic role modelling features. This study turns major attention to 'Role models' (type 2) with a considerable focus on 'Heroes' (type 3). Since a predominant significance of one-to-one support by close family members (and mentors) is fairly uncontested, this study gives less coverage to type 1. Derived from this terminological framework and adapted to a sport context, the concept 'Sporting role model' (SRM) is coined involving all three types.

The role model discourse is reviewed with a special emphasis on developmental theories involving socio-cognitive and interactionist/socio-contextual perspectives. Furthermore, constraints and inconsistencies of role modelling are identified. Referring to a socio-cognitive approach, this study emphasises theoretical groundwork by Bandura (1977, 1986) and Lockwood & Kunda (1997, 1999) indicating the importance of 'similarity' as well as 'attainability and relevance' regarding role modelling. Another crucial aspect which is especially relevant for type 2 SRMs (such as coaches) involves the broadly supported mastery vs. coping model approach (Schunk & Zimmermann 1996; Bandura 1997; Weiss et al. 1998; Kitsantas et al. 2000; Vescio et al. 2005; Singh et al. 2006). Relating to an interactionist/socio-contextual perspective, this study applies Bronfenbrenner's (1979) 'ecological model' structuring the environment into interacting micro-, meso-/ exo- and macrosystems.

Despite important criteria such as social status, ethnicity, age, education level, etc., this study pays particular attention to gender as a determinant role modelling factor. Arising from Bronfenbrenner's (1979) 'ecological model', the nexus of gender and role modelling is categorised on the basis of three dimensions coined by Reimann (2002) which involve 'gender identity' (micro), 'gender structure' (meso/exo), and 'gender symbolism' (macro).

The **fifth chapter** builds on this generic frame of reference adding the 'sport component'. Thereby, various facets of SRMs and their (de-)construction are considered. Predominantly referring to type 3 SRMs, light is shed on top athletes, their status and potential influence as well as the underlying interrelations between sport, media and society. Following an interactionist approach, this system calls upon all protagonists as constitutive elements, whether wanted or not. Thereby, emerging issues touching on ethics, morality, and especially gender are covered.

Since sport is often associated with concepts of 'fairplay' or 'sportspersonship', SRMs are commonly expected to possess superior moral values and display exemplary prosocial behaviour. The concept 'bracketed morality' (Bredemeier 1994) is coined to describe socially undesired behaviour which is legitimate in a sport context, but would be immoral in 'real life'. Nevertheless, omnipresent SRMs are not 'imprints of reality', but rather 'social constructs' which corroborate prevailing values and norms. This statement is confirmed by the lack and absence of sport personalities who do not exactly apply to ideal expectations of gender roles, heteronormativity, exemplary body forms or health status. Next to patriarchal, conservative, cultural or religious ideologies, the visibility respectively invisibility of publicly admired 'deviant sportspersons' is often also related to poor socio-economic and educational situations. Preconditions to achieve a heroic athletic status are not identical for men and women which demonstrates the existence of 'gendered heroism' (Hargreaves 2000). Whereas most sportswomen need to find compromises to cushion potential inconsistencies between heteronormative femininity, moral values, and sport, the combination of athletic and private life appears compatible for most sportsmen.

The **sixth chapter** involves a pedagogical application of the 'empowerment concept' and 'SRMs' resulting in this study's 'Heuristic Framework'. It combines the described SRM continuum (MacCallum & Beltman 2002) with pedagogical interventions which are divided into three levels: presence and mind-set; intentional teaching; and transferability (adapted from Gould & Carson 2008). As further vertical axes, the 'empowerment concept' (Rowlands 1997) as well as 'gender dimensions' (Reimann 2002) are added. The horizontal structure of the 'Heuristic Framework' is essentially based on Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecosystems.

This chapter defines empowerment both as a process and outcome (Mosedale 2003; UNIFEM & UNGC 2010) necessitating a holistic perspective. A strong resource-oriented approach is identified as another feature (Scales & Leffert 1999; Herriger 2006). Additionally, the fact that nobody could be 'empowered from the outside' is stressed (Rowlands 1995). Then, pedagogical and empowerment premises are scrutinised focussing on children/youth by considering adult and peer role models. Subsequently, reciprocity of role modelling and empowerment are considered involving 'empowerment through SRMs' and 'empowerment of SRMs'. Thereby, the importance of 'quality relationships' between model and observer is identified as 'transmission mechanisms' (Schulman & Davies 2007). This chapter concludes that a transfer of life skills through SRMs can only be envisaged, if facilitating empowerment is perceived as an educational mandate requiring pedagogical reasoning.

The **seventh chapter** presents this study's methodological framework paving the way for empirical research in the three African sites. The methodological basis implies considerations related to the contextual research setting such as critical reflection as researcher, language issues, and ethical considerations.

From a methodological and epistemological perspective, this study is qualitative and interpretative in design, but adopts a mixed methods approach concerning data collection and a qualitative stance in terms of analysis using 'methodological triangulation' (Denzin 1989; Mayring 2007; Flick 2009). This involves the systematic analysis of different data sets collected through four different methods.

This triangulation study adopts 'trustworthiness' as quality concept (Lincoln & Guba 1985; Cousin 2010) which represents reliable criteria of qualitative research. In line with this quality standard and following a constructivist approach, social reality is never perceived to be purely 'objective', but (re-)constructed.

The **eighth chapter** describes this study's research design, sampling and procedural aspects. The 'Case Study Design' (CSD) is chosen to give full credit to the three NGOs. Context-specific 'comparison groups' are identified for each site.

This study's design model comprises four major pillars determining empirical reasoning: every country (pillar I) and every theoretical section (pillar II) are systematically scrutinised based on results obtained by each target subgroup (pillar III) with a corresponding method (pillar IV). For the purpose of this interpretative study, questionnaires are providing descriptive data primarily focussing on relative frequencies. The applied multi-method approach involves Focus Group Discussions, Self-Recording Video, and Key Informant Interviews. The primary target subgroup comprises coaches followed by secondary target subgroups consisting of participating children/youth, staff, and peripheral informants.

The **ninth chapter** presents main empirical results of each of the three countries separately following the 'design model' structure. Thereby, five analytical sections (pillar II) are identified: The first section covers the socio-cultural setting and focuses on the status and value of sport. The second section preludes the issue of SRMs striving for a basic inventory of model choices and corresponding attributes. The third section deals with coaching and pedagogical interventions on a micro level. Results of this section involve self-perception, interaction degree, motivation and community acceptance. The fourth analytical section refers to 'intentional teaching' (meso/exo level) targeting behavioural and relational patterns as well as coping strategies. Results of the fifth section on 'transferability' concern knowledge and skills transfer in terms of health, ethics and public space (macro level).

The final **tenth chapter** provides generic as well as country-specific discussion and conclusions relating to the five analytical sections. Thereafter, general reasoning is formulated on a more abstract level referring to reviewed literature and alluding to practical suggestions. Based on heuristic, main findings describing potential connections and delimitations between Malawi, Zambia, and South Africa are summarised. Last but not least, critical reflection on this study involves limitations, practical implications and opportunities as well as expectations and future research.

Zusammenfassung aller Kapitel

'Vorbilder im Sportkontext' und ihr Potenzial zur Förderung von Empowerment und Geschlechtergleichstellung: Eine empirische Studie in Malawi, Sambia und Südafrika.

Diese englischsprachige Studie besteht aus zehn Kapiteln. Nach einer Einleitung (Kap. I) bilden soziokulturelle Rahmenbedingungen (Kap. II) sowie Kontextinformationen (Kap. III) die Grundlagen für das Forschungsvorhaben. Die darauf folgenden Kapitel IV, V und VI umfassen den generellen und spezifischen theoretischen Referenzrahmen sowie die pädagogische Anwendung. Danach werden die Methodologie (Kap. VII) sowie das Studiendesign mit den entsprechenden Datenerhebungsmethoden beschrieben (Kap. VIII). Im Kapitel IX erfolgt dann die Darstellung der empirischen Resultate und im abschließenden Kapitel X werden die Ergebnisse diskutiert und Schlussfolgerungen gezogen. Die Inhalte dieser zehn Kapitel werden nun kurz zusammengefasst.

Das **erste Kapitel** führt in die Thematik ein, umreißt die Problemfelder und skizziert die wichtigsten Forschungsparameter. Diese Studie untersucht eine Vielzahl interdisziplinärer Quellen zu Vorbildern und zum Vorbild-sein und ordnet diese in den Kontext von 'Sport, Gender und Entwicklung' ein. Durch den Mangel an afrikanischer Forschung kamen vermehrt Konzepte aus der 'westlichen Hemisphäre' zur Anwendung, welche jedoch mit Vorsicht eingesetzt wurden. Der afrikanische Sport- und Entwicklungskontext wird demnach gestützt auf diesen theoretischen Referenzrahmen untersucht, um potenzielle Annahmen zu bestätigen, zu widerlegen oder zu differenzieren.

Die Forschungsfrage lautet wie folgt: Inwiefern können 'Vorbilder im Sportkontext' (ViS) Bedingungen schaffen, um 'Empowerment' – unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Gender-Thematik – zu ermöglichen? Diese Fragestellung wird im 'Heuristischen Rahmenmodell' (Kap. VI), welches für diese Studie konzipiert wurde, dargestellt.

Das **zweite Kapitel** erläutert den geografischen und sozio-kulturellen Kontext der Zielgruppe. Das Augenmerk liegt auf dem subsaharischen Afrika, wobei insbesondere Malawi, Sambia und Südafrika im Fokus stehen. Gestützt auf Fakten und Zahlen bezüglich Demografie, Sozialwesen, Wirtschaft, Kultur und Bildung, lassen sich etliche Ähnlichkeiten zwischen Sambia und Malawi aufzeigen, wobei sich Südafrika stark unterscheidet. Neben sozio-politischen Aspekten wird dem Gesundheitswesen sowie der Geschlechter-gleichstellung in Bezug auf HIV/AIDS, Arbeitslosigkeit, Kriminalität, Kinderrechte und Urbanisierung besondere Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt.

Die Zielgruppe dieser Studie umfasst die drei afrikanischen NGOs 'Play Soccer' (Malawi), 'Zambian Street Football Network' (Sambia) und 'Grassroot Soccer' (Südafrika), welche gewisse Parallelen, aber auch große Unterschiede im Bereich der Organisationsstruktur, Ressourcen, Philosophie und Programme aufweisen. Als kleinste gemeinsame Nenner dieser NGOs lassen sich der Einsatz von Fußball als 'Werkzeug' nennen sowie die Ansicht, dass Coaches potenzielle Vorbilder für partizipierende Kinder und Jugendliche darstellen.

Das **dritte Kapitel** definiert die Eckpfeiler der komplexen Triade 'Sport, Gender und Entwicklung' und erläutert deren interagierenden Verbindungen. Dabei wird vor allem die Tatsache hervorgehoben, dass solche Konstrukte stets in einem spezifischen sozio-kulturellen Kontext angesiedelt sind und von diesem beeinflusst werden. Drei relevante Aspekte, welche das Potenzial des Sports insbesondere bezüglich Gender-Themen

beleuchten, werden herausgearbeitet: 1) die historische Assoziation mit Männlichkeit; 2) die Beanspruchung von sicherem Raum sowie 3) der Fokus auf den Körper und seine Funktionen. Da Fußball in Afrika die populärste Sportart und gleichzeitig ein Inbegriff von Männlichkeit darstellt, scheint das Fußballspiel zur Sensibilisierung von Geschlechter-gleichstellung und ‚Empowerment' geradezu prädestiniert zu sein. Aber für Sportlerinnen und insbesondere Fußballerinnen birgt dies sowohl Chancen als auch Risiken.

Der Mangel an weiblichen ViS wurde häufig als Hindernis für die sportliche Betätigung von afrikanischen Mädchen und Frauen genannt. Die in dieser Studie durchgeführte 'Inventarisierung' von weiblichen ViS stellt in der afrikanischen Medienberichterstattung und öffentlichen Aufmerksamkeit ein Ungleichgewicht zwischen dunkelhäutigen und weißen Athletinnen fest. Hinzu kommt, dass die bekanntesten Sportlerinnen Afrikas fast ausschließlich in der Leichtathletik aktiv sind und weibliche Team-Sportarten kaum Beachtung finden. Das dritte Kapitel befasst sich deshalb auch mit weiblichen Vorbildern in nicht traditionellen Domänen und arbeitet Erwartungen und Ansprüche heraus, die gemeinhin an weibliche ViS gestellt werden.

Beim **vierten Kapitel** handelt es sich um den ersten von drei Teilen des theoretischen Referenzrahmens dieser Studie. Es befasst sich mit Vorbildern und Vorbild-sein im Allgemeinen.

Diese Studie stützt sich vor allem auf Pleiss & Feldhusen (1995) sowie auf MacCallum & Beltman (2002), um verschiedene Vorbild-Typen auf einem Kontinuum festzulegen. Dabei werden die drei Vorbild-Typen 'Mentors', 'Role models', und 'Heroes' definiert, welche sich alle auf dem Kontinuum des Interaktionsgrades zwischen Vorbild und beobachtender Person situieren lassen. Diese drei Typen vermögen unvermeidlichen Überschneidungen Rechnung zu tragen und erweisen sich als sehr sinnvoll für den afrikanischen Kontext. Das Kontinuum bildet den strukturellen Rahmen dieser Arbeit, wobei die dynamischen Merkmale des Vorbild-seins nicht vernachlässigt werden. Die vorliegende Studie konzentriert sich insbesondere auf 'Role models' (Typ 2), befasst sich aber auch intensiv mit 'Heroes' (Typ 3). Da die eminente Wichtigkeit von Vorbildpersonen aus dem engsten Familienkreis sowie persönlichen Vertrauenspersonen außer Frage steht, widmet sich diese Studie den ‚Mentors' (Typ 1) nur am Rande. Das ViS-Konzept basiert auf dieser Typologie und umfasst ohne Spezifizierung alle ViS-Typen.

Das vierte Kapitel handelt den Diskurs über Vorbilder unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Entwicklungstheorien ab, wobei interaktionistische/sozio-kontextuelle Perspektiven im Zentrum stehen. Zudem werden Einschränkungen und Widersprüchlichkeiten des Vorbild-seins herausgearbeitet. Im sozio-kognitiven Bereich liegt der Fokus vor allem auf den theoretischen Grundlagen von Bandura (1977, 1986) sowie Lockwood & Kunda (1997, 1999). Dabei wird sowohl die Wichtigkeit der ‚Ähnlichkeit' als auch der 'Erreichbarkeit und Relevanz' in Bezug auf Vorbilder hervorgehoben. Ein weiterer Aspekt, der insbesondere für Vorbilder mit mittlerem Interaktionsgrad (Typ 2) relevant ist, beinhaltet das breit abgestützte Modell ‚mastery vs. coping' (Schunk & Zimmermann 1996; Bandura 1997; Weiss et al. 1998; Kitsantas et al. 2000; Vescio et al. 2005; Singh et al. 2006). Im interaktionistischen/sozio-kontextuellen Bereich bezieht sich die vorliegende Studie wesentlich auf Bronfenbrenners (1979) 'ökologisches Modell', welches die Umwelt in sich gegenseitig beeinflussende überlappende Ökosysteme (Mikro, Meso/Exo und Makro) unterteilt.

Obwohl der soziale Status, Alter, Bildungsniveau, Ethnizität, etc. wichtige Kriterien für das Vorbild-sein darstellen, befasst sich diese Studie mit dem biologischen und vor allem ‚soziologischen' Geschlecht als determinierender Faktor. Die Verknüpfung von Geschlecht/ Gender und Vorbild-sein wird, gestützt auf Reimann (2002) sowie Bronfenbrenner (1979), in drei Dimensionen kategorisiert: 'Gender Identität' (Mikro); 'Gender Struktur' (Meso/Exo); und 'Gender Symbolismus' (Makro).

Dieser allgemeine Referenzrahmen dient als Grundlage für das **fünfte Kapitel**, welches noch die Sportkomponente hinzufügt. Dabei werden vielfältige Facetten von ViS und deren (De-)Konstruktion beleuchtet, was insbesondere ViS vom Typ 3 (‚Heroes') betrifft. Untersucht werden der Status und mögliche Einflussnahmen von SpitzenathletInnen sowie Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Sport, Medien und Gesellschaft. Aus einer interaktionistischen Sichtweise können sich keine Akteure und Akteurinnen – gewollt oder ungewollt - aus diesem System ausklinken, sondern konstituieren dieses geradezu. Ein besonderes Augenmerk wird dabei auf damit verbundene Themenfelder wie Ethik, Moral und vor allem Gender gerichtet. Das Konzept der 'Bracketed Morality' (Bredemeier 1994) wurde entwickelt, um Verhaltensweisen zu beschreiben, die gesellschaftlich unerwünscht sind, aber im Sportkontext als legitim eingestuft werden.

Da der Sport oftmals mit Konzepten wie etwa 'Fairplay' assoziiert wird, entsteht auch eine Erwartungshaltung, dass ViS über hohe moralische Werte verfügen und exemplarisch prosoziales Verhalten an den Tag legen sollten. Nichtsdestotrotz sind omnipräsente ViS nicht einfach als ‚Abdrücke der Realität' zu verstehen, sondern eher als ‚soziale Konstrukte', welche die vorherrschenden Werte und Normen widerspiegeln und untermauern. Diese Aussage wird durch den Mangel oder das Fehlen von Sportpersönlichkeiten, die den gängigen Idealvorstellungen von Geschlechterrollen, Heteronormativität, Körperformen oder Gesundheitsstatus nicht entsprechen, geradezu bekräftigt. Neben patriarchalen, konservativen, kulturellen oder religiösen Ideologien ist die Ursache für gar nicht oder nur selten sichtbare ‚deviante Sportpersönlichkeiten mit öffentlichem Ansehen' auch auf mangelhafte Bildung sowie sozio-ökonomische Benachteiligung zurückzuführen.

Die Existenz des 'Gendered Heroism' (Hargreaves 2000) wird durch die unterschiedlichen Voraussetzungen bestätigt, welche Frauen und Männer zu erfüllen haben, um einen sportlich heroischen Status zu erreichen. Während sich viele Athletinnen ‚verbiegen' müssen, um potenzielle Inkonsistenzen zwischen heteronormativer Femininität, Moralvorstellungen und Sport aufzuweichen, weist die Kombination von Sport- und Privatleben bei den meisten Athleten eine hohe Kompatibilität und soziale Erwünschtheit auf.

Mit der pädagogischen Anwendung des Empowerment-Konzepts rundet das **sechste Kapitel** den theoretischen Referenzrahmen ab und präsentiert das ‚Heuristische Rahmenmodell' dieser Studie. Dieses kombiniert das beschriebene Interaktionskontinuum (MacCallum & Beltman 2002) von ViS mit pädagogischen Interventionsebenen, welche in drei Niveaus unterteilt werden: Präsenz und Geisteshaltung, intentionales Lehren/Vermitteln sowie Transfer (abgeleitet von Gould & Carson 2008). Als zusätzliche vertikale Achsen werden das Empowerment-Konzept von Rowlands (1997) sowie die bereits erwähnten ‚Gender-Dimensionen' (Reimann 2002) verwendet. Die horizontale Struktur des ‚Heuristischen Rahmenmodells' basiert grundsätzlich auf Bronfenbrenner (1979).

Dieses Kapitel beschreibt ‚Empowerment' im doppelten Sinne als Prozess und Ergebnis (Mosedale 2003; UNIFEM & UNGC 2010), wobei eine holistische Perspektive vorausgesetzt

werden muss. Die Orientierung an bestehenden Ressourcen und deren Stärkung stellen weitere Merkmale dar (Scales & Leffert 1999; Herriger 2006). Zusätzlich wird festgehalten, dass niemand ‚von außen empowered' werden kann (Rowlands 1995). Andere pädagogische Implikationen und Empowerment-Prämissen werden zudem mit Kindern/ Jugendlichen in Verbindung gebracht, wobei ein potenzieller Einfluss sowohl von erwachsenen als auch gleichaltrigen Vorbildern berücksichtigt wird.

Schließlich wird auch die Wechselwirkung von ‚Vorbild-sein' und Empowerment aufgegriffen, welche eben 'Empowerment durch ViS' sowie 'Empowerment von ViS' beinhaltet. Dabei steht die Wichtigkeit der ‚Beziehungsqualität' zwischen Vorbild und beobachtender Person als ‚Transmissionsmechanismus' (Schulman & Davies 2007) im Vordergrund. Dieses Kapitel kommt zum Schluss, dass ein Wissens- und Kompetenztransfer durch ViS nur gelingen kann, wenn das Schaffen von guten Voraussetzungen für ‚Empowerment' als pädagogisch reflektiertes Mandat verstanden und umgesetzt wird.

Das **siebte Kapitel** stellt die methodologischen Grundlagen der empirischen Unter-suchungen in den drei afrikanischen Standorten vor. Dabei geht es auch um die Gegebenheiten des Untersuchungskontexts, was unter anderem die Selbstreflexion der Forscherin, sprachliche Herausforderungen sowie ethische Überlegungen beinhaltet.

Aus methodologischer und epistemologischer Sicht weist diese Studie ein qualitatives und interpretatives Design auf. Dabei wurden aber zur Datenerhebung gemischte Methoden verwendet. Mit der 'Methodologischen Triangulation' wird ein qualitatives Analyseverfahren durchgeführt (Denzin 1989; Mayring 2007; Flick 2009), wobei die durch vier unterschiedliche Methoden erhobenen Datensätze systematisch analysiert werden.

Die Triangulationsstudie bezieht sich auf das Qualitätskonzept 'Trustworthiness' (Lincoln & Guba 1985; Cousin 2010), welches als bewährtes Kriterium qualitativer Forschung gilt. Entsprechend diesem Qualitätsanspruch und aus konstruktivistischer Sicht kann die soziale Realität nie ‚völlig objektiv' erfasst und bewertet, sondern lediglich (re-)konstruiert werden.

Im **achten Kapitel** werden das Forschungsdesign, Stichproben sowie verfahrenstechnische Aspekte dieser Studie beschrieben. Das Fallstudien-Design wird ausgewählt, um den drei lokalen NGOs gerecht zu werden. Für jedes Land werden dafür unterschiedliche, dem Kontext angepasste ‚Vergleichsgruppen' bestimmt.

Das Design-Modell dieser Studie umfasst vier Säulen, welche den empirischen Ablauf darstellen: jedes Land (1. Säule) und jede theoretische Kategorie (2. Säule) werden - basierend auf Resultaten jeder Zieluntergruppe (3. Säule), welche durch entsprechende Methoden (4. Säule) erhoben wurden - systematisch analysiert. Gemäß dem Verwendungszweck dieser interpretativen Studie liefern die eingesetzten Fragebögen deskriptive Daten, welche vor allem relative Häufigkeiten umfassen. Die drei anderen angewandten Erhebungsmethoden beinhalten Fokusgruppen-Diskussionen, ‚Self-Recording Video' sowie halb-strukturierte Interviews mit Schlüsselpersonen. Die Hauptzielgruppe bilden Coaches. Bei den sekundären Zieluntergruppen handelt es sich um involvierte Kinder/ Jugendliche, Organisationspersonal sowie periphere Informanden.

Im **neunten Kapitel** werden die empirischen Studienresultate – entsprechend der Struktur des Design-Modells - Land für Land präsentiert. Fünf Analysekategorien (2. Säule) sind dafür bestimmt worden. Die erste Kategorie deckt den sozio-kulturellen Kontext ab und fokussiert den Status und Wert von Sport. Die zweite Kategorie bringt die ViS-Thematik ein und

versucht die Vorbildauswahl und deren Attribute zu inventarisieren. Die dritte Analyse-kategorie befasst sich mit Coaching und pädagogischen Interventionen auf einer Mikro-Ebene. Resultate dieser Kategorie umfassen Selbstwahrnehmung, Interaktionsgrade, Motivation und gesellschaftliche Akzeptanz. Die vierte Analysekategorie bezieht sich auf ‚intentionales Lehren/Vermitteln' (Meso-/Exo-Ebene), was Verhaltens- und Beziehungs-muster sowie Coping-Strategien beinhaltet. Resultate der fünften Kategorie betreffen den Wissens- und Kompetenztransfer und insbesondere Gesundheit, Ethik sowie den öffentlichen Raum (Makro-Level).

Das **zehnte Kapitel** präsentiert sowohl allgemeine als auch länderspezifische Diskussionen und Ergebnisse, welche sich wiederum auf die fünf Analysekategorien beziehen. Anschließend werden auf einer abstrakteren Ebene generelle Schlussfolgerungen formuliert, die sich einerseits auf die gesichtete Fachliteratur beziehen und andererseits praktische Empfehlungsansätze beinhalten. Im Sinne der Heuristik erläutern die Ergebnisse dieser Studie die potenziellen Zusammenhänge zwischen Malawi, Sambia und Südafrika bezüglich der eingangs gestellten Forschungsfrage. Nach einer Zusammenfassung der wichtigsten Erkenntnisse schließt die Studie mit einer selbstkritischen Reflexion, welche Grenzen, praktische Implikationen und Chancen sowie Erwartungshaltungen und weiterführende Forschungsansätze umfasst.

Curriculum Vitae

Marianne Meier (*1976) holds a double major in history and political science. Additional academic training involved sport science and pedagogics/didactics. She studied in Fribourg and Berne/Switzerland, Munich/Germany, North Carolina/USA, and Siena/Italy.

She is working in the area of 'Sport and Development' for more than ten years with a focus on diversity, empowerment, football and 'monitoring and evaluation' procedures (M&E).

As deputy head of 'Sport and Development' and researcher at the Swiss Academy for Development (SAD), she cooperated with local NGOs and conducted numerous workshops and evaluations in Sri Lanka, Morocco, Japan, Colombia, Europe, and mainly in Southern and Eastern Africa.

Among other tasks, she was in charge of an M&E project within the framework of 'Football for Hope' assigned by FIFA and streetfootballworld. Furthermore, she was mandated by the Swiss government (SDC) to conduct a cross-cultural study on gender and sport in Iran, Zambia, and Northern Caucasus.

Her book "Tender Feet on Hard Leather" on Swiss female football won the prize of 'Gender Studies' at the University of Fribourg/Switzerland in 2004. In 2010, she was awarded a scholarship by the 'Technische Universität München' (TUM Gender-Zentrum) to finalize her dissertation. In 2011 she came off second-best 'Young Researcher' (dvs-Nachwuchspreis) awarded by the 'German Association of Sport Science' for her PhD project.

On different occasions, she was invited or mandated as speaker, jury member or consultant by UNESCO, UEFA, ICSSPE, UNOSDP, Nike, UK Sport, VIDC, SCORE, King Baudouin Foundation, FIFA, CARE, NCDO, FARE, SCORT, CASPEA, Swiss Federal Office of Sport, German Economic Cooperation and Development Ministry, various Universities, and others.

Currently, she is teaching and completing her PhD at the 'Technische Universität München' (TUM) in Germany at the Department of Sport and Health Science. Moreover, she is coordinating an EU project on sport and physical activity as psycho-social interventions in cooperation with ICSSPE, Danish Red Cross, and SAD.

On voluntary basis, she is an Executive Board member of IAPESGW[192], Advisory Council member of 'Women Win', Board member of 'Terre des Hommes Switzerland', SAD associate, and co-editor of the magazine of Swiss female football.

Some of her publications include:

Meier, M., Selvaraju, U., Lauff, J., Meulders, B. & Maguire, J. (2013). Sport and Development, in: Talbot, M., Haag, H. & Keskinen, K. (Eds.). Directory of Sport Science, 6th ed., Berlin/Germany: International Council of Sport Science and Physical Education.

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Eidesstattliche Erklärung

Ich erkläre an Eides statt, dass ich die bei der promotionsführenden Einrichtung
Fakultät für Sport- und Gesundheitswissenschaft
der TUM zur Promotionsprüfung vorgelegte Arbeit mit dem Titel:

'Sporting Role Models' as Potential Catalysts to Facilitate Empowerment and Tackle Gender Issues: An Empirical Study in Malawi, Zambia and South Africa.

am Lehrstuhl für Sportpädagogik unter der Anleitung und Betreuung durch
Univ.-Prof. Dr. Claudia Kugelmann und Univ.-Prof. Dr. Adri Vermeer
ohne sonstige Hilfe erstellt und bei der Abfassung nur die gemäß § 6 Abs. 6 und 7 Satz 2 angegebenen Hilfsmittel benutzt habe.

Die öffentlich zugängliche Promotionsordnung der TUM ist mir bekannt. Insbesondere habe ich die Bedeutung von § 28 (Nichtigkeit der Promotion) und § 29 (Entzug des Doktorgrades) zur Kenntnis genommen. Ich bin mir der Konsequenzen einer falschen Eidesstattlichen Erklärung bewusst.

München, den 20.02.2013   Marianne Meier

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Annex A: Comparative Country Overview

(based on data from PRB (2010), UNAIDS[193] and UNICEF[194])

Socio-demographic Parameters	Malawi	Zambia	South Africa
Population mid-2010 (millions)	15,4	13,3	49,9
Land Area (square kilometer)	118,484	752,618	1,221,037
Population per square kilometre (persons)	130	18	41
Undernourished Population, 2002-2004 (%)	35	46	< 2,5
Percent of Population aged under 15 (%)	45,9	46,2	31
Percent Urban[195] (%)	14	37	52
Urban Population Living in Slums, 2005 (%)	66	57	29
GNI PPP per Capita[196] (USD), 2008	830	1'230	9'780
Life Expectancy, at birth (years)	49	42	55
Percent of Population with HIV/AIDS (%) Females aged 15-49, 2007/2009	13,5	21,8	18
Percent of Population with HIV/AIDS (%) Males aged 15-49, 2007/2009	10, 2	14,4	12,4
Median Age at First Marriage, Women 20-24	18,1	19	--
Women Ages 20-24 Giving Birth by Age 18 (%)	34	35	20
Literacy Rate, Ages 15-24, 2000-04, Female (%)	71	86	94
Literacy Rate, Ages 15-24, 2000-04, Male (%)	82	91	94
Secondary School Enrollment, Female, 2000/2004 (as % of school-age enrollment)	29	25	91
Secondary School Enrollment, Male, 2000/2004 (as % of school-age enrollment)	37	30	84
Economically Active, Females aged 15+, 1995-2002 (%)	76	66	48
Economically Active, Males aged 15+, 1995-2002 (%)	79	86	61
Women as % of Parliament, 2004	15	12	33

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[193] See http://www.unaids.org/en/regionscountries/regions/easternandsouthernafrica (accessed 13-05-2011).
[194] See http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/esaro.html (accessed 05-04-2011).
[195] "Percentage of the total population living in areas termed "urban" by that country. Countries define urban in many different ways, from population centres of 100 or more dwellings to only the population living in national and provincial capitals" (PRB 2010, p. 18).
[196] "GNI PPP per capita is gross national income in purchasing power parity (PPP) divided by midyear population. GNI PPP refers to gross national income converted to "international" dollars using a purchasing power parity conversion factor. International dollars indicate the amount of goods and services one could buy in the United States with a given amount of money. Data are from the World Bank" (PRB 2010, p. 18).

SAD   **Consent Form**

Football for Hope Movement: Monitoring and Evaluation Pilot Project

Name of the Interviewer: _____   Place: _____

Please tick boxes:	**Yes**	**No**
1. I was informed about this study and understand its purpose.	☐	☐
2. I had the chance to ask questions.	☐	☐
3. I understand that I am free to stop and quit at any time, if I feel uncomfortable.	☐	☐
4. I agree that anything I say or write during the data collection activity can be used, without giving my name, for the research project.	☐	☐
5. I deliberately agree to take part in the study.	☐	☐

_____   _____   _____

Name of Respondent   Signature   Date

_____   _____   _____

Interviewer   Signature   Date

<div align="center">2 copies, one for participant, one for interviewer (to be kept with records)</div>

Denial Form

Football for Hope Movement: Monitoring and Evaluation Pilot Project

Dear Parents/Caregivers

Your child has been invited to take part in an evaluation study conducted by the Swiss Academy for Development (SAD) and local partner organisations.

Local authorities and school staff have already been informed and support our study.

The study is evaluating the different sport activities implemented in your communities and aims at providing information which will improve the programmes in which your child is participating.

Children will be asked if they would like to fill in a questionnaire about their experiences with the sport programmes. They can freely choose whether they would like to participate or not.

The collected data will be treated confidentially and used for scientific purposes only.

If you **do not agree** that the child is participating in this evaluation, please fill in the slip below.

Thank you for your cooperation!

✂--

My signature indicates that I **do not agree** that the child takes part in this study.

Name of the Village: _____

Name of the Child: _____

Child's age: _____

Name of Parent/Caregiver: _____

Date: _____   Signature: _____

Annex D: Analytical Structure of Questionnaire for Coaches (SG1)
(based on 'Heuristic Framework' from Chap. VI)

Structuring Dimension	Categories	Questions Empowerment		Questions Gender	
SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT	**1** Status and Value of Sport	1.1	Most people in my community want children to do sports.	1.3	Most people in my community want girls to do sports.
		1.2	Most people in my community want adults to do sports.	1.4	Most people in my community want women to do sports.
				1.5	Most people in my community agree that girls should play football.
				1.6	An athletic muscular male body is considered attractive/beautiful in my community.
				1.7	An athletic muscular female body is considered attractive/beautiful in my community.
				1.8	I think women and girls should always wear skirts or dresses.
				1.9	I think women and girls should wear shorts or trousers for doing sports.

Structuring Dimension	Categories	Questions Empowerment		Questions Gender	
SPORTING ROLE MODELS	**2** Attributes and Self-awareness of SRMs (Coaches)	2.1	I am a role model for the children. Please specify your answer.		
		2.2	I feel respected in my community for being a sport coach.		
		2.3	Some people in my community have discouraged me to be a sport coach. Please specify your answer.		
		2.4	Do you have a personal sporting hero or role model? If yes, who and why?		
MACRO	**3** Transferability	3.1	Children's knowledge on health issues increases through our sport programme.	3.4	Self-confidence of girls increases through our sport programme.
		3.2	Our sport programme influences ethical and moral behaviour of children.	3.5	Self-confidence of boys increases through our sport programme.
		3.3	Our sport programme influences my ethical and moral behaviour. Please specify your answer.	3.6	Our sport programme makes public space equally accessible to both sexes.

Structuring Dimension	Categories	Questions Empowerment		Questions Gender	
MESO / EXO	**4** Intentional Teaching	4.1	I think private problems should be shared with the coach.	4.6	Girls share their private problems with me.
		4.2	I usually take time to talk with children about their private problems during or within the programme.	4.7	Boys share their private problems with me.
		4.3	I usually take time to talk with children about their private problems outside the programme.	4.8	I usually encourage mixed sport activities.
		4.4	I know most parents/caregivers of the children personally.	4.9	I explicitly address issues related to gender and sport in my programme.
		4.5	Parents/caregivers often come to talk to me about their children.		
MICRO	**5** Presence and Mind-set	5.1	My responsibility towards the children ends when they leave the programme.	5.4	Gender equity is an important issue for me.
		5.2	I will try to stay in touch with the children after they leave the programme.		
		5.3	List and rank your 3 main motivations of being a coach.		

ZAMBIA: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR COACHES

Please circle the numbers in the fields on the right to express your personal opinion regarding the following statements. There is no good or bad and no right or wrong answer – we just want to know about your own experiences with sport and play activities. No one will know who has filled in which form (there is no name on it) and we only care about the information given, not about who has written what. Results will only be used for research purposes! Please write any comments you might have on the back of the pages or at the end.

Thank you in advance for your valuable support!!

	Statement / Question	Yes	Rather Yes	Rather No	No
1.1	Most people in my community want **children** to do sports.	1	2	3	4
1.2	Most people in my community want **adults** to do sports.	1	2	3	4
1.3	Most people in my community want **girls** to do sports.	1	2	3	4
1.4	Most people in my community want **women** to do sports.	1	2	3	4
1.5	Most people in my community agree that girls should play football.	1	2	3	4
1.6	An athletic muscular **male** body is considered attractive/beautiful in my community.	1	2	3	4
1.7	An athletic muscular **female** body is considered attractive/beautiful in my community..	1	2	3	4
1.8	I think women and girls should always wear skirts or dresses.	1	2	3	4
1.9	I think women and girls should wear shorts or trousers for doing sports.	1	2	3	4

	Statement / Question	Yes	Rather Yes	Rather No	No
2.1	Do you have a personal sporting hero or role model?	1	2	3	4
	If yes, who and why?	....			
2.2	Do you have a favourite female athlete in your country?	1	2	3	4
	If yes, who and why?	....			

No	Statement / Question	Yes	Rather Yes	Rather No	No
3.1	I am a role model for the participants.	1	2	3	4
3.2	I feel respected in my community for being a coach.	1	2	3	4
3.3	Some people in my community have discouraged me to be a coach.	1	2	3	4
3.4	List and rank your 3 main motivations of being a coach.	1. .... 2. .... 3.			
3.5	I only feel responsible for the participants during the programme.	1	2	3	4
3.6	I try to stay in touch with the participants beyond the programme.	1	2	3	4
3.7	Fairness between male and female persons is important to me.	1	2	3	4

No	Statement / Question	Yes	Rather Yes	Rather No	No
4.1	I think private problems should be shared with the coach.	1	2	3	4
4.2	I usually take time to talk with children about their private problems **during or within** the programme.	1	2	3	4
4.3	I usually take time to talk with children about their private problems **outside** the programme.	1	2	3	4
4.4	I know most parents/caregivers of the children personally.	1	2	3	4
4.5	Parents/caregivers often come to talk to me about their children.	1	2	3	4
4.6	**Girls** share their private problems with me.	1	2	3	4
4.7	**Boys** share their private problems with me.	1	2	3	4
4.8	I usually encourage mixed sport activities.	1	2	3	4
4.9	I explicitly address issues related to gender and sport in my programme.	1	2	3	4

No	Statement / Question	Yes	Rather Yes	Rather No	No
5.1	Participants' knowledge on health issues increases through our sport programme.	1	2	3	4
5.2	Our sport programme influences ethical and moral behaviour of participants.	1	2	3	4
5.3	Our sport programme influences my ethical and moral behaviour.	1	2	3	4
5.4	Self-confidence of participating **girls** increases through our sport programme.	1	2	3	4
5.5	Self-confidence of participating **boys** increases through our sport programme.	1	2	3	4
5.6	My self-confidence increased, since my involvement in the sport programme.	1	2	3	4
5.7	The sport programme enabled participants to access new public spaces.	1	2	3	4

Any comments or suggestions?
....
....
....
....

Zikomo pakuti pasa nthawi yo ti thandizira!!

	SOUTH AFRICA: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARTICIPATING CHILDREN/YOUTH

Please circle the numbers in the fields on the right to express your personal opinion regarding the following statements. There is no good or bad and no right or wrong answer – we just want to know about your own experiences with sport and play activities. No one will know who has filled in which form (there is no name on it) and we only care about the information given, not about who has written what. Results will only be used for research purposes! Please write any comments you might have on the back of the pages or at the end.

Thank you in advance for your valuable support!!

	Statement / Question	**Yes**	**Rather Yes**	**Rather No**	**No**
1.1	Most people in my community want **children** to do sports.	1	2	3	4
1.2	Most people in my community want **adults** to do sports.	1	2	3	4
1.3	Most people in my community want **girls** to do sports.	1	2	3	4
1.4	Most people in my community want **women** to do sports.	1	2	3	4
1.5	Most people in my community agree that girls should play football.	1	2	3	4
1.6	An athletic muscular **male** body is considered attractive/beautiful in my community.	1	2	3	4
1.7	An athletic muscular **female** body is considered attractive/beautiful in my community.	1	2	3	4
1.8	I think women and girls should always wear skirts or dresses.	1	2	3	4
1.9	I think women and girls should wear shorts or trousers for doing sports.	1	2	3	4

	Statement / Question	Yes	Rather Yes	Rather No	No
2.1	Do you have a personal sporting hero or role model?	1	2	3	4
	If yes, who and why?	....			
2.2	Do you have a favourite female athlete in your country?	1	2	3	4
	If yes, who and why?	....			

No	Statement / Question	Yes	Rather Yes	Rather No	No
3.1	My coach is a role model for me.	1	2	3	4
3.2	My coach is respected in my community.	1	2	3	4
3.3	Some people in my community have discouraged coaches to be coaches.	1	2	3	4
3.4	List and rank your 3 main motivations for being a GRS participant.	1. .... 2. .... 3.			
3.5	My coach(es) feel(s) only responsible for me during the programme.	1	2	3	4
3.6	I will try to stay in touch with the coach(es) beyond the programme.	1	2	3	4
3.7	Fairness between male and female persons is important to me.	1	2	3	4

No	Statement / Question	Yes	Rather Yes	Rather No	No
4.1	I think private problems should be shared with the coach(es).	1	2	3	4
4.2	I usually talk about my private problems with my coach(es) **during or within** the programme.	1	2	3	4
4.3	I usually talk about my private problems with my coach(es) **outside** the programme.	1	2	3	4
4.4	My coach(es) knows/know my parents/caregivers personally.	1	2	3	4
4.5	My parents/caregivers often come to talk to my coach.	1	2	3	4
4.6	I share my private problems with my coach(es).	1	2	3	4
4.7	-----	1	2	3	4
4.8	My coach(es) encourage(s) mixed sport activities.	1	2	3	4
4.9	My coach(es) explicitly address issues related to gender and sport in the programme.	1	2	3	4

No	Statement / Question	Yes	Rather Yes	Rather No	No
5.1	I learned a lot about health issues through this sport programme.	1	2	3	4
5.2	I learned a lot about good and bad behaviour through this sport programme.	1	2	3	4
5.3	My coach(es) care(s) about good and fair behaviour.	1	2	3	4
5.4	I am more self-confident through this sport programme.	1	2	3	4
5.5	----	1	2	3	4
5.6	My coach(es) seem(s) to be self-confident.	1	2	3	4
5.7	My sport programme gives me access to new public spaces.	1	2	3	4

Any comments or suggestions?

....
....
....
....
....

Enkosi kakhulu!!

Annex G: Thematic Guideline for Focus Group Discussion

The following guideline served as a thread through all the FGDs of this study:

Start-up: Introduction / mutual presentation

- Personal introduction
- Explanation of research project
- Ensuring appropriate anonymity regarding this conversation
- Proper consent procedures (signing 'Consent Form')

Section 1:   Image of Sport / Football

- Your organisation XY[197] is about football. Do you think this is the right sport for all children/youth? Would you have other suggestions? For whom?
- Is female football welcome and accepted in your community?
- If yes, who are advocates and promoters of female football?
- If not, who are opponents of female football? What barriers and prejudices is this sport facing when practised by girls or women?

Section 2:   Sporting Role Models

- Do you have personal sporting heroes or role models?
- If yes, who and why?
- Do you have favourite female athletes in your country?
- If yes, who and why?

Section 3:   Motivation, Challenges and Role as a Coach

- Do you think that you are a role model for participating children/youth?
- What was your motivation to join XY and to become a coach?
- What are the biggest problems / challenges you have to face when delivering your programme?
- Did you ever face any problems or opposition being a coach?
  If yes, what were the reasons and how did you react?

Section 4:   Relationships

- Do children/youth usually share their private problems with you?
  If yes, what kinds of problems are they sharing with you and when?
- How is the relationship between you and the families? Do you know them? Are parents or caregivers coming to the field (talking to you)?
- When does your responsibility for participating children/youth end? Does it end at all?
- Do you want children/youth to share their problems with you in the future as well?
  If yes, even after your time as a coach?

Section 5:   Changes and Future Visions

- Did you notice any changes, positive or negative, about yourself since you started to work as a coach? If yes, what kind?
- Did you notice any changes, positive or negative, about participating children/youth since you started to work as a coach? If yes, what kind?
- What is your wish or dream for the future of XY and you as a coach?

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[197] XY stands for the respective three organisations: PS in Malawi, ZSFN in Zambia, and GRS in South Africa.

Annex H: Chronological Schedule of Data Collection for Malawi, Zambia, and South Africa 2008/2009

Source No.	Country	City / Community	Date	Organisation / Institution	Method	Participant(s)	Comments
1	Malawi	Blantyre	15-09-2008	Football Association Malawi FAM	KII	FAM official	Former national team footballer, Board member PS, age 37
2	Malawi	Mulanje	16-09-2008	Chanunka Primary School	KII	Male headmaster	Age 43
3	Malawi	Mulanje	16-09-2008	Chanunka Primary School	KII	Female deputy headmaster	Age 39
4	Malawi	Blantyre/FAM headquarters	17-09-2008	Play Soccer	FGD	7 male coaches	Age 51, 26, 25, 24, and 18
5	Malawi	Blantyre/ Ndirande	17-09-2008	Makata Primary School	KII	Male headmaster	Age 54
6	Malawi	Blantyre/ Bangwe	17-09-2008	Play Soccer	KII	Female PS coach	Age 22
7	Malawi	Blantyre/FAM headquarters	18-09-2008	Play Soccer	QUE	27 PS coaches (3 female / 24 male)	Age 18 to 51
8	Malawi	Blantyre/ Ndirande	02-03-2009	Makata Primary School	KII	Female deputy head-teacher	Age 44
9	Malawi	Blantyre/ Ndirande	02-03-2009	Makata Primary School	KII	Male deputy head-teacher	Age 52
10	Malawi	Blantyre/ Ndirande	02-03-2009	Makata Primary School	QUE	30 children (15 female / 15 male)	Age 9 to 14
11	Malawi	Blantyre/ FAM headquarters	03-03-2009	Play Soccer	SRV	2 male PS coaches	Age 25 and 26
12	Malawi	Blantyre/ FAM headquarters	03-03-2009	Play Soccer	SRV	2 PS staff members (1 female / 1 male)	Age 28 and 50
13	Malawi	Mulanje	03-03-2009	Chanunka Primary School	QUE	30 children (15 female / 15 male)	Age 9 to 14
14	Malawi	Mulanje	04-03-2009	Chanunka Primary School	QUE	5 teachers (3 female / 2 male)	Future PS coaches

Source No.	Country	City / Community	Date	Organisation / Institution	Method	Participant(s)	Comments
15	Zambia	Lusaka/ Northmead	08-09-2008	BSA	QUE	10 coaches (1 female / 9 male)	Age 10 to 14
16	Zambia	Lusaka/ Northmead	09-09-2008	BSA	QUE	25 children (10 female / 15 male)	Age 10 to 14
17	Zambia	Lusaka/ Bauleni	10-09-2008	Bauleni Primary School	KII	Female teacher	Age 28
18	Zambia	Lusaka/ Bauleni	10-09-2008	BUSA	QUE	10 coaches (2 female / 8 male)	Age 18 to 26
19	Zambia	Lusaka/ Mtendere	11-09-2008	KSC	QUE	9 coaches (2 female / 7 male)	Age 22 to 27
20	Zambia	Lusaka/ Mtendere	12-09-2008	KSC	FGD	3 fathers	---
21	Zambia	Lusaka/ Kalundu	09-02-2009	KSC	SRV	Male senior staff	Age 24
22	Zambia	Lusaka/ Kalundu	09-02-2009	BUSA	SRV	Male senior staff	Age 29
23	Zambia	Lusaka/ Kalundu	10-02-2009	BSA	KII	Male senior staff	Age 27
24	Zambia	Lusaka/ Bauleni	09-03-2009	BUSA	SRV	7 coaches (1 female / 6 male)	Age 26, 25, 24, 22, 18, and 16
25	Zambia	Lusaka/ Northmead	10-03-2009	BSA	SRV	3 coaches (1 female / 2 male)	Age 22, 24
26	Zambia	Lusaka/ Kalikiliki	11-03-2009	KSC	SRV	2 male coaches	Age 23, 26
27	Zambia	Lusaka/ Mtendere	11-03-2009	KSC	QUE	11 children (4 female / 7 male)	Age 10 to 14
28	Zambia	Lusaka/ Kabwata	13-03-2009	BUSA, BSA, KSC	FGD	5 coaches (2 female / 3 male)	Age 22, 24, and 25
29	South Africa	Port Elizabeth/ Admiralty Road	20-09-2008	GRS	FGD #1	8 coaches (6 female / 2 male)	Age 20, 21, 24, 25, and 27

Source No.	Country	City / Community	Date	Organisation / Institution	Method	Participant(s)	Comments
30	South Africa	Port Elizabeth/ Admiralty Road	20-09-2008	GRS	FGD #2	4 male coaches	Age 21, 25, 26 and 35
31	South Africa	Port Elizabeth/ Admiralty Road	21-09-2008	GRS	FGD #3	6 female coaches	Age 20 to 25
32	South Africa	Port Elizabeth/ Admiralty Road	21-09-2008	GRS	FGD #4	3 coaches (2 female / 1 male)	Age 24, 25, and 27
33	South Africa	Port Elizabeth/ New Brighton	22-09-2008	GRS	SRV	5 staff members (4 female / 1 male)	Field internees, programme coordinators, age 22 to 25
34	South Africa	Port Elizabeth/ New Brighton	23-02-2009	GRS	QUE	24 coaches (17 female / 7 male)	Age 20 to 35
35	South Africa	Port Elizabeth/ New Brighton	24-02-2009	GRS	SRV	14 coaches (10 female / 4 male)	Age 21 to 35
36	South Africa	Port Elizabeth/ New Brighton	25-02-2009	Lamani Primary School	KII	Male headmaster	Age 39
37	South Africa	Port Elizabeth/ New Brighton	25-02-2009	Lamani Primary School	QUE	20 children (12 female / 8 male)	GRS graduated
38	South Africa	Port Elizabeth/ New Brighton	25-02-2009	Lamani Primary School	QUE	21 children (12 female / 9 male)	Not yet GRS graduated
39	South Africa	Port Elizabeth/ New Brighton	26-02-2009	David Vuku Primary School	QUE	25 children (14 female / 11 male)	GRS graduated
40	South Africa	Port Elizabeth/ New Brighton	26-02-2009	David Vuku Primary School	QUE	22 children (12 female / 10 male)	Not yet GRS graduated

Used Abbreviations:

FGD = Focus Group Discussion
KII = Key Informant Interview
QUE = Questionnaire
SRV = Self-recording Video
FAM = Malawian Football Association

BSA = Breakthrough Sports Academy
BUSA = Bauleni United Sports Academy
KSC = Kalim Sports Council
GRS = Grassroot Soccer
PS = Play Soccer