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Sport as a Vehicle for Development in Vanuatu: A Review of the Literature and analysis of the Women's Island Cricket Project.

A research project presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
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Abstract

Approaches to development delivery have changed significantly post World War II. Current development delivery practices are often referred to as the 4th paradigm of aid delivery. A focus on the concept of empowerment through the delivery of aid has become very popular, especially in relation to women's development (Cornwall & Brock, 2005, Batliwala, 2007). The 3rd Millennium Development Goal with an aim to empower women is a good example of the increased international focus on and support for, the development of women around the world. This popularity has also surfaced within the new and emerging Sport-for-Development paradigm. The marrying of Sport for Development and empowerment seem to be synonymous in a number of aid projects. However due to the fact that empowerment is a multi-faceted and contested term, there are issues concerning implementation and effectiveness of Sports for Development projects. Monitoring and evaluating Sport for Development projects continues to be an issue many writers lament about. As many have empowerment as an end goal, this is something that causes disquiet in the development field.

With the above-mentioned in mind, this research project aimed to investigate, via a desk-based study and field observations, in what ways the Women's Island Cricket Project in Vanuatu has contributed to women's empowerment and identify what some of the consequences of this empowerment of participants were at the personal, family and community level. Using Kabeer's (1999, 2005) notion that empowerment is about the ability to make choices to improve one's life, and transform one's life, I consider whether the women involved in the cricket project had acquired *agency* – the ability to transform – and whether the women have changed the way they feel about themselves and have been able to improve their own self-efficacy.

My research identified that Island cricket has considerable 'buy-in' by the participants of the Women's Island Cricket Project and their families. I conclude that this project has been successful, resulting in empowerment-type behavioural change for participants. Whilst paternalistic attitudes towards women exist in Vanuatu, on Ifira Island, the project has challenged and transformed some of these historical attitudes. Development Alternatives for Women of a New Era's idea that women's solidarity adds to empowerment (Sen & Grown, 1988) was observed by me when attending the Women's Island Cricket Committee meeting. Whilst Vanuatu women who play cricket are the focus of this aid project, the reality is that despite sport for women not being equal with empowerment opportunities available to male sports people, well-planned and well-organised Sport for Development projects that involve local women in the planning, implementation and evaluation, are meritorious and provide considerable scope to transform participant's lives.

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List of Acronyms

AFL	Australian Football League	MTG	Moving the Goal Post
AID	Acquired immunodeficiency virus	NCD	Non-communicable disease
ASC	Australian Sports Commission	NGO	Non-government organisation
ASOP	Australian Sports Outreach Program	NRL	National Rugby league
AusAID	Australian Aid	NZ	New Zealand
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility	PIF	Pacific Islands Forum
DAWN	Development Alternatives for Women of a new Era	PSP	Pacific Sports Partnership
EAP	East Asia Pacific	QA	Quantitative Research
GAD	Gender and Development	SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
HDI	Human Development Index	SFD	Sports for Development
HOP	Head of Programme	SDP	Sports for Development and Peace
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus	WHO	World Health Organisation
ICC	International Cricket Council	WID	Women in Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund	WIS	Women in Sport
M+E	Monitoring and Evaluation	UN	United Nations
MDG	Millennium Development Goals	UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
MNC	Multi-national corporations	VCA	Vanuatu Cricket Association
MSYA	Mathare Youth Sports Association	VNCC	Vanuatu National Cultural Council

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background to research

My research project undertaken over the past year has reinforced O’Leary’s (2010) idea that qualitative research is not a linear process. While I felt I understood the theory of research, it was not until I embarked on doing ‘research’ that a more informed understanding of the challenges and pitfalls and the personal growth experience associated with the process, arose. My original idea was to investigate:

In what ways, and to what extent, has the Nabanga Sports Programme in Vanuatu contributed to women’s empowerment, and what have been the consequences of this empowerment at the personal, family and community level?

However, three days prior to fieldwork to collect primary data, it was made clear to my supervisor and the Head of the Development Studies Programme that there was a Moratorium on Research in Vanuatu, for one year, commencing 26 June 2013¹. Hence, eight months into my project I had to alter and reconfigure my research aim, question and objectives. However, before I present my adapted research aim, questions and objectives, I will outline the rationale underpinning why this project was of interest to me.

My interest in doing research on a topic such as this is underpinned by three key issues. Firstly, my own background as a sports person; secondly, my background as a secondary school teacher and passion for using sport as a means of achievement, for example health benefits and engaging young people; and thirdly, my interest in gender equality and my frustration at the inequity I have observed over the years for women in professional/semi-professional sports. I will now discuss these three points consecutively.

1.2 Background as a sportswoman, teacher and interest in empowerment and gender equality

¹ The Moratorium on new research in Vanuatu was approved by the Vanuatu National Cultural Council, the Paramount body that regulates research in Vanuatu. The Moratorium on research included Social Science and other research touching the Vanuatu culture and research on Lands. The reason given is to allow the VNCC to re-develop its National Collaborative Research policy and other policies relating to Culture and Customs (Laonsel, 2013). This was posted on a blog ‘The Pacific Institute’ at The Australian National University (Institute, 2013). It was reported by Radio New Zealand 10 July 2013 (International, 2013). I was made aware of the Moratorium in a phone call 3 days before leaving for Vanuatu.

I have always been active in terms of participation in women's sport. In my early years I was a representative basketball player for Hutt Valley and New Zealand, and I continue in my 50s to mountain bike, cycle, paddle board and walk. For me, sport has been empowering in terms of who I am and how I see myself. My personal philosophy towards the role sports has played in my life can best be described by the following quote about the "pyramid of success"²:

Each day that you fail to do your best, you lose something that you can never get back. Make every effort to do the best you can- not because somebody else wants you to, not because you're expected to, not because somebody before you did. But do your best because of the personal satisfaction and pleasure you get out of doing a thing well- to the very best of your ability. (Wooden & Sharman, 1975, p. 78)

As a coach and supporter of my daughters' involvement in sports, I have also involved myself in a variety of different sports from gymnastics, netball, multi-sports and rowing.

I am also a secondary school teacher and have a passion surrounding young people's participation in sport for a variety of reasons, including: health benefits; self-esteem; opportunities that can include leadership, success, networkings, and getting to know different groups of people within our society. Because our school is located in a low socio-economic provincial area, all sports teams have to travel to compete against other teams. This involves a considerable amount of input in terms of money and time for participants and their families. It is a feature of our school that students fund-raise for their trips. Working doing mundane activities, and training over extended periods of time helps to achieve the bigger goal (involvement in a regional or national tournament or overseas travel), and aids the development of interpersonal skills, feelings of self-worth and increased self-confidence³. This thinking is also advocated strongly in the Sport for Development (SFD) literature, particularly those who advocate the use of sport as a vehicle for personal and social change (Lawson, 2005, Spaaij, 2009, Coalter, 2010, Hayhurst, 2011, Darnell & Black, 2011).

² The "pyramid of success" was devised over 60 years ago, by John Wooden, a successful college basketball coach from UCLA. He measured success not just by winning, but by having "peace of mind" from knowing you have made every effort to do well. He used this pyramid to build players from the "bottom up" and encouraged them to practice sincerity, patience, industriousness and friendship. It is an optimistic approach to sport and considers the impact that goes beyond the court into one's personal life (Edelhauser, 2007; UCLA, 2014; Wooden, Sharman, & Seizer, 1975).

³ In late 2013, a group of young men from the school where I teach, went to North America for a rugby tour, and in 2014 the Girls' Soccer team will be fundraising for a trip to New South Wales. A feature of all tours is the sharing of cultures, the opportunities for improvement and the chances to experience new things.

My formative education included secondary school in Adelaide, Australia, and university in Wellington in the 1970s. As a feminist, I was frustrated with the role and position of women in society and attested to the desires of the 1970s feminists who wanted 'equal rights' and better access to power and resources 'over men'. I wanted equality with men in terms of my access to education and sport and acknowledgement of my contributions in, and to, sport. While in some instances the roles and position of women in society have undergone significant change and society is more inclusive of women, on the sporting field women continue to struggle. One example which highlights this was in February 2013, where the "Sunday Star- Times" reported that the winners of the Speights Coast to Coast were two men, and the women's winner (Sophie Hart) was not mentioned⁴. Reading any newspaper or coverage on the news related to sports, it is very apparent that women do not get equal coverage⁵.

Thinking about a research topic that was linked to development studies – SFD was clearly an area of personal interest for me. Intriguingly, reading the literature surrounding SFD, I noted that the power of sport was being touted as a new way to deliver aid and achieve development goals in different countries (Aafjes, et al. 2009, Develtere & De Bruyn, 2009, Spaaij, 2009, Black, 2010, Coalter, 2010, Levermore, 2008 & 2010, Hartmann, & Kwauk, 2011). One idea is that sport can be used as a means for empowering women and girls. That is, via sport they could become the arbiters of positive social and economic change in their homes and villages (Brady. 2005, Saavedra, 2005, Hayhurst, 2011, AusAID, 2013, Australian Sports Commission, 2013). In my mind this seemed to be an inherent contradiction that sport could be used to bring about gender equality when sport as a whole does not treat women equally⁶. This said, I was interested in the idea that sport could be used as a vehicle for gender empowerment in developing countries.

1.3 Choosing my research context

My rationale for choosing Vanuatu as a research site was based on the fact I had established relationships with several women from Vanuatu who were working in my local area in the kiwifruit

⁴ In response to this oversight, I emailed the Sunday Star Times 10 February 2013, and received an emailed apology. However as a publicly written apology, which would allow readers to gain this information was not given, the mistake was not really rectified. Speaking to her mother, I know that Sophie Hart was disappointed that she did not get any form of recognition from this paper for her success.

⁵ This was also the main piece of discussion on National Radio's "Women and Sport", 17 November, 2013.

⁶ Acknowledged by the IOC, progress discussed related to women's participation in the London 2012 Games (Committee, 2013).

industry. They were part of the recognised seasonal employment (RSE) workers scheme⁷. When I discussed my ideas with one of the women (Participant Mary⁸), who I became friends with, she was very keen to discuss her interest in sport, especially cricket. Mary and her friends had been part of an island cricket programme that was part of the Australian Sport Outreach Program (ASOP) which was sponsored by the Australian government via AusAID. The women were keen for me to visit their island so they could show me the cricket they played and to discuss their experiences as participants in the programme.

As mentioned above, three days before my departure I unfortunately had to change the focus of my research due to the moratorium, and secondly ASOP after various conversations and initial agreement decided not to give me ethics approval to discuss any issues or questions with any partners of ASOP whilst I was in Vanuatu. Their rationale was they were in the middle of a monitoring and evaluation exercise and did not wish to have an outsider asking questions about their programme.

Following discussions with my supervisor and the HOP Development Studies, it was decided I would still visit Vanuatu. This was particularly important because my key contact, Mary, had organised for me to meet the women from her village to chat about the role of cricket in their lives and development issues. Mary had also organised a cricket competition with two other villages on the Friday of my visit so I could see how cricket is played in Vanuatu. Given the efforts the women had gone to plan for my visit, it was important to not let them down. My supervisor and the HOP also reiterated while research was effectively banned, this should not stop me visiting, observing, having informal discussions, and taking part in a cricket game on Ifira Island.

With this in mind, my research therefore changed from using the Nabanga Sports Programme in Vanuatu as a case study, an investigation into what ways, and to what extent, the Programme has contributed to women's empowerment, and what has been the consequence of this empowerment at the personal, family, and community level, to using the Women's Island Cricket Project, as my case study. My aim was thus changed to investigate via a desk-based study and field observations answering firstly,

Research question 1: In what ways and to what extent can sport for development programmes such as the Women's Island Cricket Project contribute to women's empowerment?

⁷ The RSE scheme is in place in areas where producers have historically had difficulties getting sufficient numbers of workers. Organised through the Department of Labour, MFAT, employers, and selected Pacific Island governments, employers recruit Pacific Islanders to travel to New Zealand to work mainly in primary industry.

⁸ Mary is a pseudonym for my contact

And

Research question 2: What might be the consequences of this empowerment at the personal, family and community level?

Hence the focus still adheres to the personal issues stated earlier as well as bringing together two concerns I have found in the literature: that empowerment whilst used in much of the development literature is a contested term (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005, Batliwala, 2007, Cornwall & Anyidoho 2010, Desai, 2010); and that SFD is an area with much hyperbole but not a lot of actual proof whether these programmes do what they say (Kidd, 2008, Black, 2009, Spaaij, 2009, Coalter, 2010, Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011).

1.4 Overview of this report

Chapter One has introduced the background to research, my rationale and why I chose SFD and the context. The reasons why the original study, aims and questions were changed were briefly discussed. I concluded with a presentation of the final aim, thus two research questions which is primarily a desk-based study and focuses on the Women's Island Cricket Project on Ifira Island.

Chapter Two provides a literature review of sport as a tool for development delivery. I commence with an overview of the approaches to development, and then discuss the role of women in development and how that has changed to include gender and development. I then provide a synopsis of 'empowerment', but first review the concept of 'power'. Empowerment is a multi-faceted idea, and is increasingly part of the lexicon of development. I then look at the Pacific, and present a conceptualisation of empowerment in the Pacific, and what the influence of Christianity has been. A link to SFD completes the chapter.

Chapter Three explores the role of sport and sport for development. SFD is conceptualised, and a reason why SFD has become a popular tool in development aid since 2000 will be discussed. I then critique SFD, providing supports and criticism for SFD. A challenge for SFD is the monitoring and evaluation, and whether goals such as empowerment have been achieved and I provide a review of some writers' thoughts. A review of the way SFD seeks to engage with women in sport and sport for development completes the chapter.

Chapter Four discusses my research process. I expand upon why my research had to change seven months into completion of my report. My aims and plan are provided, including the rationale why I chose qualitative methods of research. Key concepts such as engaging in cross-cultural research are

discussed and the ethics process I undertook and data collection plan I had presented. A reflection of my trip to Vanuatu finalises the chapter.

In Chapter Five, I present the context for my research. I commence with a review of the place and importance of sport in the Pacific. A synopsis of the Australian aid programme is introduced and a link as to why women and girls are often the recipients in SFD projects under the auspices of AusAID. A review of the geography and history of Vanuatu proceeds, with a summary of some development issues the country faces. The two projects that AusAID delivers to Vanuatu are summarised. A discussion of why cricket is important for women in Vanuatu rounds off the chapter.

Chapter Six concludes the research report by reflecting on my research. I commence with a review of Kabeer's framework (1999) and how it sits in with my research. I am trying to determine if the Women's Island Cricket Project empowers the women who participate in the project. I discuss how I came to travel to Vanuatu and Ifira Island and my observations of the island and meeting with some women on Ifira Island. I answer my research questions and infer if I think the project has improved the agency of the participants, and resulted in some level of social transformation. I close with my thoughts about SFD.

Chapter 2

Sport as a tool for gender empowerment

2.1 Introduction

SFD is referred to as a new paradigm in development delivery. It has become a tool to help aid development in a range of different settings (Guilanotti, 2004, Coalter, 2007, 2013). Empowerment is often mooted as one of the end goals for SFD programmes. Increasingly, women and girls have been suggested as the arbiters of change in development programmes. This chapter in reviewing the literature unpacks the relationship between empowerment and sport for development.

This chapter will start with an overview of the approaches to development. I will then discuss the role of women in development and how that has changed to the more inclusive gender and development, which focuses on women's empowerment. A synopsis of empowerment requires a review of the concept 'power', and then a brief appraisal of how empowerment has become part of the lexicon of development. Next, I present a conceptualisation of empowerment in the Pacific, and what the influence of Christianity has been. I suggest the Pacific concept of empowerment seemed different from one that I observed. A link to sport for development will complete the chapter.

2.2 Approaches to Development

The approach towards development throughout the 1950s and 1970s was dominated by two schools of thought; one followed capitalism or modernistic approaches where increased wealth and well-being followed well laid out stages eschewed by economic theorists – Smith (1776), Ricardo (1817) and Rostow (1960). An artificial divide had been defined between 'rich' and 'poor' countries. Rist (2002) noted the divide was attuned to North American interests. Esteva (1992) suggested that not only did the United States dominate ideas surrounding development, but they also wanted to consolidate that hegemony and make it permanent.

Karl Marx (1848) is synonymous with an opposing view of the effects of capitalism on economies and peoples (Peer & Hartwick, 2009). From his original work, a raft of writers have posed critical ideas about the link between 3rd world impoverishment and western capital expansion, such as- Gunder Frank who argued that colonialism and capitalism played a role in creating and maintaining underdevelopment (Frank, 1970, Blomström & Hettne, 1984). Frank and other Latin American

writers, for example Prebisch (McMichael, 2008), wrote a series of critical analyses that became known as dependency theory, and underdevelopment theory.

By the 1970s, it was apparent that economic growth had not resulted in mass improvements in well-being for the majority of people in the third world. Robert McNamara, President of the World Bank recognised that a high rate of economic growth had not brought satisfactory development and a new approach that involved integrating social and economic aspects of development was needed (Esteve, 1992). Added to this, the oil crisis led to a weakening of western economies, high inflation rates and rising 3rd world debt that created serious economic problems for a number of countries. Still under the influence of North American economists, it was considered the best way to achieve economic growth was to allow the private sector to be more involved in the running of economies. By addressing the debt crisis, The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank took the lead and introduced structural adjustment policies (SAP), where debt was believed to be reduced by selling public assets, and allowing the market to operate more freely (with limited government intervention), and reducing government spending in the social sector. These policies are known as neo-liberal (Simon, 2008), and what it meant for the poor, and very poor, was the removal of food staples subsidies, and health, and education were no longer subsidised. Many services such as water, and power were privatised and a lot of people in the public sector lost their jobs. The overall results for these economies were more people could not afford basics, including adequate food supplies, access to safe water, basic health care and access to education. This in turn led to the rise of Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) filling in the gaps in an attempt to provide services in place of what government used to provide.

Questioning and theorising led to an opening up of the development field⁹ and a range of alternative approaches have emerged, for example a focus on basic needs or sustainable livelihoods (Peet & Hartwick, 2009). Traditional groups including trans-Governance organisations (United Nations (UN), World Bank, IMF), overseas governments, bilaterals and faith-based organisations and the public sector have been joined by new actors from NGOs, private contributors, public organisations and trans-national corporations, many of which are using diverse and innovative ways for achieving social and economic development. One of the newest approaches is the use of sport as a vehicle for development. Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) has become a recognised strategy of social intervention in disadvantaged communities with an array of proclamations, endorsements,

⁹ Space does not permit a full analysis of the changes to the field of development studies from the 1980s, but it is suffice to comment that the two original theories -Capitalism and Marxist have been critiqued and argued about extensively.

organisations and programmes that think sport can 'make a difference' in a range of societies (Brady, 2005, Coalter, 2010, Kidd, 2011). This will be expanded upon in the next chapter.

2.3 Approaches to Women's Development

Feminist analysis of development came to the fore in the 1970s with the publication of Ester Boserup's text. Boserup's work explored the effects of economic and social growth on women in the third world. The idea that women would benefit from the fortunes of their male counterparts was questioned and found wanting, thus the Women in Development (WID) approach emerged and drew on Western feminist thinking about equality and so sought to include women in the development process. A criticism of the WID approach during the 1970s and 1980s was that it was taken from a middle-class, western perspective, and had no relevance in a wider context, where the concerns and interests of women from different regions, classes, nationalities and ethnic backgrounds were being ignored (Sen & Grown, 1988, Scheyvens, 1998, Kabeer, 2005). Sen and Grown (1988), also pointed out that although women had increased participation in the work force and had an increased share of resources, they were in fact worse off in third world countries during the 1980s. This was because of the way that neo-colonial relations, the World Bank and IMF's SAPs of the time were deepening women's poverty, marginalisation, and subordination across the developing world (Francisco, 2012).

As stated above, the World Bank recognised that the economic policies of the 1950s to early 1970s had not reduced poverty. There was a growing realisation that there were a number of issues that linked to poverty that were not being addressed. One of these was the role of women in the Third World. The UN recognised the need to increase action for Third World women by declaring 1976-85 the UN Decade for Women. The decade called for action to improve the education, employment opportunities and social and political participation of women throughout the world (Nations, 2013). There were three world conferences, held over the decade which helped legitimise the international feminist movement. The decade allowed women to debate a range of issues and frustrations. In 1984 new development alternatives for women were initiated by a group of Third World academics Development Alternatives for Women of a New Era, (DAWN). DAWN in opposition and in critique of WID wrote from the perspectives of poor and oppressed women, and concluded that women's work is vital, it is wide-spread, and if the goals are to increase the standard of living and remove inequality, then it is natural to start with women (Sen & Grown, 1988). At the third Women's Conference, in Nairobi in 1985, DAWN called for a new, people-centred international order, in which

Third World women's visions would be integral (Francisco, 2012). They also spoke about the importance of empowering women if any real development gains were to be made.

By the early to mid -1990s, the idea that gender should be the focus of development had become part of popular development strategy. At the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing in 1995, the Beijing Platform for Action asserted women's rights as human rights (Moser, 2005, (Nations, 2013)). The aftermath of the Millennium Summit in 2000 -the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were integrated that included specific references of goals linked to women. The third goal makes specific reference to "promoting gender equality and empower women".

2.4 Gender and Development

There was an assumption that by focusing on, and including WID, then social and economic equality would naturally follow on. This did not necessarily occur in practice. In the 1980s the Gender and Development (GAD) approach emerged. The GAD approach maintains that to focus on women in isolation is to ignore the real problem, which is their subordinate status to men. By insisting that women cannot be viewed in isolation, it emphasises a focus on gender relations (Moser, 1993). Therefore, GAD's primary focus is the study of power relations, that is, how gender roles and patterns of exploitation are constructed (Kabeer, 1994). GAD is not the goal but part of a process. Sharp et al. (2003) posits that GAD projects recognise the complexity of change and the tensions that exist between immediate material needs and the longer term transformation of unequal gender relations. GAD projects are bottom-up and people-centred (Moser, 2005), consider local contexts and not assume feminists have monolithic issues, goals and strategies (Sen & Grown, 1988).

2.5 Power

Empowerment has evolved from the notion of power. According to the Oxford dictionary, power is the capacity or ability to direct or influence the behaviour of others or the course of events¹⁰. The concept of 'power' is subject to much debate across Social Science, and in the field of development (Kabeer, 1999, 2005, Rowlands, 1997). There are also a variety of different and subtle ideas about what power means. Various Social Scientists see power to be conceived differently, for example,

¹⁰ <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/power>, retrieved 25 Feb. 13

Marxists associate power with the control over resources and institutions, whilst post Modernists consider that power is diffused throughout society and exercised in different ways. (Parpart, 2000). Parpart (2001) also suggests that there are double standards associated with the word 'power'. She posits that when people talk about women's 'empowerment' they use the word power in a non-threatening, almost romantic way, yet global structures often disempower women. Lukes (1974) argued that power is applied in unobservable conflict, as well as in the observable areas of conflict. He stresses that the most insidious and effective type of power is to shape peoples' perceptions, cognitions and preferences in a way where they will accept the existing order (cited in Rowlands, 1997).

Four types of power are noted: Power 'Over' is a WID approach where women should regain power back from those who have taken power, and third world feminists see this approach as a middle class concept (Sharp et al., 2003). Power 'To' and Power 'With' are seen as processes whereby people become more aware of their own interests and how they can create new possibilities and actions to work towards positions of strength to influence decisions. Power 'Within' is the fourth type of power which can be likened to ideas of 'self-worth' and 'self-confidence' (Rowlands 1997).

2.6 Empowerment

Empowerment is a word that has entered into common usage and is used in a variety of ways, all with slightly different meanings, and as a consequence, is another contested term for Social Scientists (Lawson, 2011). The word is difficult to define and measure (Kabeer 1999) because of its vagueness (Sharp et al., 2003). Within the Social Sciences, there is a broad agreement that empowerment is a process or a transformation. Batliwala (2007) asserts that the term is not new and reveals that many historic struggles, for example India in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Protestant reformation in the eighteenth century, and the Black Power movement of the twentieth century, were all examples of the struggles for social justice, and whilst not necessarily using the same linguistic word, were about empowerment. Batliwala (ibid) posits that the term was acquired in the late twentieth century; it was revitalised and procured a strongly political meaning by various groups including third world feminists, who wanted a more equitable, participatory and democratic form of social change and development.

By the 1990s, 'empowerment' became a buzz word in the development field (Cornwall & Brock, 2005, Batliwala, 2007). Some feminists consider that a once powerful term has been stolen and foisted onto the women of the global south as their salvation (Cornwall & Anyidoho, 2010). It has

become a popular 'catchy' term which has become diluted in meaning due to different understandings of power for many different organisations, including those in the development field (Sharp et al. 2003).

2.7 Conceptualising Empowerment for Women's Development

Freire (1972) was an important influence on literacy strategies to improve educational levels, particularly in Latin America. For Freire, language and power are inextricably intertwined and provide a fundamental dimension of human agency and social transformation (Giroux, 1988). Freire developed the 'conscientisation' approach which introduced a new framework that contested the more top-down, paternalistic community development that was characteristic of Third World development strategies, (Batliwala, 2007). Freire's 'conscientisation' is the process by which humans become aware of the sources of oppression. It is dynamic, leads to relection, and so increases liberation. Knowledge of language is essential in Freire's praxis (Blackburn, 2000). I suggest Freire's work is important to consider as it provides a method of critical thinking third world feminists like Batliwala and Kabeer adapted later.

Empowerment in early feminist writings was associated with the concerns that women would never develop, unless they were sufficiently empowered to challenge patriarchy and global inequalities. For this to happen, by using the definition of 'power over', empowerment would mean bringing people external to the decision-making processes to support women. Sen and Grown (1988) emphasized the need for collective action and development of a group of strategies to mobilize political will to empower and transform society. They stressed the collective strengths of women's organisations as the key, to challenge prevailing structures and build accountability of governments to people for their decisions. Batliwala has written that empowerment is a socio-political process; it is about the process of challenging existing power relations and gaining greater control over sources of power (Parpart, 2008). Initially Batliwala liked the term empowerment because it had not been defined clearly enough (Kabeer, 1999) but by 2007 she had changed her opinion. In her piece "An Experiential Account of Development", she suggests a need to have a new language to frame vision and strategies for social transformation of the poor and marginalised. Whilst still articulating the need to listen to the poor and their attempts to attain social justice, she concludes by calling for a new discourse including concepts and strategies that have not reached current political and philosophical imaginings. I suggest her malaise reflects the reality in her country, India, where although there has been significant economic development in the conventional neo-liberal economic

sense, the poor and marginalised women continue to remain oppressed and the inequality gap continues to widen.

Kabeer (1999 & 2005) conceptualised empowerment within a three dimensional framework. In her view, the way of thinking about power is the ability to make choices. The ability to exercise choice is seen through three inter-related dimensions: *Resources* that include material, human and social; *Agency*: the ability to define one's goals and act upon them; and *Achievements*. For there to be empowerment, real alternatives must be seen to exist and these go beyond the need to care for just the basics for survival. Kabeer stresses that empowerment is rooted in how people see themselves and their sense of self-worth. This can be viewed as an example of 'power within', and is similar to Moser (1989) who posits that the empowerment approach seeks to identify power in terms of the capacity of women to increase their own self-reliance and internal strength.

Charmes and Wieringa (2003) reiterate that empowerment is a process and elements that link to the process for women's empowerment are awareness/consciousness, choice/alternatives, resources, voice agency and participation. These elements reinforce Kabeer's discussions that women should have the ability to make choices in their daily lives and also encompasses other writers' attempts to include participation and awareness so important to Sen and Grown and Batliwala's conceptualisation of empowerment. If one accepts that empowerment is part of a process that is on-going, then there should be outcomes such as improvement over time in education, health, and economic and political participation (Desai 2010). The outcomes approach suits groups requiring quantitative measures to prove whether or not empowerment has occurred, for example, many development agencies.

At the Commission on the Status of Women meetings in New York 2010 Desai, (2010), noted the mood of the conference was not celebratory. The global economic crisis had pushed back the progress of poor women in the world. Policies and approaches where economics is the core for improving peoples' lives often focus on the individual and emphasise entrepreneurship as opposed to the collective efforts to transform social, economic and political structures which were a feature of third world feminist groups in the 1980s and 1990s. These are contradictions to the original ideas of Sen and Grown (1987).

There is therefore a wariness about the way 'empowerment' is used in neo-liberal policies and in mainstream development agencies as a way to mobilise women to become 'agents of change' for economic growth (Desai, 2010). Batliwala (2007) stressed the need for us to listen to the marginalised and poor in order to evoke improvements. Jakimow and Kilby (2006) suggest re-

conceptualizing women's empowerment to that of empowering women. By removing constraints that women face to illicit change in their lives, women would be able to be agents of change.

The difficulty with a word like empowerment is its adaptation from a feminist ideal in the 1970s to its adoption by multi interest groups in the 21st century. There is not a magic formula or definition of what empowerment is, or should be. Empowerment is a fluid, layered and multifaceted concept that needs to take into account local conditions. There is a call for another look at the terminology but this falls beyond the scope of my research.

2.8 Conceptualising Empowerment in the Pacific

Before colonisation during the 1800s, the Pacific Island countries that we know today were separate groupings of peoples who had evolved their own kin-based support networks, customs and belief systems. Scheyvens (2003) for example, observes that it is impossible to comment on the contemporary position of women in the Solomon Islands, but her position on pre-colonial women was that women held their own political influence. Schaaf (2005) acknowledges that in pre-contact Polynesia, women were significantly more autonomous, assertive and culturally valued than women in the west, and posits that many Europeans misconceived Pacific women as passive and dependent. Stewart-Withers (2007, p. 192) notes that the Samoan family was the central force of Samoan life with women having an important part in fa'a Samoa. It is therefore feasible to suggest that in other Pacific communities, women enjoyed political influence, had access to resources and that their position was often seen as complementary as opposed to lesser.

2.8.1 Colonialism and Christianity

There has been much written about Christianity's influence in the Pacific Islands. Once the islands came under the political influence of a European power, establishment of the churches followed. Whichever nationality took control decided which denomination's sphere of influence would impact on a particular society. For example, the Solomon Islands was controlled by Britain, resulting in Anglican, Catholic and Seventh Day Adventist influences, whilst Vanuatu which had been divided between France and Britain, have today as their main denominations, Presbyterian, Anglican, Seventh Day Adventist and Catholic. Firth (1997) posits that in the New Hebrides, Christian missions were strong and influential, often exercising quasi-government powers. He suggests that missionaries had established theocracies, and on Pentecost Island, there was a divide between the

Catholic coastal belt and the interior dominated by kastom, and civil war was not uncommon. A brief synopsis would show that Colonialisation and Christianity completely altered or destroyed the traditional way of life for the majority of islanders.

In attempts to civilise people of the Pacific Islands, new ideas were introduced. Scheyvens (2003) reports that on a positive note, women had access to Christianity, education, a monetization of the economy and the benefits of living in a society where feuding and violence were not tolerated. Presenting the opposite view, Scheyvens posited that attempts by colonial powers to belittle traditions occurred. Subsistence agriculture was undervalued as cash based economies emerged, and, with the adoption of Christianity, lifestyles were radically altered. The churches preached in favour of nuclear families which contradicted the kin-based extended family concept, and men had more status than women. Christian groups have also been blamed for reducing the status of women by insisting on educating and training women for domestic servitude. Whilst this type of training did impact on indigenous women, and presents a view that today's feminist would find unacceptable and self-serving, to the colonial powers there is an assumption that by accepting this view the women were in fact powerless. Douglas (2002) advocates that in 1908, women in Vanuatu who were attending group meetings organised by the Presbyterian Church did so by their own agency. They were going to classes even though their husbands did not wish them to. Whilst not radical in our views today, it is patronising to think that these women could not quietly challenge views held by others and attempt to improve their skills and learn to read and write. Christianity remains important today for many Pacific Islands and the World Bank (2010) suggests that, for many Vanuatu and Solomon Islands women, their identity is associated with religious worship, customs (kastom) and motherhood.

2.8.2 Independence

Post World War II saw the islands of the Pacific seek and gain independence. Over the past 50 years the islands have experienced significant changes socio-politically and economically. Many of the Pacific Islands are characterised by economic dualism. The subsistence sector provides most of the basic household needs for the majority, whilst the monetised economy is small (Ogden, 1989). Development for the Pacific Islands followed Modernist strategies popular with the World Bank and IMF or, as Escobar (1988), would view as an outgrowth of classical and neoclassical economics. Because the potential for developing a manufacturing and services sector was limited, small Pacific states developed, with government help strategies to develop the agricultural sector (Prasad &

Kausimae, 2012). The Pacific Islands have been coined as a 'Pacific Paradox' because, whilst having favourable natural and human endowments, high levels of foreign investment, overseas aid and significant external family remittances, the individual countries were experiencing low growth and economic stagnation (Toatu, 2001, Griffen et al., 2005). UNRISD has labelled a number of Pacific Island countries (including Vanuatu) as low-growth countries (Prasad & Kausimae, 2012).

2.8.3 Empowerment in the Pacific

Pacific Island women appear to have adapted subtle methods to evoke change. Griffen et al. (2005) espoused that women make significant contributions towards improving their lives. Apart from traditional roles of primary caregivers in extended families and cultural creators, they are also involved in subsistence growing, cash cropping and informal trading activities. 'Feminism is much more likely to be understood and embraced as a communal rather than an individual enterprise. When women become empowered, whole communities reap benefits' (Griffen et al., 2005, p.14). Scheyvens (1998 & 2003) and Douglas (2002) have documented the roles of church organisations in the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. These groups have given women a socially sanctioned release from their daily lives to attend meetings where women can share opinions and ideas about their communities. It has also allowed women to develop leadership opportunities amongst the group and helped increase confidence, particularly if they have to articulate their group's visions to others.

Many of the grass root groups in the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu would appear to have quite modest aims that include spiritual, financial (credit schemes), productive (sewing, weaving) educative (training) and practical (repair water tanks or sewing machines). These groups are quite conservative in the western context but, in the rural settings of the Pacific Islands, they can be considered radical, especially if these groups question traditional patriarchal society. DAWN implied that the strength of women's organisations is the key to empowerment because they promote solidarity, help to identify concerns and work towards changing power dynamics. Collectively, women's groups provide opportunities for leadership skills, facilitate development of networks, and broaden women's awareness and self-confidence (Sen & Grown, 1988). Whilst the examples given above might not cover all these points, it does show that well-organised groups can illicit some change, that can be transformative in some way.

Griffen (et al., 2005) highlight projects in four Pacific Island countries where action by community groups have resulted in positive change. In Samoa, one group established a coconut oil plant and exported to three countries whilst other women produced fine mat weaving. These projects

brought new income streams to rural areas and allowed for improvements to village life. Tafuna'i (Griffen et al., 2005) comments that the projects in Samoa have contributed to Samoa's economy, but there are also invisible impacts that can help empower women, and any model that is introduced needs to reflect Samoan values, traditions and cultures. This is reinforced by Stewart-Withers (2007) who points out that women in Samoa want development options that build on family systems. The common thread in the above examples appears to be that, for Pacific Island women, empowerment is something that includes custom, tradition and family. This reinforces the concept that empowerment is multi-faceted and multi-layered. Pacific Island women are empowering their lives by utilising the concept of Power 'With and Within'. The change is slow and based on custom and family.

2.8.4 Empowerment Policy

For change to occur, it is believed that not only do people need to have the desire for change and act on these but there also needs to be the political will to illicit change. In 1971 the Pacific Island Forum (PIF) was established. The PIF is a grouping of the nations of the South-west Pacific that includes Australia and New Zealand. The organisation meets annually to discuss a range of topics that beset the Pacific Island nations. Issues can range from allowing access for Pacific Island workers to Australia and NZ, to climate change, sport and access for rugby players to Australia and NZ, and gender equity. Gender equity remains a significant development challenge for many countries. In 2012, at the PIF, Hilary Clinton (United States Secretary of State) announced that US Aid was to place empowerment on the agenda and pressure Pacific Island governments to follow suit. Larsen (2013) wrote that women's lack of empowerment in the Pacific is not just an issue of human rights violations, it is also a lost economic opportunity that costs the region \$47 billion a year. At the forum in 2012, Pacific leaders pledged to place the status of women on the agenda but, in separate Pacific Island countries, these gender concerns are not institutionalised and for some women, domestic violence and lack of access to education and other facilities remain very real concerns and dangers. In February 2013, the Australian Prime Minister, at the time, Julia Gillard, announced a 10 year \$320 million initiative to improve the political, economic and social opportunities for Pacific Island women. Practical support at national and local levels, which includes civil society groups, is to be promoted. The task is going to be a challenge especially in societies with entrenched views and attitudes. For change to occur, Ethel Sigimanu, Minister of Women, Youth and Children's Affairs (Solomon Islands) states: "Change is about having a critical mass of women who, by nature of being female, can bring different ideas, experiences, and values to decision-making". This is a good

example of a Pacific Island empowerment principle expressed at a high political, and thereby influential, level.

2.9 Empowerment and Sport for Development

In 2000, Nelson Mandela claimed 'Sport has power to unite people'. In 2003 at the Magglingen conference in Switzerland, the President of Switzerland brought new impetus into the sports-human rights debate by suggesting 7 points that assume sport can be instrumental in being a powerful and positive force for social integration (Giulianotti, 2004). The UN declared 2005 as the Year of Development and Peace through Sport, and in 2006, a World Economic Forum held an event dedicated to sport for Development and Peace. Sport is also claimed as a tool to help attain eight of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (Giulianotti, 2004, Darnell & Black, 2011, Kidd, 2011, Woodcock, et al., 2012).

The private sector has also taken on board 'the power of sport' to evoke change. Darnell and Black (2011) postulated that using sport for projects of social change is not new but applying it to SDP is. In a world where corporate social responsibility (CSR), is seen as important for a company's image, sport is seen as an ideal opportunity and avenue to promote social change. Hayhurst (2011) suggests 3 major themes that multi-national corporations (MNCs) follow in using sport for CSR – the power of brand, importance of stories, and the politics of saving a distant 'other'.

There is no doubt that sport has become an additional tool for those working in the development field. Lawson (2005) surmises that empowerment and community development have been the mainstay of development policies. Whilst acknowledging that empowerment is a contested term, he offers a definition of empowerment being a voluntary, collective process in which power and resources are redistributed and shared. It helps individuals, families, groups and neighbourhoods. Lawson gives examples of large numbers of sport programmes in developed and underdeveloped countries that have claimed there have been improved development and also that these communities have become empowered.

2.10 Chapter summary

This chapter has outlined the theoretical approaches to development, women, gender, empowerment and sport for development. Development approaches have changed significantly over the past 60 years. The place of women and the role women have had, in 'development' have also changed. There is a growing awareness that women should not be ignored in development. Women's empowerment is a recognised aspect of the MDGs. 'Empowerment' is a term that has become part of the lexicon of development, and is popular in everyday speech. It has multi-faceted connotations and for some feminist scholars, this is a problem. Feminism has changed since women started discussing different issues in the 1970s, and there is a wide range of perspectives and ideas reviewed by academics that include voices from the Third World. While women have been a focus for development projects, there has been a change to include gender in discussions of marginalised people.

Sport is not new, what is new is the use of it in the development field. There are claims made on what sport can do which will be reviewed in the following chapter. With SFD programmes claiming to 'empower women', then a review of the literature surrounding development, women, gender and empowerment was required.

Chapter 3

Sport and Sport for Development

3.1 Introduction

When influential people make statements related to sport, others take note. As mentioned, in Chapter 2, Nelson Mandela in 2000 claimed that “Sport has the power to unite people”, stated in reference to South Africa when the country was undergoing significant societal change. People take comments such as these and make generalisations about how sport can therefore help unite people. Added to this, when we see the role soccer played integrating unity in Cote D’Ivoire (Levermore, 2008) or the games that were played in war-torn Bosnia (Kidd, 2008), the experience produces positive feelings and we identify with these successes because they make us feel better, and allow us to think that sport has made a constructive difference to peoples’ lives.

Sport and games have places in all societies. Organised sport started to become globalised in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries when missionaries and colonisers took games for example rugby, cricket and football, to the new colonies (Foster, 2006, Giulianotti, 2010). In the second half of the nineteenth century, middle-class values were imposed on sports and recreation in an attempt to accomplish social control and self-improvement (Donnelly, 2011). The use of sport for projects is not a new concept, and programmes like Midnight Basketball in the United States, directed towards helping ‘youth at risk’ in lower-class urban settings, indicate that the use of sport for ‘self-improvement’ is also not new (Donnelly, 2011). What is new, is the way sport has been conceptualised and adopted into the practice of development (Darnell & Black, 2011).

This chapter will provide a literature review that will firstly conceptualise SFD. I will discuss why, since 2000, SFD has become a popular tool in development. Secondly, I will critique literature that supports and criticises SFD. There is a plethora of writers that suggest SFD programmes have significant benefits for participants, however they also note there are many challenges, one of which is the evaluation of SFD programmes, and in turn knowing whether goals such as empowerment have been achieved. A review of the way SFD seeks to engage with women in sport completes the chapter.

3.2 Conceptualising Sport for Development

Lyras and Peachy (2011) define SFD as the use of sport to exert a positive influence on public health, the socialisation of children, youth and adults, the social inclusion of the disadvantaged, the economic development of regions and states, and fostering intercultural exchange and conflict resolution. This definition certainly attributes a lot to one aspect of society. Kidd (2011) proposes that there are 3 overlapping approaches to sport delivery and thus SFD around the world. Firstly, traditional sports development that involved basic sports coaching, equipment etc. were features of early attempts to spread sport to disadvantaged urban areas in First World countries. Secondly, humanitarian assistance in which fund raising was primarily given to refugees, and finally, sport for development and peace which covers a wide range of approaches and various loose coalitions and organisations. Coalter (2010) has also categorised SFD into 3 areas: traditional forms of provision for sport; Sports Plus, where sports are adapted with parallel programmes to maximise potential to achieve development objectives; and Plus Sport where the popularity of sport is used to entice young people into education and training programmes.

SFD is seen as the 4th pillar of aid, the 1st pillar being government-donors direct bilateral aid, the 2nd multilateral aid (for example the UN), and the 3rd, NGOs, (Develtere & De Bruyn, 2009 & Darnell, & Black, 2011.). The 4th pillar includes other actors who contribute to aid. These range from heterogeneous groupings from social advocacy groups attempting to highlight different social justice issues (Donnelly, 2011, Kidd, 2011, Thorpe & Rinehart, 2012) to non-traditional groups like Surf Aid supplying mosquito nets for malaria prevention in remote Indonesian islands, skate boarding lessons in Afghanistan (Thorpe & Rinehart, 2012) and corporate groups supplying money for sports and development. Examples of the latter include Manchester United and Nike who have contributed significant amounts of money to develop not just soccer but also to development programmes (Levermore, 2008, Hayhurst, 2011).

The use of sport for development has turned into a recognised strategy of social intervention in disadvantaged communities. Since 2003, the UN has used sport as a tool to help achieve eight of the MDGs (Woodcock et al., 2012, Biermann 2011, Kidd 2011, & Darnell 2010). The themes used by the UN to justify the use of SFD programmes includes: sport is about participation, inclusion and citizenship; bringing individuals and communities together; providing forums to learn skills; and teaching how to manage victory and defeat (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011). The UN Factsheet (2010) for MDG 3 - the promotion of gender equality and empower women - is written specifically on the role sport can play in empowering women through increased health, fitness, self-esteem, confidence, networks, opportunities for leadership, and shifts in gender norms (Nations).

3.3 Affirmation of SFD

The number of actors involved in using sport to deliver development programmes or initiatives have increased over the past decade. The Sport and Development website has over 300 initiatives listed (Development, 2013). Groups involved in SFD include multi-lateral organisations (UNICEF), NGOs, Government bodies like AusAID, international corporations, and local grass roots and academic institutions. There appears to be a widespread belief that sport has the power to make society more equal, for example, Spaaij (2009) contends typical statements that represent the virtues of SFD programmes include: individuals can experience equality, freedom and a dignifying means of empowerment.

The acceptance of sport as part of development over the past decade can be attributed to a number of reasons. Sport has direct and indirect contributions to physical and mental health and well-being and direct and indirect contributions to personal development and inclusion.

Sport is also seen as a good conduit for forming partnerships. As a social entity it connects with grass-root communities. It has a set of well understood values, and the programmes provide a neutral and non-political arena where participants can meet and socialise and interact. The attraction of participation in sport to contribute to the development of individuals and groups is strengthened by the construction of a neutral space where all citizens meet 'as equals' in an environment regarded as wholesome and healthy (Coalter, 2013). The well-heard adage that sport can be character building reinforces the social perception that participation in sport has positive social consequences.

Levermore (2010) posits that the increased involvement of large businesses taking part in CSR infers is sport a vehicle with a positive association than can be utilised advantageously through targeted marketing. Sport provides mass appeal and is used for the promotion of specific benefits (examples include improvement of diets and to discourage use of tobacco - backed by WHO). The implication is that with the creation of sport mega-events expanding, businesses will also increase their CSR portfolio by being involved in more SFD projects.

A good story will always get plenty of news, especially if there has been a diet of bad news. For example in Iran post – earthquake 2003, a programme for sport and play for traumatised children was instigated (Kunz, 2009). The role of coaches had a very important bearing in the success of the scheme and sport had a very positive impact on groups (Kunz, 2009). Dyck (2011) suggests that well-designed and culturally sensitive sports programmes, can make modest contributions to

reconciliation and conflict resolution, or prevention in post-war and divided societies. Careful balanced discussion of the real impacts of any sport programme needs to be reflected in any serious discourse.

3.4 Criticisms of SFD

SFD is built around the connections and use of sport for purposes of social intervention, including crime prevention and risk reduction. Hartmann and Kwauk (2011) posit that most SFD programmes are idealised beliefs about what sport can achieve to help marginalised people. Application of SFD programmes and schemes have been likened to neo-liberal approaches of the 1970s to 1990s (Levermore, 2009, Darnell & Black 2011, Darnell 2010 & Hayhurst, 2011). Hartmann and Kwauk (2011) also suggest that SFD programmes that provide an avenue for young disadvantaged youth to partake in sports such as basketball to improve their social skills, character development and self-discipline are likened to the neo-liberal imaginings where disadvantaged or troubled youths are refashioned into mature and productive citizens.

Levermore (2010) argues that sport intensifies unequal North-South relations. Northern dominated sports – basketball, soccer, baseball and high performing athletes are lured to First World countries leaving their own countries bereft of their skills. The rules and conditions that are set down in sports are based on European mores and values. One just has to look at the furore that has occurred over the years in soccer (hosting rights of major tournaments) and cricket (Indian League) when Third World Countries want to adapt or change where and how the game is played. This has resulted in intense criticism from the traditional governing bodies reluctant to change. I propose that this is another example of unequal relations between the North-South divide. This is mirrored in the ethos of ‘fair play’ which most sports ascribe to, but the reality is because the less powerful actors seek to gain access and influence to a world constructed and controlled by the dominant class, there is no ‘fair play’.

Coalter (2010) emphasises there are evangelical discussions of the benefits that sport can provide for communities and social development and these are often fuelled by sports stars who are unrealistic role models (this is similar in NZ, when young rugby stars were given the task to endorse a range of social issues for example “Say No to violence”, and in 2013 a poster boy for the campaign unfortunately had a court appearance due to a domestic dispute). Coalter (2013) posits that the ambiguity of the terms ‘sport’ and ‘development’ is politically and ideologically advantageous because it permits a number of interpretations and offers an economy of remedies to a range of

problems. He suggests this can be partly explained because, in his words, sport has a 'mythopoeic status'. Mythopoeic concepts are based on popular and idealistic ideals that contain elements of truth that have been reified and distorted to 'represent' reality. Sport is a rich source of positive metaphors that people like to hear, for example, 'first past the post, it's good for you, and winning ain't everything but losing's nothing!' It is this mythopoeic nature of sport that underpins the 'sports evangelism' idea of SFD attributed to several writers (Guilanotti, 2004, Coalter, 2007, 2013).

The manner in which SFD programmes are implemented has caused discomfort amongst academics. Coalter (2010) stresses that policy statements by the UN related to sport are often vague and lack theoretical and policy coherence. He also suggests there is weak evidence to support the assertion that SFD is making a systematic difference. There appears to be little research on what works (Harmann & Kwauk, 2011) and much of the research is based on western evidence (Meier, 2005). Lyras and Peachy (2011) write that many of the SFD programmes that claim significant impacts on society are poorly planned and do not provide sufficient scientific evidence about their effectiveness. Spaaij (2009) asserts there is a danger that social development through sport is imposed on disadvantaged communities in a top-down manner and Levermore (2010) posits that CSR actors are often accused of being driven by asymmetrical power relations; that their initiatives are influenced by aims that are infused top-down, northern, and masculinist.

The challenges for SFD programmes are for the approach to be holistic, where successful SFD programmes are not about the sport but about the strength of its non-sport objectives. Sport might be the hook in which to attract people but, to be successful, programmes need to be community-based, include realistic goals that do not try to achieve too much, involve a multi-discipline approach, create equal partnerships, and reflect the local circumstances for a balanced approach. Spaaij (2009) also calls for moral and ethical discussions to be considered as well as those concerning practicalities. Coalter would ascribe the term 'Sport Plus' to this more meaningful approach.

3.5 Evaluation of SFD

A number of writers posit that SFD programmes have significant benefits, but there is a lack of quantitative evidence of the beneficial impacts of SFD on low income countries (Levermore, 2008, Coalter, 2010, Lyras & Peachy, 2011, Woodcock, et al., 2012), and much evidence has been purely anecdotal (Pragnell, 2012). Levermore (2008 & 2011) calls for a need to have more effective evaluation of SFD programmes. He uses the term 'evaluation' to mean how objectives of programmes are being met and how it is working at different levels. Two approaches to evaluation

are discussed. Log-frame is referred to as the dominant methodology which aims to provide clear linkages between how each component contributes to the overall objectives. The method tends to collect and interpret quantitative data using a matrix analysis. The log-frame approach would be ideal for multi-lateral organisations like the UN and would particularly suit measurement of the MDGs. The second approach is participatory where participants are invited to influence management of the projects and shape objectives. Whilst this approach may not seek to find causal explanations, a core characteristic is its aim for empowerment. If practitioners relied on just the log-frame approach, there is a real danger of missing authentic local voices in the evaluation process. A combination of the two approaches would be ideal.

Kay (2012) discusses the role of monitoring and evaluation (M&E), asserting sport has been slow to seek out development expertise. Experts in sport may be completely inexperienced in international development and how to tackle the challenges they encounter (Darnell & Black, 2011, Harmann & Kwauk, 2011). M&E systems are the most widespread sources of knowledge and information on development and directly link donors to recipients. In today's economic climate, organisations require greater evidence that aid programmes are delivering their objectives and the need to demonstrate accountability by collecting data frequently takes precedence over concerns to disseminate learning opportunities that programmes had hoped to address (Kay, 2012, p. 891). Kay discusses how a number of international aid agencies have reflected on their M&E practices and attempted a more democratic approach by balancing the need for accountability, the need to be participatory, the need for a central focus on local learning, and the need for reflexivity of donors regarding their own values and ways of operating. Understanding how a SFD programme operates requires in-depth considerations of issues at hand and these must include perspectives of all people involved. Lyras & Peachy (2011) suggest that sport and political contexts of each situation and country need to be carefully considered in the design and implementation of any sport intervention aimed at achieving reconciliation, development and change.

Much of the literature infers that evaluations can be expensive and even some of the well-advertised projects do not attempt full-scale evaluations.

3.6 Sport for Empowerment

As discussed in the previous chapter, 'empowerment' has been part of the rhetoric of a number of development programmes. Lawson (2011) posits that empowerment and community development have been mainstays in social welfare policies and economic development policies in diverse areas

around the world. Both concepts have become priorities in a number of social welfare areas. Many of the SFD projects have attributed sport to helping empower those participating in the projects (Huggins & Randall, 2007, Meier, 2006 & Saavedra, 2009). Research into the value of sports participation and ensuing health and development outcomes for women and girls have been largely carried out in the United States and Western countries (Brady, 2005). With strong pronouncements of what sport can do for women, and with eight of the MDGs are directly linked to sport, the place of women and girls in sport-related aid programmes has become mainstreamed. The next section looks briefly at women's role in sport, and fleshes out the gender and SFD relationship.

3.7 Women in Sport, and Women in SFD

Women have not enjoyed equal access to sport, but that is not to say they have not been active. In Third World countries, Brady (2005) suggests that women and girls were often very physically active by virtue of the heavy work burden or distances walked. This would be true of other people in marginalised societies, including Western countries. Even though sport became more 'globalised' during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, for a variety of cultural and religious reasons organised sporting activities for women were scarce.

International recognition of women's place in sporting history has only occurred in the past 100 years. The 2nd Olympics of the modern era (Paris 1900) saw the first women able to participate in two sporting events (tennis and golf), (Committee, 2013). Over the last century, women's participation in Olympic sports has gradually increased to 44% of all participants in the London Olympics, 2012 being women.

The women in sport movement mirrors strategies of women in development. During the 1960s, women were trying to get equal access to participate in sporting events alongside men. The fracas surrounding Kathrine Switzer's involvement in the 1967 Boston Marathon catapulted Switzer to the front of the movement and escalated her status into an iconic female sports figure. Meier (2005) highlights that the WIS movement did not target developing countries during this time, and that there was an elitist European and North American focus towards women's rights and sport. It was not until 1998 at the 2nd conference on Women and Sport in Windhoek that the approach of WIS changed. The results of the conference were that sport was idealised as a means of achieving broader goals in education, health, elimination of violence, and improvement of human rights. Since the mid-1990s, increased numbers of conferences, e.g. the Magglingen Declaration, proclamations and organisations like the International Working Group on Women and Sport (Huggins & Randall,

2007), have emerged to promote the roles that women can play in sport and development such that women in SFD became recognised as a new paradigm for development.

As stated prior, the promotion of gender equality and empowerment of women is the third Millennium Development goal (Sport and the MDGs factsheet, 2012). Kathrine Switzer's desire to run was not only about participating, but she has been reported as saying that running "really empowered her and built her confidence" (Quinn, 2013). As mentioned, Darnell and Black, (2011), note the benefits for young women participating in sport are stated to be empowerment, improved confidence, and increased educational prospects.

Many of the success stories related to SFD and gender are linked to Africa. The following discussion will look at two projects from Kenya which are often cited as evidence of good practice. The first is 'Moving the Goal post' (MTG): a girl's sport development in Kilifi, one of the poorest regions of Kenya. The mission was to achieve sustainable improvement in the status of women and girls. The aims were to develop important transferrable life skills such as confidence and self-efficacy, knowledge and resources, through participation in the development and management of girls' football, and associated health, education, community and small business initiatives. (Woodcock et al., 2012). Whilst MTG did not receive a full evaluation, anecdotal evidence which came from the participants suggested the scheme was largely successful in empowering participants. The authors stressed the longer the girls were involved in the scheme, the greater the perceived benefit.

The second programme was the Mathare Youth Sports Association (MSYA), a large-scale community-based organisation based in the urban slums of Nairobi. Initially organised by a Canadian, MYSA was left alone for 5 years to develop its own goals (Brady, 2005, Meier 2005, Black, 2010 & Coalter 2010). MYSA is an example of a grass-roots organisation that links youth with development, sports, civic engagement and environmental activism. Best known for sports, it has a football league and Brady (2005) suggests it the largest-scale effort to include girls in sport in the developing world.

What these programmes highlight are evidence of good practice for SFD projects. Good practice for SFD projects include: social change that follows a community-based approach (MYSA); a bottom-up approach; equal partners; realistic goals that do not try to aim for too much; and a multi-disciplined approach that utilises sports people, SFD professionals, educationalists, etc. (Aafjes et al., 2009). Through participating in sport programmes, benefits for women and girls include: improved general health, awareness of health issues, improved mental health, and creating safe places for women (Saavedra, 2007).

3.8 Chapter Summary

To summarise this chapter, sport has become more globalised, and different countries have adopted and adapted different games into their societies. Whilst sport is not a new concept, the use of sport in development programmes since 2000 has increased in number and is now recognised as part of the development nexus. There are both advocates and protagonists of the value of SFD and a catch-cry for these programmes is often that they will help ‘empower’ participants. Women are increasingly targeted as the recipients of SFD. The lack of evidence of material surrounding SFD programmes in the Pacific suggest a study that evaluates whether women are empowered by participating in a cricket programme, such as the one run by AusAID, does have merit. This was the original initial intention of my research project. Chapter 5 will discuss the Women’s Cricket Project, a programme adapted to help empower middle-aged women to improve their health and fitness, however prior to this I will outline the methodological approach I undertook from the onset of this project, including my adaptations to the challenges of not being able to collect data.

Chapter 4

The Research Process

4.1 Introduction

Development Studies research is different to any research I have undertaken before. As Murray and Overton (2003) point out, the research often takes place in localities and cultures that are relatively unfamiliar to the researcher. My original intention was to travel to Vanuatu and undertake research in two places related to SFD programmes delivered by AusAID.

This chapter will discuss my research process. Credible research design is more than just the adoption of data collection and data analysis methods. It requires methodologies that will provide researchers a voracious design that can stand up to the highest level of scrutiny (O’Leary, 2010). The process I undertook has reinforced that the paths in attempting research are not linear, but varied, with different pitfalls.

Women’s empowerment is argued to be an important factor in affecting social, economic and demographic change as well as gender equality in developing countries (Pradhan, 2003). Thus, as stated in Chapter 2, many development projects which target Third World women have aims and goals which focus on empowerment. Some of these projects, discussed in Chapter 3, have also drawn on the power of sport as a means for empowering women. However as noted in Chapter 2, empowerment is a complex and multi-faced concept.

As indicated in the introduction of this report, due to the Vanuatu government moratorium, the focus of my research changed prior to the commencement of fieldwork. This chapter is therefore written based on the preparation and thought that occurred in planning the fieldwork before the change.

The chapter proceeds, by reiterating the aims of my research. Secondly, the rationale for why a qualitative approach to the research was taken. Key concepts such as engaging in cross-cultural research and positionality are discussed. The ethics process is then outlined, and then data collection discussed. The chapter ends by reflecting on the trip to Vanuatu.

4.2 Research Aims

To reiterate, the aims of my research is to via desk-based study are to:

Investigate via a desk-based study and field observations answering firstly,

Research question 1: In what ways and to what extent can sport for development programmes such as the Women's Island Cricket Project contribute to women's empowerment?

And

Research question 2: What might be the consequences of this empowerment at the personal, family and community level?

4.3 Research Plan

4.3.1 Positionality

Designing a research plan and carrying out the research requires the researcher to consider hers/his positionality, (Murray & Overton, 2003, O'Leary, 2010). In terms of positionality, I have already discussed my position as a teacher, sportswoman and advocate of gender equality. As a Western, middle-aged teacher, in planning this research I was aware I am in a privileged space. Going into an area where there is evidence of social injustice, poverty and discrimination towards women made me consider my approach to the women I was going to meet. Scheyvens, et al. (2003), stress that our attitude towards people who face economic and other hardships should not be shrouded by pity, rather we should see the value in those we study with. I tried very hard to ensure in all my dealings with people in Vanuatu that I did not belittle them, rather, I sat and listened giving them space to talk believing in the idea that they were the experts. A nice comment from Lucy¹¹ was "You're not at all scary, I was expecting someone tall and serious, not someone who I could talk to and laugh with". I mix well with others, no matter who they are, and I like to think this is how I approached the different groups of people in Vanuatu. Feedback from those I met would suggest I did.

¹¹ Lucy is a pseudonym, for one of the women helping organise cricket on Ifira

4.3.2 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research (QR) methods are used to explore the meanings of people's worlds. QR seeks to understand the world through interacting with, empathising with and interpreting the actions and perceptions of its actors (Brockington & Sullivan, 2003). I wanted to investigate how the Women's Island Cricket Project empowered women involved in the project. I wanted to hear the stories from the women themselves, and be able to talk to administrators, husbands and others involved in the project, also to gain their perspectives on how the project had been empowering to women, the household and communities. A visit to Vanuatu would allow me the opportunity to collect the methods of data collection I intended to draw upon that included semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. These align towards a qualitative approach to researching. Lack of effective M&E in SFD programmes and the need for a more participatory and narrative approach to evaluation has been discussed, hence the fieldwork would also add value to this topic. On return, follow ups via telephone and email, and further review of secondary data would have completed my data collection.

4.4 Ethics Application

Doing ethical research in a foreign setting is about building mutually beneficial relationships with people you meet in the field and about acting in a sensitive and respectful manner (Scheyvens et al., 2003). There is also a moral imperative which should inform Development Studies research and not only should it do 'no harm', but it should involve 'empowerment' (Scheyvens et al., 2003, p. 139).

Massey University has strict guidelines regarding research (MUHEC). An in-house ethics application was submitted to my supervisor on 9 July 2013 and an interview with my supervisor and two other members of the Development Studies Department was conducted by telephone on 13 July 2013. The interview was to discuss various ethical principles such as informed consent, participant recruitment and conflict of interest. Upon completing the screening questionnaire and the MUHEC Low Risk Application, the research was considered low-risk and as such a full ethics approval was not required.

4.4.1 Behaving Ethically

Embarking on development field work, surviving the field experience on a personal level will always be a challenge (Leslie & Storey, 2003), in my case even more so given the fact my research is cross-cultural. Gibbs (2001) uses this term to describe the space where cultures meet and interact. At a personal level, meeting Vanuatu women in New Zealand and travelling to Vanuatu placed me outside my comfort zone and I needed to learn to interact with a new culture. The ability of the researcher to be culturally sensitive, will impact on the successful fieldwork experience (Leslie & Storey, 2003). Being aware of my privileged position and wanting to ensure that my research and meetings with the women would benefit not just myself, but also the women I spoke to, made me think carefully about my approach. I was also aware that the relationships I would be building between myself and the Vanuatu community (in Ohope and in Vanuatu) would not just be a one-off situation.

I needed to gain the trust and respect of the gatekeeper, Mary, whom I was using to gain access to women on Ifira Island. Gatekeepers are defined as ‘those individuals in an organisation (*and community*) that have the power to withhold access to people or situations for the purpose of research’ (Leslie & Storey, 2003, p.153). Scheyvens and Novak (2003), stress the importance of having an open mind when reflecting on the people and culture that we are in contact with during field work, and this not only applies to the women I spoke to, but also being aware of Mary’s *raison d’être* of her introducing me to her family and community and the women I was to meet. To build trust I met Mary in Whakatane, showed her around the district, and invited her and friends to my house where they met my family and we shared a meal. Building research relationships in accordance with the *whanau* provides an “ethical code” for the conduct of relationships within a “research *whanau*” (Gibbs, 2001). I am non-indigenous but have lived in the Eastern Bay of Plenty for over three decades and understand the importance of relationships between, and amongst, peoples of different cultures. The Vanuatu women all stressed the similarities between their culture and that of Māori.

4.5 Fieldwork Plan

For week one, I was to stay in Port Vila, Efate. Whilst in Vila I intended to discuss the Nabanga program with contacts in the government, and planned to review the cricket initiative with groups such as the Vanuatu Cricket Association. Mary had organised a meeting with the Women's Island Cricket Committee on Ifira Island where I was to ask those at the meeting my questions. Later in the week a game of Island cricket had been organised and I had been invited to attend and watch two teams from Efate, Seaside and Pango, play against the Ifira women. The second week I was to travel to Tanna Island and talk to women about the Nabanga Sports Program. By going to two different locations I had hoped to get a range of views, and to see whether in the different settings there were differences in opinions as to whether participation in the sport programme had empowered women.

4.6 Conflict of Interest

The Nabanga Program is organised through the Australian Sports Commission (ASC) under the Australian Aid programme. For five weeks, I had been trying to obtain a contact to discuss the program via Australian Aid and the Australian government. I finally obtained the name of a consultant with the ASC and informed him about my research. Initially very positive, that changed somewhat on the 11 July 2013, when he informed me that the Nabanga Program was the subject of extensive monitoring and evaluation and I would not be given access to any of the Nabanga staff, program partners within the Department of Youth Development, Sports and Training, or participants on Tanna. The island cricket programme on Ifira was under the auspices of the Australian Sports Outreach Program and I was told that it was acceptable for me to research this programme. My Australian contact advised me to tailor my research to change the context and I duly applied for ethics approval to contact people associated with the Women's Island Cricket Project.

Three days before my departure to Vanuatu, I received an email also telling me I was not able to use the Nabanga Program as a case study. I went from a "Yes" to research, to "No" research. A phone call from Sydney confirmed I had also not been granted ethics approval from ASOP and would not be given access to any officials or partners related to the Island Cricket Project. Whilst trying to organise alternatives with the ASOP, my supervisor then rang and advised that the Vanuatu government had placed a moratorium on all research in Vanuatu commensurate for one year from 1 July 2013. This was devastating news.

As mentioned, to not to go to Vanuatu at this late stage would have been a disappointment not just to me but also to Mary who had worked hard to organise my meeting with participants and the cricket games on Ifira. I was aware of the ramifications for the university and myself if I proceeded with my research, as the research would have been unethical - I did not have permission. It was subsequently suggested by the HOP that I should still go to Vanuatu, meet with Mary and observe the social environment from a researcher's perspective, but not formally undertake the research that had been agreed upon. I consequently continued with the visit, but shortened the time and excluded the Tanna portion of the trip. Therefore, I left my questions at home and went to Vanuatu to visit and informally meet with the cricketing ladies in Ifira, and to absorb kastom

4.7 Data

In Vanuatu, the women held a special meeting for me with the Ifira Women's Cricket Committee. I stressed I could not ask my questions but we could have a chat about the cricket project. Conscious of the constraints on research, I decided to go as a teacher and ask very general questions related to island cricket and what benefits the women perceived from their participation. On returning to my accommodation, I made notes of what I had observed or had been told.

I was subsequently invited to return to the island, because two days later the women had organised a cricket competition between two villages from Efate. There, I watched and participated in island cricket. I took photographs (Figures 1 and 2 below) of the teams and the cricket. Back in New Zealand, secondary research was used to reflect on what I had learnt, including reviewing of government reports and policy, academic publications and media articles.



Figure 1: Members of the Ifira Island Cricket Committee, following my meeting



Figure 2: Ifira Women's 'A' team vs Seaside, traditional cricket, Ifira Island

4.8 Reciprocity

It is important to give back to those who have provided you with assistance (Scheyvens et al., 2003). On return to New Zealand, I sent electronic copies of the photographs to Lucy and posted a framed photograph of the Ifira Women's Cricket team. I also ensured that I gave the Women's Committee a koha, because I realised that organising a competition where two other teams came to play against the Ifira Women, would have resulted in some costs. The Ifira women asked me if I could purchase a blood pressure monitor, scales and a tape measure for the island. On my return to Whakatane, one of the Business Studies classes at the school where I teach put the profits they had earned from a business activity towards purchasing the equipment which has subsequently been sent to Ifira. Mary and her husband are returning to the Eastern Bay of Plenty in 2014 and I will invite them to our house to continue the building of relationships with two people from a different culture to mine.

4.9 Limitations of this research

To achieve credibility for qualitative research requires strategies that include thoroughness (O'Leary, 2010). The moratorium and thus my not being able to formally speak to any of the partners with the ASOP programs had a significant impact on my research methodology, my ability to collect data and therefore the findings of my research. The small sample size means that specific findings cannot be generalised for the whole population. Those participants who spoke to me may have done so because they were articulate. Indeed some attempted to chat but they were Francophiles¹² which meant communication was difficult. I also realise that the meeting hosted by the women had, for their purposes, an additional agenda. I discovered that the women wanted to travel to New Zealand to play cricket and were keen for me to help organise games.

4.10 Reflection

The path of my research has not been linear, but a path with many diversions. Visiting Vanuatu in July on my own placed me out of my comfort zone but reinforced that people are people, no matter who or where they are. Building relationships with people has always been important to me. Understanding others and their different opinions is something I have always strived to do. Storey and Scheyvens (2003) stress that whilst fieldwork is a central element in development research it

¹² Vanuatu was divided into a French and British Condominium, since 1905. Those in the French sector had French laws and language, whereas those in the British spoke English. Francophiles are those who continue to speak French, as well as Bislama, and the language of their village.

remains an intensely personal experience and a test of intellect and character. Storey and Scheyvens (2003) also stress research can and should be empowering for both fieldworker and participants. While not being able to discuss this issue with the women from Ifira, from my perspective, I have become empowered during the process of this research project.

Chapter 5

Sport, Sport for Development in the Pacific and Sport for Development Programmes in Vanuatu

5.1 Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter 3, different societies created their own versions of sport and it was during the colonial times that many sports started to become global. In the Pacific, rugby and cricket were introduced by colonisers and missionaries.

This chapter provides a context for the Women's Island Cricket Project in Vanuatu. It commences with a discussion of the place and increased importance of sport in the Pacific. A synopsis of the Australian aid programme in the Pacific and its SFD projects will follow, with a link to why gender equality and empowerment of women and girls are part of Pacific Island governments' goals. The next section will consist of a brief review of Vanuatu's history and some development issues are presented. Two projects AusAID delivers in Vanuatu are summarised, and finally, the context, place, and importance of cricket for women in Vanuatu will complete the chapter.

5.2 Sport in the Pacific

When colonists arrived in the Pacific Islands during the 19th century, indigenous groups would have had their own sporting practices. As part of the colonisation process, the colonial agents from missionaries to administrators, misunderstood indigenous sporting practices and regularly worked to end them (King, 2009). European athletic pursuits were seized upon as a means to socialise indigenous cultures by offering discipline and a way to enforce the new culture. As in other British colonies, sport introduced to different nations in the Pacific included rugby and cricket (Foster, 2006, & Giulianotti, 2009), and later netball for women (often called outdoor basketball). The churches played a central role in promotion of sport as a tool for the expansion of the British and French Empires (Tiessen, 2011). Sport was imbued with values of Christianity and reflected a patriarchal gendered order (Meier, 2005 & Saavedra, 2009).

In the Pacific, sport is accepted as an essential aspect of culture. Since the 1970s, the number of sporting activities and sporting codes has increased resulting in increasing numbers of participants. For some Pacific Island nations, sport is viewed as a chance to improve livelihoods. For example, the

number of Pacific Island players who are part of the AFL, NRL, Super 15 and international rugby teams has increased significantly over the past 10 years¹³. Players from different codes are displaying social responsibility roles. One example is the New Zealand Warriors involvement in community programmes in Tonga, either sending remittances home or helping build new infrastructure. Stewart-Withers (2012) discussed the importance of remittances from sport as income generators for Fiji. For women in the Pacific, their opportunity to earn incomes playing sport is not as easy as for their male counterparts. It is not that Pasifika women do not succeed in sport, the reality is that for women in the Pacific, it is very difficult to earn a living through sport. It is also frustrating that women do not get equal or fair representation in news media, either from the amount of coverage, or the reporting that can be discriminatory at times (Huggins & Randell, 2007).

5.3 Theory that underpins Australian Aid Delivery

Australia is part of the Commonwealth and involved in a variety of aid projects throughout the Pacific Islands. Two of Australia's goals for aid delivery in the South Pacific include security, and the desire to help people overcome poverty. The Australian government considers the delivery of aid not only serves the interests of the various Pacific countries which receive aid, but also Australian national interests by promoting stability and prosperity in the region and beyond (Australian Government, 2012; A. government, 2013a). There has been an increased presence of China in the South Pacific over the last decade, and it has significantly increased its economic and diplomatic influence in the South Pacific (Hanson & Fifita, 2011). This has caused concern geopolitically for Australia and its allies the United States and NZ, and Lanteigne (2012), notes that the participation of China in the South Pacific providing assistance to the small Pacific Islands has promoted a reassessment of regional power shifts. Lanteigne (ibid) further asserts that there is debate questioning whether Australian and NZ diplomacy in parts of the South Pacific is being quietly eroded by the increased presence of Chinese aid. Canberra is concerned enough, that in a 2011 study in Fiji, it was reported that whilst China's interests in Fiji are minor, they come at the expense of Australia's influence in Fiji (Lanteigne, 2012).

Sport is one of a number of approaches that the Australian government uses to deliver aid throughout the Pacific. The Australian aid programme to the Pacific is delivered by the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) (Australian Government, 2012; A. government,

¹³ For example there are 79 indigenous players playing in the AFL, 74 Pacific Island players on the NRL roster, 50 Pacific Island rugby union players in France, 30 in England and in the 2011 World Cup, 120 players were from the Pacific Islands (Pacific politics, 2013).

2013a; Government & Sport, 2013). Australia has a reputation as a strong sporting nation with sport playing an important role in Australian communities. In the introduction in “Development-through-sport (2013-2017)”, sport is reiterated as having a unique quality that enables it to contribute to the development processes (Government, 2012a; A. Government, 2013b). Its popularity, capacity as a communication platform, its role in reducing the risk of non-communicable diseases, and its potential to set the foundation for healthy child development together with its ability to connect people make it a tool that can be used to achieve a range of development objectives. This approach, called Development through Sport, is a joint strategy between the Australian Sports Commission (ASC) and AusAID.

The UN has been prominent in supporting SFD programmes with a number of pronouncements and policy details. The UN views well-designed sports-based initiatives as practical and cost-effective tools to add to its strategies for achieving development and sports objectives (Kay & Dudfield, 2013). Coalter (2009) calls for a clear, articulated understanding and evaluation of the conceptualisation, design and delivery of a programme for sport and development. He discusses the need to articulate clearly and precisely the nature of assumptions of the mechanisms underpinning the sports programmes, and how participation will lead to intermediate impacts which he refers to changes in individuals’ self-perceptions and attitudes. Australia’s development through sport approach supports the UN philosophies and appears to speak to Coalter’s (2009) requirements. Australia’s approach follows a process set down with an overarching desire to make a difference and deliver real results. International priorities including references to the MDGs, UN pronouncements and separate regional concerns provide the Australian rationalisation for the Outreach program for Vanuatu. The effectiveness of the programme is theorised following well-known descriptors of ownership, alignment, harmonisation, managing for results, and mutual accountability.

Fowler (2008) wrote that since 2000, the aid system has evolved into a more complex architecture of policies, priorities, instruments and channels. Whilst this reference did not refer specifically to SFD aid delivery, one can see aspects of the formulaic nature that aid delivery is being charted within the ASOP framework through its attempts at rationalisation that set down various international agreements and significant operational elements, including rights-based approaches, within the theorising for SFD delivery in Vanuatu. Under the ASOP framework, the strategic goal is saving lives, and the intermediate goal is improving the health related behaviours to reduce the risk of Non-Communicable Diseases (NCDs). Coalter (2009) further asserts there is a need for a clear understanding and articulation of desired outcomes, and the nature of the processes of participation, through which they may be achieved, should inform provision and enable an approach

based on managing for outcomes. This requires the adoption of the general theories of change that relate to questions around SFD. The Australian framework purports the theory of change that improving health-related behaviours through sport reduce the risk of NCDs. Attached to the ASOP framework are two cross-cutting objectives: improved gender equality and empowerment of women and girls, and improved social cohesion.

5.3.1 Australian Aid in Sports for Development in the Pacific

The Commonwealth's health priorities are framed by the MDGs and other emerging health issues. NCDs include diabetes, cancers, and chronic respiratory diseases, and account for 60% of global deaths. Most of these are in low and middle income countries (Kay & Dudfield, 2013). At the 42nd Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) in Auckland, 2011, Pacific Island leaders recanted the Honiara Communique on the Pacific Non-Communicable Disease Crisis issued by Health Ministers on 30 June 2011 which highlighted the impact and rapid increase and prevalence of NCDs in the region. The majority of deaths occurred in adults in the economically active age bracket. This was acknowledged to have economic costs by undermining labour supply, productivity, investment and education; four of the main factors driving economic growth, the lack of which results in potentially devastating consequences on the countries and territories of the Pacific region (P. I. F. Secretariat, 2011).

At the PIF, in 2009, former Australian Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, announced the release of funding of \$15 million over five years (2009-2014) to establish and support partnerships between the Australian government, Australian national sporting organisations, and Oceania regional sports federations and their Pacific Island counterparts (P. I. F. Secretariat, 2009). The ASC and AusAID, through their joint development-through-sport strategy, established and deliver the Australian Sports Outreach Program (ASOP). There are three parts to ASOP: the ASOP Country Programs; ASOP Pacific Sports Partnerships (PSP); and the ASOP Sports Development Grants.

AusAID has identified health as an important priority in the delivery of its aid programme and ASOP's first priority is addressing the growing problem of NCDs in the Pacific. At the 43rd PIF in the Cook Islands, 2012, the leaders acknowledged the Australian government's investment in the PSP which aims to reduce NCDs, promote gender equality and provide opportunity for people with disabilities (P. I. F. Secretariat, 2011). The importance of sports in addressing NCDs was also noted.

As outlined above, the Australian government have relied on the theory that improving health-related behaviours will reduce the incidence of NCDs. To reduce NCDs, ASOP consider it is necessary to reduce population exposure to the four common modifiable behavioural risk factors: unhealthy diets, physical inactivity, tobacco use, and harmful use of alcohol. ASOP country programmes are

delivered with government and civil society partners in seven Pacific countries including Vanuatu. The PSP is delivered through partnerships with the ASC, Australian, international and Pacific sports organisations. Five sports were selected to be part of the PSP due to their popularity in the Pacific and their potential to deliver participation-based sport activities in the Pacific communities. Both the PSP and ASOP country programmes have, as part of their sports delivery, an educational component that tries to modify behaviours in populations to address three high level outcomes:

1. An increase in healthy behaviours across the Pacific;
2. An improvement in social inclusion outcomes for youth, people with disabilities and women;
and
3. An improvement in social cohesion.

The Australian government has recognised there is little empirical evidence on the impact of SFD programmes and has invested approximately \$2 million to assess the contribution of sports to development outcomes and to build the capacity of its Pacific partners to deliver effective programmes. The ASC engaged Sustineo, a research and evaluation consulting firm to assess the relevance and effectiveness of ASOP programmes in the Pacific. Sustineo are monitoring and evaluating in two phases. Phase One, 2011-2012 involved the design, development and approval of a research and evaluation plan. Phase Two of the research and development implementation plan is now underway, and will continue through to June 2014. The timing of Phase 2 helps understand why I did not get ethics approval from the ASC to discuss the Women's Island Cricket Project with partners and participants in Vanuatu (Government, 2012c).

5.4 Improved Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women and Girls

The promotion of gender equality and empowerment of women is one of the MDGs. Equality and inclusion are core values for the Commonwealth, and at the PIF, these issues are reported on an annual basis. In 2013 at the PIF, leaders called for accelerated efforts to fulfil the Pacific Leaders' Gender Equality Declaration policies that were discussed at significant length at the forum in 2012. These included a specific focus on a variety of issues such as improved access to education for girls and women, addressing gender inequalities, and adopting temporary special measures to improve women's access to employment and economic opportunities (P. I. Secretariat, 2013). The Australian government is committed to advocating for gender equality and has specifically identified gender equality as part of the ASC's cross-cutting themes across its aid programme. Sport is seen as a viable

tool for promoting gender equality and empowering women and girls. Apart from the significant health benefits of being fit and active, ASC asserts sport can play a role in empowering women within society, to deliver important behavioural messages and can contribute to increasing women's voice in decision-making and leadership.

The next section will look at my case study, and will be preceded by a brief review of the geography, history and economic growth of Vanuatu since independence in 1980.

5.5 The Geography of Vanuatu

Vanuatu is a geographically isolated group of 83 islands spread over 900km of the South-West Pacific. Many of the islands are uninhabited (A. Government, 2013c). Geologically, Vanuatu lies on the boundary of the Pacific and Australian plates. It is in an active tectonic zone and part of the Pacific Rim of Fire. As a consequence, Vanuatu experiences frequent earthquake activity and active volcanism in a number of islands (Aid, 2011).

Sited in the tropical climatic zone, Vanuatu is the most susceptible nation to tropical cyclones in the South Pacific, experiencing on average 4-7 tropical cyclones per year. Being a relatively poor country Vanuatu struggles with disasters, in that, when they occur, communities are left susceptible and vulnerable and do not have the reserves to recover quickly (Jayaraman & Ward, 2006).

Vanuatu is part of Melanesia. Because it is spread over a large area there are many ethnicities living on different islands resulting in a variety of different kastoms and ways of doing things.

5.6 History of Vanuatu

Vanuatu was given the name of New Hebrides by Captain James Cook. In the nineteenth century, parts of the New Hebrides were settled by missionaries who introduced Christianity to these islands. From 1906 – 1980, New Hebrides was administered under an Anglo-French condominium, until independence (Jayaraman & Ward, 2006). The above continue to have influences on Vanuatu life and kastom. Christianity is a major part of Vanuatu life with estimates of 98% of the population practising a Christian faith. According to the World Bank, for many Pacific women their identity is associated with religious worship, kastom and motherhood (Bowman et al., 2009). The Vanuatu flag adopted after independence in 1980 includes yellow which represents the light of the Gospel in the

country, and reflects the importance of Christianity to the country¹⁴. There are three official languages: Bislama, English and French. However there are over 100 separate languages spoken in addition to the 3 official languages. The women I spoke to were multi-lingual and many spoke four or five languages, Bislama, English, French, the language of the village and Mary also spoke the language of her birth village, on Tanna Island.

5.7 Social and Economic Development

At the time of independence, Vanuatu was one of the poorest performing countries in the Pacific region in terms of social indicators. National development plans after independence defined the need to improve the development of social infrastructure – schools, health facilities, roads, water supplies, communications, and building capacity and capability in the civil service through developing human resources. Economic strategy revolved around import substitution as a means of promoting growth and development. Economic theory at the time espoused that development should occur through the development of the manufacturing sector, but Vanuatu did not have a resource base comparable to other Pacific countries and therefore economic growth was pursued through the development of the agricultural sector (Prasad & Kausimae, 2012). Economic growth in Vanuatu has been low and fluctuating since 1980 (P. I. F. Secretariat, 2009).

Since 2005, Vanuatu's economic growth has increased. This has been driven largely by increased funding from the Millennium Challenge Corporation which provided US\$66 million for infrastructural development. In terms of the Human Development Index (HDI), Vanuatu is ranked 124 out of 187 nations (UNDP, 2013). While there have been improvements in attaining the MDGs there are still inherent social issues the country has to face.

The country remains vulnerable to external forces (Jayaraman & Ward, 2006). To illustrate this, the country's reliance on tourism was apparent when I was in Vanuatu and an expected cruise ship had not arrived. This caused considerable unease amongst stall holders and the tour operators I spoke with. At the accommodation where I stayed in Port Vila, the topic of discussion was often the reduced numbers of tourists visiting Vanuatu. Several staff explored with me and other tourists, the ways in which they could improve the service and get more people to stay in the country, and more particularly, at their motel.

¹⁴(Limited, 2013) discussions with tour guides in Vanuatu, July, 2013.

The population of approximately 267,200 is spread over a number of islands in the Pacific (V. Government, 2013). Vanuatu has experienced high levels of population growth since independence and average population growth is over 2.5% (Prasad & Kausimae, 2012). The capital Port Vila, on Efate, is home to about 30,000 people and, together with Luganville on Santo Island, are the two main urban areas with 20% of the population living in these two centres. The majority of the population (75%) are widely dispersed living in rural areas with subsistence farming and agriculture as the main source of livelihood (Prasad & Kausimae, 2012). 30% of the population are considered to live in multi-dimensional poverty, whilst 6.5% live in severe poverty (UNDP, 2013). Being isolated and spread over a large area of the Pacific causes a number of challenges for Vanuatu people. There are inherent challenges in all islands for the provision of basic services. Cheer and Peel (2011) posit these are magnified by disadvantages characterised by poor education, health and transport services. They further suggest there is a lack of effective government and limited employment and income opportunities. The rural majority suffer a 'poverty of opportunity' through a lack of services and income earning prospects, and inequality that is characteristic of general Vanuatu society. Approximately 40% have an income less than \$US 1 a day, with 16% living below the poverty line (Cheer & Peel, 2011). There is a way to go to successfully and meaningfully achieve some of the MDGs. Life expectancy has increased from the 1979 census of 56.2 years for males and 53.7 years for females to 72.38 years for the population in 2013 (data.un.org), although the number of adults dying as a result of NCD is still high.

Prasad & Kausimae (2012), write that the government's overall objective in relation to women is to realise their potential as partners and beneficiaries of the development process in Vanuatu. Including women in development is an objective for the government of Vanuatu and it is an essential aspect of the delivery of the sport for development program that is the Women's Island Cricket Project sponsored by AusAID.

5.8 Australian Sports for Development Programs in Vanuatu

Australia has a close relationship with Vanuatu. It is the largest aid donor and 65% of tourists are Australian¹⁵. According to the Australian government report "Why we give aid to Vanuatu", many of the country's people live in difficult conditions, have poor health, and cannot access opportunities and services Australians take for granted. Vanuatu relies on aid to supplement the government

¹⁵ (A. Government, 2013c)

budget and to improve management and delivery of basic social services, infrastructure and resources. As stated earlier, NCDs are a major issue for the Pacific region and in Vanuatu, rates of deaths as a result of NCDs are rising. WHO reports that NCDs now account for 70% of all deaths in Vanuatu (Government, 2012c). Sport through development is one of the aid paradigms that Australia delivers to Vanuatu.

5.8.1 Country Program

Under the auspices of ASOP – country programme, AusAID has developed a framework specifically for Vanuatu. The priority outcome is for improved health. International priorities are recognised in the framework including MDG 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger (reduce the double economic burden of NCDs), MDG 3: Promote gender equality and empower women (encourage women's participation and leadership), MDG 6: Combat HIV/AIDs, malaria and other diseases (assist in the prevention and control of NCDs and increase awareness of disease), and MDG 8: Develop a global partnership for development (assist priorities of small island states). Regional goals and objectives make reference to PIF, WHO and United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific. I posit the framework for Vanuatu supports the UN philosophies of having well-designed sports-based initiatives as a practical and cost-effective additional tool to add to the toolkit of aid delivery to Vanuatu.

5.8.2 Nabanga SFD Program

The Country Program is managed through a partnership between the ASC and the Vanuatu Government through the Department of Youth Development, Sport and Training. This programme is called the Nabanga Sport for Development Program. It has been operating for a number of years in rural parts of Vanuatu. The program specifically targets remote island communities with the aim of building the capacity of a community's youth by planning and running sports activities for children and youth. Its main objectives are to enhance youth leadership and skill development, reduce anti-social behaviour, and promote unity. The success of the Nabanga Program has been reported on the remote island of Aniwa. Health improvements of a 50% reduction in obesity in just 12 months were noted as well as indirect consequences¹⁶. The paramount chief of the island declared that regular participation in community sporting events has led to improved community relations between

¹⁶ Australian Outreach Report, 2013

villages. Before Nabanga a number of disputes affected the harmony of Aniwa as a whole but since the program it

“has enabled the different villages to foster mutual understanding and respect by working closely together, which dramatically improved relationships to a point where we hardly see any problems occur anymore” (Vanuatu reaps the benefits, 2013).

The Australian Outreach Report (2013) summarises by suggesting that resources spent on sport as a vehicle for achieving development outcomes is showing early signs of real success for the Nabanga program. This programme was the original focus for my research. As a consequence of not gaining ethics approval, my focus switched to evaluating the Women’s Island Cricket Project on Ifira Island.

5.8.3 Women’s Island Cricket Project

Women’s Island cricket is supported under the Pacific Sports Partnership (PSP). Island cricket is delivered by the Vanuatu Cricket Association (VCA) and is supported through ASC’s partnership with the International Cricket Council (ICC) East Asia Pacific (EAP). Under the PSP, Pacific sports federations are supported to develop organisational capacity, increase participation in sport and to contribute to identifiable social development outcomes. The project targets middle-aged women from Ifira Island, near Port Vila, with the opportunity to be involved in physical activity and learn about health and nutrition. The issue for Vanuatu is that 70% of all deaths are attributed to NCDs¹⁷. Most NCDs result from four risk factors: unhealthy diet, insufficient physical activity, tobacco, and harmful use of alcohol. WHO premises the above factors are behavioural and, as such, people’s behaviours can be modified. WHO estimates two-thirds of people in Vanuatu are overweight and more than a quarter are considered obese. Women are highly represented in these figures (Government, 2012c; A. Government, 2013d). VCA partnered with a range of government and non-government organisations (Department of Women’s Affairs, Department of Youth and Sport, Ministry of Health, Wan Smol Bag, WHO, UN Women, Save the Children and Lapita Café) to plan and implement the pilot programme on Ifira.

¹⁷ (Government, 2012c)

5.8.4 Ifira Island

Ifira Island, traditionally known as Ifira Tenuku, is in Port Vila Harbour, and to get there requires a 10 minute boat trip from the wharf at Port Vila. Being close to the main city, commuting between the island and town is a constant occurrence. The island's population is approximately 900 with various houses ranging from traditional styles of timber construction to others made of iron and concrete, being larger houses for officials. Each house had a garden with cultivated vegetables, fruit trees and a few chickens. Pigs are prized and each garden had piglets in pens or a larger pig lying close to the houses. Properties are delineated by trees and shrubs, and to get around the island there are a series of paths. The island has a primary and secondary school, and next to the schools, an open area or field, which is the site of sports events. The people are very religious. The main church (Presbyterian) was built by the United States military stationed in the New Hebrides during World War II. This is a large church and pride of place on the island, with the roof visible from the mainland indicating its size and importance for the villagers. During my walk around the island, one of the young women told me there were five Christian denominations on the island as well as Baha'i. I was questioned about my religious affiliations, of which I do not have any. It was something they found difficult to conceive as they were very proud of their religious convictions and were keen to tell me which church they belong to.

From a general observation, I would suggest that Ifira is better off than some of the villages I saw in other parts of Efate. Proximity to the capital gives opportunity for employment for the villagers. The women of Ifira have a business relationship with the visiting cruise ships as the ships moor very close to the island. They have a right to sell their crafts to visiting tourists on the wharf in Vila as the villagers have important landholdings behind the wharf area and across the harbour entrance at Malapoa (Fingleton et al., 2013). On Ifira, I saw a lot of women sewing. There were an array of shirts and traditional dresses being made by the women to be sold to cruise ship passengers scheduled to arrive within a few days. Sales of products to tourists are an important contributor of income for the women, and consequently the households of Ifira.

5.9 Island Cricket

Island cricket is a modified version of traditional cricket. It has similar rules to traditional cricket sanctioned by the ICC, but has been altered to suit the players and the context. The bat is from a Nabanga tree, similar in appearance to a softball bat. The ball is rubber. The field is set up with stumps for wickets, similar to conventional cricket. A ball is bowled or thrown consecutively from each end. There are no overs. Rules of getting out are similar with the exception of LBW (there is none) and the game is played akin to a limited over game. Because women had been playing cricket sporadically around Port Vila for a number of years, the VCA and partners identified that island cricket would be an appropriate tool to foster increased participation amongst the women and provide an opportunity to discuss health messages. For the pilot programme, a 15 week season was organised involving an hour per week of cricket, followed by a workshop or seminar presented by one of the partner organisations.

The results of the pilot programme reflect an excellent buy-in by participants. Baseline data of participants was collected by the Ministry of Health and WHO. These included weight, waist line measurements, blood sugar levels and blood pressure. At the end of the 15 week programme, quantitative data indicated that 50% of participants had lost weight, 92% had reduced waist measurements. Discussions around the issues and results also indicated a substantial amount of qualitative evidence that suggested behaviours were being modified. These included:

- Women participating more often in exercise,
- Participants indicating an understanding of the importance of being physically active and healthy and continuing to participate in regular exercise.
- Participants reported a renewed understanding of NCDs, causes and impacts.
- Women were focused on cooking healthier meals; which were also more affordable.
- Participants reported new skills and experiences they had learnt were benefitting broader families.
- Ifira men were supporting the women to be involved in the project and to utilise their skills (Lawac, 2013; Thompson, 2012).

Members of the Ifira community reported evidence of women mobilising themselves to participate more in community development as a consequence of gaining greater confidence from cricket involvement (Council, 2013; Government, 2012c). The Women's Island Cricket Project received the Best Spirit of Cricket Initiative Award at the Pepsi ICC Development Programme Annual Awards in 2012.

One of the outcomes for the project is that the women continue to enjoy physical exercise and reap benefits of their involvement. In May 2012, Port Vila hosted the ICC East Asia-Pacific Women's Cricket Tournament. The women I spoke with told me there was to be an international competition in traditional island cricket in August 2013 in Port Vila, where teams from Samoa, Papua New Guinea and Japan would play. The women were using the games I saw on Ifira as practise for their own domestic cricket competition the following month. There has been increased buy-in from women in Vanuatu to play island cricket and a contact in the ASC had mentioned the project has now been extended to other villages on Efate to Seaside and Pango. The Ifira women are keen to find wider competition than the teams in Vanuatu and have started to fund-raise for a trip, to New Zealand.

5.10 Chapter Summary

To summarise, sport is an important part of Pacific culture and it has been the focus of sport for development projects carried out by the Australian government. Empowering women and girls underpins the theory of the SFD projects in the Pacific and AusAID has developed two types of programmes in Vanuatu. The Island Cricket Project has been introduced to middle-aged women in an attempt to increase awareness of the benefits of keeping physically active and eating healthily. The final chapter will discuss my findings and conclusions.

Chapter 6

Research Findings and Conclusions

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a report of the findings of my desk research and visit to Vanuatu. My research is based on Kabeer's framework and her notion of *agency* (1999). Firstly, I reiterate the framework and research questions. I then present my findings, commencing with a review of my meeting with the Women's Island Cricket Committee. A reflection of the meeting follows, and then I describe the intricacies of island cricket. Next, I provide answers to the questions I posed, and I complete the chapter with conclusions of my research and my thoughts about SFD.

6.2 Framework and Research Questions

Kabeer (2005) suggests that empowerment "is an intrinsic rather than an instrumental goal, explicitly valued as an end in itself rather than as an instrument for achieving other goals." Gender equality and empowerment is the third MDG and because of that has become part of the rhetoric of a number of development programmes, including that of AusAID. My research questions are based on Kabeer's (1999, 2005) notion that empowerment is about the ability to make choices to improve one's life and having the realisation that you have choices, and what the choices are (consciousness). Kabeer's concept of empowerment has three interrelated dimensions: *agency, resources and achievements*. My research looks at *Agency*, which represents the processes by which choices are made. It has both positive and negative connotations. Kabeer links the positive as 'power to' where people can make and act on their own life choices. Rowland (1997) has situated 'power to' as one of the four types of power that help explain how people become more aware and create new possibilities and actions to work towards; an example of process that will result in choice. The negative –'power over' is where actors override the agency of others. Kabeer stresses that "empowerment is rooted in how people see themselves - their sense of self-worth", and as stated in Chapter 2, Pacific Island women are empowering their lives by utilising the concept of power 'With and Within'.

My research questions were:

1. In what ways and to what extent have sport for development programmes like the Women's Island Cricket Programme contributed to women's empowerment?
2. What have been the consequences of this empowerment at the personal, family and community level?

6.3 Findings: Meeting with the Women's Island Cricket Committee

The last chapter explained where the Women's Island Cricket Project sits in relation to the Australian aid programme and its delivery of SFD in Vanuatu. The pilot project was started on Ifira Island, targeting middle-aged women. The first morning I went to the island I was to meet women who were part of the Women's Cricket Committee. The meeting was a test for my entrance into a culture I knew very little about. The meeting was very formal, it was held next to the Pastor's house under a balcony. The meeting started with prayers and a welcome to me. Initially in Bislama, the discussion was translated for me. I had to explain I could not ask the research questions I had wanted but I did sit and talk to different women in the group. I asked why cricket? Answers included that women had always played cricket, it was their traditional game. They went on to say that girls played Netball, and Cricket suited the older women much better. They really enjoyed playing together and when I asked what the changes to the 'proper cricket' were, I was told very quickly by a number of the women "Julie, this is the real cricket and the English cricket is actually an adaption of their game" – I was put firmly in my place!

The meeting with the committee was supposedly about my questions and so I asked in very general terms how playing cricket made them feel. The meeting included the obligatory morning tea. I felt somewhat in a conundrum because diabetes is an issue on Ifira, and Nina¹⁸ had suggested I take cordial and biscuits, both very high in sugar¹⁹. But, as I had been advised what to take, I took my contribution and with the other women we shared our morning tea.

¹⁸ Pseudonym

¹⁹ I had been met by Mary and Nina on my arrival to Vanuatu. Like Mary, Nina was also an RSE worker in Ohope and I had met her once in New Zealand. Both women welcomed me with flowers and clothes on arrival. I had organised with Nina to see her another time but language difficulties meant we both misunderstood each other and the meeting did not go ahead. I caught up with Nina a few days later at a collective in Vila where she makes and sells clothes. We both realised there had been a misunderstanding and we tried to rectify this. I asked for some guidance as to what to take to the committee meeting and she gave a couple of suggestions which I duly followed.

6.4 Discussion

The women discussed the amount of weight they had lost as a result of participating in the Island Cricket Project and figures between 15 and 20 kilograms were attributed to their involvement in the project. They also discussed their health issues and told me that diabetes and high blood pressure were two major issues affecting their community. When I returned to New Zealand, a telephone conversation from the principal of the high school revealed that a villager in her forties had just passed away and the cause of death was smoking. These three health issues were highlighted by AusAID as a reason to introduce the SFD project. The women were very aware of the need to do regular exercise combined with a healthy diet and they asked me if I also exercised. I wrote to Lucy on my return to New Zealand. Lucy has a job overseeing implementation of island cricket around Efate and reinforced the findings by AusAID that the Mamas are taking a more active role in their personal and community health. I asked Lucy what benefits she thought had occurred since the introduction of the cricket project. She wrote:

When the mamas start involving the island cricket they are getting to lose weight and very active, and in community, churches and even in their homes. Mamas love to play cricket because in Ifira Island there is some sick(ness) that we called diabetes and blood pressure that most of them have, so when they play cricket those sickness are no more. The Mamas' husbands are very proud for what they are doing, so they can stay in (a) good and healthy life (Appendix A).

These comments are corroborative evidence that the project is making progress. They also provide confirmation of AusAID's analysis as reported in the previous chapter. These points were reinforced by Delaila Sablan's story (Appendix B) in which she reports about her success in lowering her blood sugar levels, increased understanding of the causes and effects of NCDs, and her attempts to introduce healthier meals to her family.

At the meeting the women asked for some help and requested a blood pressure monitor for the island plus diabetes tests, scales and a tape measure. The reason given for the request was to enable the Mamas to check their own blood pressure, weight and general health rather than having to visit the clinic in Port Vila. This is an indication that the women on Ifira are making their *own choices* concerning their health, a key issue which is impacting on their lives.

The day I attended the meeting was Children's Day, an important day in the week of Independence Celebrations in Vanuatu. I asked if their increased involvement in playing cricket has led to women experiencing acceptance within the family and community. The women were at a meeting with me,

not with their children and that could only have happened if they had support from the chief and their husbands. That in itself was significant.

The activities on Ifira were organised and run by both men and women. They all said on a number of occasions that their families are very supportive of them playing cricket. I met the Presbyterian pastor and his wife, both born in Vanuatu, who had been on Ifira for the past 6 years. The support the Pastor gave his wife was discussed several times. He cooks for his wife when she is playing cricket. He is held in high regard within the community and some of the others said their husbands also cook dinner for them as well and the families are proud that the women play cricket. Lucy also wrote of the Mamas' husbands feeling proud of their wives' achievements.

From my western feminist perspective, the idea of a husband cooking tea is not something that is unusual, but in the Vanuatu context, this is clearly a change in dynamics within the family environment and potentially a contribution towards a process of change that allows for greater empowerment of the women.

6.5 Reflection of the Meeting

Reflecting on the meeting with the women's cricket committee, I concluded that the women were taking an active role in their empowerment. They were seeking help to make improvements for their own community, and they did it as a collective group. In describing the benefits of women's collective actions, Douglas (2002) wrote:

women's involvement in collective action in the protected space of a village church women's group .. provides their main opportunity to build solidarity, confidence, and leadership or managerial skills, which can help loosen hegemonic male controls over their bodies and their thinking.

Delaila Sablan also expressed pleasure that the project re-united the Ifira women to come together and play sport.

I consider that in the context of Ifira, the results of the meeting where the women asked for help by supplying equipment to the island supports Douglas's assertion that the collective action of the Ifira women is providing the opportunity to build confidence and self-esteem. Lucy interpreted empowerment as leadership, and she was

“very proud of my job because I’m encouraging the Mamas to play cricket and have a healthy life”.

This equates well to Kabeer’s dimension of agency and her discussion of self-worth. Scheyven (2003), in her discussion of church women’s groups in the Solomon Islands, considered that although some might question the activities of these groups founded on a welfare approach to women’s development, there is no doubt that they are significant

in providing women with a space away from their everyday activities and in encouraging networking and solidarity-building among women.

I was privileged to hear some of the stories of the women at the meeting. The women discussed the enjoyment of playing cricket and the opportunity of playing together with other women. A couple of the women were widows (over 60) and they stressed the importance for them to be still playing and enjoying the game and socialising with other women, so they didn’t feel isolated. They spoke about not remarrying and were happy to be by themselves which can be hard at times but their faith and their participation in cricket kept them buoyant. They were all keen to continue to play cricket and go to Efate to play in the competition against other villages the following month.

6.6 The Game

Two days after my first visit, I was invited back to see Island cricket played and to participate. The women had made me a dress to wear – Ifira colours and I was in the second team. With Ifira being able to support two teams, it suggests there is a strong structure and competitiveness amongst the Mamas. Teams from the villages of Seaside and Pango arrived from Efate. The Women’s cricket project has been so successful it has been extended to these two villages and the women representatives arrived in their very colourful uniforms.

The game was a lot of fun to watch and play. It has evolved so older women can play. For example, if a woman can’t run, she can still bat but the younger women will come in and be runners for her. The Ifira women are particularly competitive. They had been practising, getting up at 5.00 am. each morning to do stretches and run shuttles (as it doesn’t get light until just before 6.00 a.m.) and then practise the game. The Ifira First side won all three games. There was a real enjoyment at the games and everyone appeared to enjoy playing together. Lots of laughter and good-natured ribbing was heard if someone missed the ball or it bounced over heads. It was a very enjoyable experience to be part of the day, and I understood the significance of me being invited.



Figure 3: Ifira 'A' batting against Seaside, 29 July 2013, Ifira Island.

6.7 Conclusions

When I first heard about the Women's Island Cricket Project I was intrigued. It appeared a slightly ridiculous assumption that a cricket project could have a positive impact on a group of middle-aged women in a Pacific Island setting. I had originally considered it to be an example of paternalistic attempts to force on a group of people a "western" sport that loosely had a development tag to it with a suggestion that it would empower women and girls.

I had not realised the degree that sport is an important aspect of Vanuatu life. I was shown, by my hosts, the main stadium where soccer game is played. There were goal posts in most villages that I visited that converted to Australian Rules, Rugby Union or League and Volleyball nets. The influence of Australian sport is very apparent, as the television shows were from Australia and constantly discussed Australian Rules or League. Most of the games on television or in discussion were about men's involvement in sport. From a feminist perspective it was therefore disappointing when I visited Ifira to see the sad condition of the Netball goal posts at the school.

The danger of making any generalisation of the success or otherwise of the Women's Island Cricket project is that the project is a very small project. It would be easy to look through rose-tinted glasses to say because the women have lost weight, and taking a more active role in their own health, and involved in a few other initiatives, the project has worked and women are more empowered. The researcher cannot conclude based on a micro-level success in Vanuatu, that all SFD programmes work well at the macro level of economies, governments, organisations, and the globalised world (Coalter, 2013). AusAID's reports suggest the SFD projects – the island cricket and Nabanga programmes are working positively. In practice the SFD project appears to be successful but as Black (2010) comments 'the emphasis on practice has come for the most part at the expense of critical and theoretically-informed reflection'. With Sustineo currently evaluating the SFD programmes in Vanuatu, hopefully critical and theoretically informed reflection will be two considerations of the evaluation.

6.7.1 Answering my Research Questions

My first question was: how has the Women's Island Cricket Project contributed to women's empowerment? As a result of participation in the project, the Ifira women are:

- Losing weight,
- Taking steps to look after and monitor their own health,
- Continuing to involve themselves in physical activity,

- Improving their knowledge of NCDs and acting to make changes in their lifestyles,
- Providing leadership opportunities for the women, (Mary inviting me to the island is indicative of this, and she has been chosen as the leader in Vanuatu to help East Pak recruit RSE workers to the Bay of Plenty in 2014).
- Interacting with women from other communities.

The second question was: What have been the consequences of this empowerment at the personal, family and community level? My findings suggest the women are:

- Proud of their achievements as are their husband, (reinforced by Lucy's comments and the Pastor's comments to me),
- Re-learning to cook local foods in sustaining, healthier and cheaper methods,
- Learning about a range of health issues, and how to overcome them, (requesting help to purchase a blood pressure monitor),
- Learning and participating, which has led to more networking on a range of interest groups outside of village life,
- Actively supported by their husbands and families to participate in the project (the meeting, I attended, was on Children's Day and could not have occurred without the support of family, as this is an important event on Ifira).

For women on Ifira Island, the church is very important in their lives and at the meeting I attended, the role of the Pastor's wife was apparent. As Scheyvens (1998 & 2003) and Douglas (2002), suggest, church groups give women a socially sanctioned release from their daily lives to attend meetings. For the Women's Island Cricket Project, I think part of the success was that the Pastor encouraged his wife's involvement, thereby providing a model to other villagers that it was acceptable to be part of the project. Being part of the Island Women's Cricket Committee, appears to be important for the women I shared a morning with. The protocol and discussions at the meeting highlighted that meeting other women is an important part of belonging to the group. Discussions ranged from the games, health concerns, the Independence Day celebrations, organising help for the widows and the up-coming cricket competition at Port Vila.

In the case of the Island Cricket Project, sport is used as a 'buy-in' for the women. The women have enjoyed being part of the project and the results also show the women are making choices about their own lives. The above points reflect how women from Ifira have grown from the experience. They have demonstrated increased awareness and self-confidence. This reinforces DAWN's idea that women's solidarity adds to empowerment. It is also evidence of consciousness, where women

on Ifira have become aware of their situation regarding their health and well-being, and they are actively seeking ways to improve or transform their lives. For the women involved in the cricket project, getting up at 5.00am. to train and improve fitness supports the idea that their involvement has led to increased self-awareness, self-worth and self-confidence. These women have actively increased their motivation, increased the amount of physical exercise, increased interactions with different groups, other than just their immediate community and this surely is a very good example of empowerment. I suggest the women are taking their own agency. This is part of the process of empowerment and from what I observed, I posit that the Ifira women have been empowered through participation in the Women's Island Cricket Project.

6.8 Conclusions and Reflection of SFD

Completing this research I have been able to form my own views about some of the information I have encountered. Firstly, there is a need for another look at the terminology of empowerment as it is multi-faceted and multi-layered and used in a vast range of different scenarios, including development. There are adverse, financial consequences for people and communities, if there is a lack of empowerment of women in the Pacific Island countries.

Secondly, in Vanuatu there continues to be an influence of colonialism upon modern society. The church still dominates society and males have a paternalistic attitude towards females. I suggest that SFD programmes are challenging this. As discussed earlier, Ethel Sigimanu, stated:

Change is about having a critical mass of women who by nature of being female can bring different ideas, experiences, and values to decision-making (Government, 2012b).

Observing the women of Ifira making decisions about their health, families, and communities, and, seeing them make a conscious effort to improve the well-being of their families through sewing, working in Vanuatu and even travelling to New Zealand to work in the RSE scheme, suggests to me they are questioning some of their historical practises.

Thirdly, sport is more widely used as a positive influence in a variety of methods and settings. Women are seen in development as arbiters of change, and SFD programmes such as the Women's Island Cricket Project focus on women making changes in their villages. In reality, opportunities though sport for women is not equal, to opportunities available to men.

Fourthly, I suggest that SFD projects do have considerable merit as long as they are well organised, well planned, and involve local people in the planning, implementation and evaluation. I think that

the Women's Island Cricket Project has been successful in empowering members on Ifira because there has been a considerable amount of 'buy-in' from the women and they find playing cricket very enjoyable. I would like to think that the women will continue to live healthy lives, and that their families and communities benefit from their involvement. It will be interesting over the next few years to see if similar benefits are attributed to Seaside and Pango as they embark on the projects set up by the VCA.

In conclusion, I have become empowered by this research process. I have enjoyed looking at sport in a new way (for me) and the research undertaken has certainly made me consider alternative questions about SFD projects in the Pacific. Some include:

1. How have other SFD projects fared in Pacific countries?
2. Long-term, how sustainable are these projects, especially if funding is withdrawn?
3. Are marginalised groups included in these activities?
4. Will women continue to be the focus for SFD projects?
5. What are the best methodologies for measuring success?
6. Will evaluation of SFD programmes incorporate a local measure?

SFD will be something that will continue to capture my interest. It is an area worthy of more academic research.

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