EMPOWERING THE GIRLS OF HATCLIFFE EXTENSION, ZIMBABWE THROUGH EDUCATION AND SPORT

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By

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore how investments in education and sport for girls can contribute to positive individual, family, and community level changes in the township of Hatcliffe Extension, Zimbabwe. This thesis reviews the current context in Zimbabwe, a failing state beset with significant levels of political violence, corruption, lawlessness, and dwindling human rights. This study examines how the political violence, in particular Operation Murambatsvina in 2005, destroyed homes and livelihoods in Hatcliffe Extension. It reviews the long lasting impact of the violence and extreme poverty on girls’ lives, particularly their right to education. Through a literature review on the benefits of education and sport and data collected from 8 qualitative interviews with sport for peace practitioners familiar with Hatcliffe Extension, this thesis outlines ways that investments in girls’ sport and education can effect positive change. This study offers recommendations for best practices for development organizations and practitioners working in Zimbabwe. This thesis serves as a starting point for future research on girls’ education and sport projects in Hatcliffe Extension.
For the guidance and encouragement from Drs. Craig Zelizer, Sarah Hillyer, and Ashleigh Huffman; For the knowledge and reflection from interview participants; For the patience from my father and others who spent hours reading, re-reading, and offering editorial suggestions; And for the inspiration from the girls and community of Hatcliffe Extension; This thesis is dedicated to you.

Many thanks,
Tierney L. Anderson
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Chapter I: Introduction

Introduction to the Problem

Though Zimbabwe led the African continent in development in the 1980s and early 1990s, today the country is a poor and unstable state. Since independence in 1980, Zimbabwe has been ruled by one president, Robert Mugabe and his ZANU-PF party. His government’s economic mismanagement and corrupt land reform policies, combined with an ongoing drought, destroyed the agricultural sector and drove the economy into collapse. This led to a severe decline in the nation’s education and health care systems. Chronic shortages of food, fuel, and other goods, along with an HIV/AIDS epidemic, human rights abuses by government and police, election tampering, and political violence have left Zimbabwe in a state of deep insecurity.

Following the 2005 election, the Mugabe Government enacted Operation Murambatsvina, a military style operation carried out with little warning which destroyed what the Government deemed ‘illegal homes, vending sites, structures, and informal business premises’ (United Nations (UN), 2005a, p. 12). Multiple international and national sources estimate that 700,000 people were displaced and 2.4 million affected by the operation (UN, 2005a; International Crisis Group (ICG), 2005; Human Rights Watch (HRW), 2005). One of the communities heavily affected was Hatcliffe Extension, a large informal settlement outside Harare. A fact-finding mission by the United Nations Special Envoy on Human Settlements Issues found that those displaced were without access to food, water, sanitation, or health care; that education for thousands of children was disrupted; that citizens with HIV and AIDS no longer had access to care; and that overall, those affected were ‘in deeper poverty, deprivation,
and destitution and rendered more vulnerable because of Operation Murambatsvina’ (UN, 2005a, p. 7). A follow-up report by Amnesty International in August 2011 concluded that children from Hatcliffe Extension are still suffering from the effects of the operation, especially its negative impact on education. Girls and young women are most affected (Amnesty International (AI), 2011).

In the summer of 2011 I worked with Sport 4 Peace, an international sport and peace organization to conduct a sports camp for girls living in Hatcliffe Extension. The American-based non-profit was invited by a local civil society organization to explore long-term partnership opportunities, with an emphasis on sports-for-development programming for girls. The specific purpose of the camp was to introduce girls to a variety of new sports, teambuilding activities, and a life-skills curriculum. The collaborative effort operated under the banner of sport as a tool for individual and community development and girls’ empowerment. During my visit to Hatcliffe Extension, I learned how strongly the girls value soccer and school in their lives. I also witnessed the real and lasting effects of Operation Murambatsvina – extreme poverty, families suffering from HIV/AIDS, rampant unemployment, no access to formal education, and homes made of plastic tarps with dirt floors and without running water or electricity.

International NGOs provided aid to communities in Zimbabwe immediately after Operation Murambatsvina. However, the presence today of NGOs working to address the long-term development issues in Hatcliffe Extension is limited. Zimbabwean civil society organizations or small community based organizations that work in Hatcliffe Extension, including the one we partnered with, struggle for funding and support. The long term effects of the operation have not been addressed thoroughly, particularly its impact on girls.
Although the country’s one-party rule officially ended in 2009 with an internationally brokered power-sharing agreement following the national and international outcries over electoral tampering, corruption and political violence, President Mugabe’s ZANU-PF party continues to dominate the country. Government repression, political violence, and human rights violations limit development progress in Zimbabwe, and Hatcliffe Extension continues to be one of the poorest townships. Reform of the national education system has not taken place and the 2011 report from Amnesty International highlights the dire need to improve access to education for girls from the poorest communities.

Investment in education for girls has been shown to produce many benefits at the individual, family, and community levels. Though less studied in developing countries, investment in sport also has the power to produce benefits at all three levels. Throughout this thesis, I suggest the investment in holistic education through the development of knowledge and skills both in the classroom and on the field will lead to benefits that increase girls’ empowerment and effect positive change at all three levels in Hatcliffe Extension. This study reviews how Zimbabwe’s collapse and political violence negatively affected girls. Using information gathered from a variety of authors, international organizations, NGOs, and research institutes, coupled with interviews from practitioners, this thesis analyzes how the benefits of sport and education can be applied in Hatcliffe Extension to effect some positive change and improve the quality of life for girls.

Rationale for the Study
The inspiration for this thesis began a year ago in my Sport and Peacebuilding class when I learned how sport can be used intentionally as a tool for development and peacebuilding. It was through this class that I became a volunteer with the international sport and peace organization on the project in Zimbabwe. Prior to leaving for Zimbabwe, a colleague recommended I read Peter Godwin’s (2007) When a Crocodile Eats the Sun. His memoir is a frightening but moving account of life in Zimbabwe during the country’s downward spiral during the last decade. I was fascinated to learn how one of the fastest growing countries in the 1980s and 90s could come to be classified as a failed state in only 25 years.

When I returned to Georgetown I began to study the country in depth and expand on my knowledge from the Sport and Peacebuilding class and the summer’s experience with Sport 4 Peace. My goal was to learn how sport can be used intentionally to impact poverty reduction, community development, and girls’ empowerment. I began my research in an independent study course on Sport, Youth, and Conflict Resolution. Encouraged by my professor to apply what I had learned at Georgetown and in Zimbabwe to a larger study, I decided to write this thesis. I started with the following guiding questions:

- What are the benefits of sports participation for girls living in poverty?
- What are the benefits of education for girls living in poverty?
- How do sport and education contribute to empowerment?
- Could investing in sport and education produce positive change at the individual, family, or community level in Hatcliffe Extension?
- Could sport and education programs reduce the negative effects of structural violence in Zimbabwe?
These questions led me to review the literature on sport and education for girls in developing countries and to interview sport for development and peace (SDP) practitioners who have worked or currently work in Hatcliffe Extension.

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study was to explore how investments in education and sport for girls can contribute to positive individual, family, and community level changes in the township of Hatcliffe Extension, Zimbabwe. The data collected from interviews with practitioners adds to the existing body of literature available on the benefits, challenges, and recommendations for SDP programs for girls living in extreme poverty. The findings can be used as research to support those currently doing work with girls in Hatcliffe Extension and greater Zimbabwe, as well provide an argument for further investment in girls’ programs.

**Scope of the Study**

This study reviews the recent history of Zimbabwe, especially the impact of political violence on the Hatcliffe Township, in order to provide a background and context for understanding the situation for girls and women. Because investment in girls’ education in developing countries is already widely studied and published, interviews with practitioners working in education were not conducted for this thesis. However, there still remains a gap in the literature regarding the impact of conducting girls’ sport for development programs in developing countries (The Girl Effect, n.d.; Brady, 2005; 2011). For this reason, I focused my attention on interviews with SDP practitioners who have worked or are currently working with
girls in Hatcliffe Extension to provide qualitative accounts of their experiences. Due to time constraints for this project, this thesis is a starting point for further research or a larger in-depth study that can be conducted in Hatcliffe Extension.

**Organization of the Study**

The following chapter provides the background and context of current day Hatcliffe Extension including an overview of Zimbabwe’s decline during the last decade, the political violence of Operation Murambatsvina, and its lasting impact on the township. Chapter Three provides a thorough review of the literature on the importance of investing in girls’ education and sport, as well as the potential barriers to such investment. Chapter Four reviews the theoretical framework of development work including theories of change, Lederach’s (1995) interrelated notion of individual and community empowerment, and how these theories address visible and less visible violence, including the structural and cultural violence in Hatcliffe Extension. Chapter Five outlines the methodology of this thesis explaining the interview, coding, and data analysis process. Chapter Six presents the findings of the interviews and relates them to the theoretical discussion in Chapter Four. The final chapter offers recommendations for future research, provides policy and practice recommendations, and summarizes the conclusions.
Chapter II: Background and Context

This chapter will review the history of Zimbabwe’s decline and provide an overview of the political violence which negatively impacted the township of Hatcliffe Extension. This is the context for the challenging situation in the community.

Zimbabwe’s Decline

Though Zimbabwe was once one of the most prosperous and fastest developing countries in Africa, it is now classified as a failed state. The country is known internationally for its insecurity, political violence, lawlessness, failed economy, soaring unemployment, and for being one of the oldest dictatorships in the world. Though it had one of the finest education systems on the continent, a flourishing agriculture sector, and was recognized as a place for both international business and tourism, the increasing centralization of the government coupled with a failure to address underlying issues such as land conflict led to its decline.

According to the UN Fact-Finding Mission to Zimbabwe,

Three political decisions deepened the economic crisis in the late 1990s: the appeasement policy towards war veterans where the government issued cash handouts to ex-combatants who had threatened to destabilize the government; Zimbabwe’s military intervention in the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo which had serious consequences in budgetary allocations and deficits; and the ‘fast track’ land distribution program in 2000, which negatively affected agricultural production (UN, 2005a, p.16)
The land redistribution policy also created physical conflict. War veterans often occupied property violently, fighting with landowners, destroying farms, burning down houses, displacing workers and owners, and sometimes killing them. Since 2000, around 4,000 white farmers have been forced from their farms (The Seattle Times, 2010). The violence caused by land confiscation resulted in international sanctions from the U.S., European Union, and several Commonwealth countries (UN, 2005a). The sanctions in turn led to a serious decrease in international investment and tourism in the country. This period was marked by deepening unemployment, urban violence, and an increase in migration to towns by former farm workers (UN, 2005a).

As the first real opposition party to ZANU-PF, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) emerged and was supported by those who no longer trusted the Mugabe government and were looking for change. Many of the MDC members lived in towns and cities. ZANU-PF, which had never tolerated dissent or political opposition, fought to remain in control of the country by any means (UN, 2005a). Elections in 2000 and 2002, which Western governments considered neither free nor fair, further alienated Zimbabwe from the international community (Bratton & Masunungure, 2006). As unemployment and inflation grew over the following years, the informal economy cropped up as an alternative income for many Zimbabweans. The International Labour Organization reported in June 2005 that “3 to 4 million Zimbabweans earned their living through informal sector employment, supporting another 5 million people, while the formal sector only employed about 1.3 million people” (UN, 2005a, p.17). Operation Murambatsvina, following the contested elections of 2005, destroyed this informal economy. Its effects continue to be felt in poor townships like Hatcliffe Extension today.
The 2005 ‘Tsunami:’ Operation Murambatsvina

“I have received the report of my special envoy on human settlement issues in Zimbabwe, Mrs. Anna K. Tibaijuka, based on her recent visit to the country. I wish to congratulate her on this exhaustive report, and also to thank the Government of Zimbabwe for the full cooperation she received. It is a profoundly distressing report, which confirms that ‘Operation Murambatsvina’ has done catastrophic injustice to as many as 700,000 of Zimbabwe’s poorest citizens, through indiscriminate actions, carried out with disquieting indifference to human suffering.” – Kofi Annan

The 2005 election, viewed by the international community as tainted by electoral misconduct by ZANU-PF, nonetheless saw the loss of all but one of the 18 ZANU-PF parliamentary seats in Harare to MDC (Bratton & Masunungure 2006). Despite the election fraud, irregularities, political intimidation, and manipulation of the final vote count, ZANU-PF could not hide its loss of support in Zimbabwe’s major cities, especially the capital of Harare (Bratton & Masunungure, 2006). The insecurity that followed the election mounted during the government’s Operation Murambatsvina, which in Shona means “Drive out the Trash” or “Drive out the Rubbish” (Bratton & Masunungure, 2006). Officially, the urban poor and informal traders were blamed by the government for the “deteriorating standards of health and housing, the spiraling crime rate, hoarding, disappearance of basic commodities from shops, and a swelling black market including foreign currency, all of which undermined the country’s economic turnaround” (ICG, 2005,p.3). The operation was mounted under the guise of reviving the economy by abolishing illegal structures, though most NGOs and the UN special envoy note that one of the most probable
explanations for the operation was retaliation on the major cities for voting against ZANU-PF in the election (HRW, 2005; UN, 2005a; Bratton & Masunungure, 2006; ICG, 2005).

In Harare and surrounding townships, including Hatcliffe Extension, structures deemed illegal by the state were demolished. These included roadside kiosks, backyard workshops, rental rooms, and shack dwellings (Bratton & Masunungure, 2006). Across the capital, the police and army bulldozed kiosks and homes, and burned furniture and household items (UN, 2005a; Bratton & Masunungure, 2006). During the demolitions, police beatings on citizens were common. People were loaded into trucks and taken to transit camps where they faced the winter cold with minimal shelter (Bratton & Masunungure, 2006; UN, 2005a; HRW, 2005). Those who were evicted from the townships were told by the police and army to return to their “homes,” meaning rural Zimbabwe. Since many of them had lived in the cities for generations, or were descended from immigrants from Mozambique or Malawi, they had no “home” in Zimbabwe to which they could return (Bratton & Masunungure, 2006). Government established transit camps were ill-equipped; lacked sanitation services, water and food supplies, and even shelter (HRW, 2005). When food was delivered to camps it was accompanied by the threat that food would be withheld in the future from anyone who voted for the opposition (Bratton & Masunungure, 2006).

As informal schools, health centers, homes, and businesses were demolished, and hundreds of thousands displaced, Zimbabwe quickly entered a humanitarian crisis. The UN Special Envoy sent to investigate the situation found that “while purporting to target illegal dwellings and structures and clamp down on alleged illicit activities, Operation Murambatsvina was carried out in an indiscriminate and unjustified manner, with indifference to human suffering and with
disregard to several provisions of national and international legal frameworks” (UN, 2005a, p.7)

As the International Crisis Group (2005) noted, “Operation Murambatsvina was a brutal, ill-managed government campaign against its own citizens that exacerbated a desperate situation in a country already sliding downhill for a half-decade” (p.i). Known by local Zimbabweans as “the tsunami,” Operation Murambatsvina’s approximately three month campaign of destruction in the slums around major cities devastated urban communities, displacing over 700,000 people and affecting over 2.4 million (UN, 2005a; HRW, 2011; ICG, 2005).

Post- Operation Murambatsvina: Life in Extreme Poverty

As the economy continued to worsen, quality of life for most of Zimbabwe’s people deteriorated (Plan, 2008a). According to the World Health Organization (WHO), life expectancy for women plummeted from nearly 55 years in 1970 to 34 years in 2006, the lowest in the world (Plan, 2008a). In 2008, UNICEF estimated that the maternal mortality rate was 1 in 16 and there were up to two million vulnerable children or orphans because of AIDS (Plan, 2008a). The serious decline of the health care and education systems, along with food and fuel shortages, overwhelmed the country. Extreme hyperinflation of the Zimbabwean currency from 2003 to 2008 made shortages worse.

The 2008 presidential elections were similar to the ones previous: characterized by election fraud, intimidation, and violence. Though reports indicated that Mugabe lost the 2008 presidential election he did not step down, and opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai went into exile in South Africa (HRW, 2009; Godwin, 2010). With Mugabe “re-elected” and the MDC having won the House – but Tsvangirai out of Zimbabwe – it was a particularly unstable time in
Zimbabwe. As uncertainty grew about what was happening in the country and the police brutality, political intimidation, and violence increased, “Zimbabweans termed this time of violence and suffering, *chidudu*. It means, simply *the fear*” (Goodwin, 2010, p.109). Human Rights Watch (2011) documented cases of violence in 2008 showing that the “ZANU-PF-led government was responsible, at the highest levels, for widespread and systematic abuses that led to the killing of up to 200 people, the beating and torture of 5,000 more, the burning of 20,000 homes, and the displacement of around 40,000 people” (p.4). The UN and neighboring African leaders eventually stepped in to broker a power sharing agreement where Mugabe stayed as President and Tsvangirai became Prime Minister. Although the agreement enacted in February 2009 continues today, Mugabe’s ZANU-PF still controls the country and necessary reforms have not been implemented. President Mugabe, who is 87 years old and reportedly in poor health, released a statement in December 2011 saying that the unity government had “overstayed its welcome…Our country does not have an elected government. I am president to a political arrangement which is makeshift, undemocratic, an illegitimate…we just have to have elections next year” (BBC News, 2011).

In April 2009, unemployment was estimated at 80% and hyperinflation was at an all-time high (trillion dollar banknotes in circulation were worth virtually nothing). This led the government to suspend its own currency. The country operates today on the U.S. dollar, the South African rand, and the European Union euro. The change in currency has allowed normal forms of business to begin to resume and the economy to make a slow recovery. While some economic reforms have started to improve the country, unemployment is still estimated at around 95% and Mugabe’s ZANU-PF continues to control most of the government, police, and army
(CIA, 2011). Media freedom is limited, rule of law is lacking, political intimidation continues, and corruption and human rights abuses are widespread (HRW, 2011). As Human Rights Watch (2011) reported, “ZANU-PF and groups allied to ZANU-PF continue to commit violations such as arbitrary arrests and abductions, beatings, torture, and killings of members and supporters of MDC and those critical of ZANU-PF and their officials” (p.3). Periods of food insecurity and inadequate education and health care systems continue to be a problem across the country. The conditions facing Zimbabwe heavily affect Hatcliffe Extension because of the lack of infrastructure and resources for the township. The decline of the country and the political violence left Hatcliffe Extension in a deep state of poverty and insecurity. The lasting negative impacts from the operation, including psychological trauma and inadequate education facilities, heavily impact children living in the township.

**Change in mentality.**

There are no publically available studies on the psychological impact effecting girls as a result of Operation Murambatsvina, the political violence of 2008, or Zimbabwe’s ever-deepening poverty. The increasing poverty that Hatcliffe Extension faced after the operation and the current state of extreme poverty in the community has clear potential to harm the mental health of children, families, and communities. A recent report by UNICEF on the world’s children found, “children living in urban poverty experience levels of depression and distress that are higher than the urban average, which affects growth and development, school performance, and peer and family relationships” (UNICEF, 2012, p.24). In addition, they noted, “children in urban areas are likely to have greater access to drugs and alcohol and may resort to these
substances as a means of coping with stress, idleness, and frustration in the absence of opportunities for sport” (UNICEF, 2012, p.24). Interviews conducted by Amnesty International with girls from Hatcliffe Extension in August 2011 also shed light on some of the impacts of living in extreme poverty. Amnesty reported,

Children from Hatcliffe Extension reported being stigmatized at formal schools because they live in plastic shacks, have no roads in their settlements and live in extreme poverty. This stems from the fact that pupils often get to school dirty for many reasons, including having to travel long distances over dusty or muddy roads, or lack of soap and water at home. The children reported that they are made to sit on the floor or grouped together and so they find it difficult to interact with other children. Children from Hatcliffe Extension told Amnesty International that they are mocked by teachers and other pupils for being dirty and ‘dull.’ (p.22)

Being characterized by others as ‘dirty and dull’ after being classified by the government as ‘trash’ can leave a lasting negative impact on children’s mentality, sense of worth, and self-esteem. In addition to harmful psychological effects, the consequences of Operation Murambatsvina also curtailed children’s basic human right of education.

**Loss of education.**

“The government failure to take action to restore livelihoods lost during Operation Murambatsvina or to compensate people for the loss of livelihood has condemned most of the affected families at Hatcliffe Extension to a life of destitution.” - Amnesty International, 2011, p.14
The UN, International Crisis Group, Human Rights Watch, and many other local and international NGOs investigated Operation Murambatsvina and the 2008 election violence. Their findings on conditions in the country, along with the 2011 Amnesty International report, which deals with current circumstances specifically in Hatcliffe Extension, review the economic and social impacts of Operation Murambatsvina on urban communities. In 2005, the informal sector, which previously provided 3 to 4 million Zimbabweans with a living and supported another 5 million, was “virtually wiped out, rendering individuals and households destitute” (UN, 2005a, p.31). In Harare, the most affected city, 70 percent of households lost shelter or their sources of income (Bratton & Masunungure, 2006). The state lacked the infrastructure or a support plan for its own citizens, many of whom became internally displaced persons (IDPs) (HRW, 2005). The operation rendered thousands homeless and without access to education or health care, including treatment centers for citizens with HIV/AIDS (UN, 2005a; HRW 2005, ICG, 2005; AI, 2011).

“Operation Murambatsvina inflicted a severe blow to the right to education for the affected population who were already amongst the poorest and most disadvantaged in Zimbabwe” – Amnesty International, 2011, p.3

Between 2000 and 2005, Zimbabwe’s education system was already “characterized by reduced enrollment rates, increased dropout rates, re-emergence of gender disparity and the deterioration of teaching” (UN, 2005a, p.41). The Operation only worsened this trend. Its negative impact on education is profound: an estimated 500,000 children were forced out of school (ICG, 2005). The lasting impact of this operation on children’s access to education and the near collapse of the education system itself, combined with the growing poverty and hyperinflation, led many teachers to abandon their jobs (AI, 2011). Amnesty International’s
report demonstrates the impact of the operation on the access to education for children from Hatcliffe Extension: before the operation, most children in the community were attending school and the few whose families could not afford it were helped by humanitarian organizations (AI, 2011). Then schools were demolished and teachers displaced. Children lacked transportation to get to other schools. Identification documents needed to enroll in school were lost, and parents did not have sufficient warning to obtain transfer letters in time. The majority of families were simply without the financial means to afford school fees (AI, 2011). Amnesty International (2011) found that the loss of livelihood for families in Hatcliffe Extension resulted in the long term inability to afford education and in the six years since the operation, children have been dropping out as their families still find they cannot afford school. The report noted that today, “three quarters of the children at the school from Hatcliffe Extension struggle with payment of fees and get sent home for nonpayment, thereby losing out on their education” (AI, 2011, p.14).

Though the government has a Basic Education Assistance Module program to assist needy students with school and examination fees, the vast majority of children from Hatcliffe Extension do not qualify because they do not have the necessary documents such as birth certificates, which were lost or destroyed during Operation Murambatsvina (AI, 2011). Also, the program is only for students attending registered schools, which excludes the majority of vulnerable, poor, and disadvantaged students (AI, 2011). Thus, they are further marginalized because of their poverty.

“Already socially and economically disadvantaged, many women and girls have suffered greatly and been rendered more vulnerable through the sudden loss of homes and livelihoods” –United Nations, 2005a, p.43
While the loss of education negatively affects both boys and girls, the result of not being in school has additional gender-specific impacts on girls. During interviews with girls from Hatcliffe Extension, Amnesty International (2011) found that Operation Murambatsvina’s disruption to education led girls to marry at a younger age or feel obliged to support family members through sex work. As poverty research related to girls has found, when girls marry younger they are more likely to have more children, fail to financially support their family, and become stuck in a cycle of poverty (The Girl Effect, n.d.; Jones, Harper, & Watson, 2010). Girls who earn money through sex are more likely to contract and spread HIV/AIDS. For young women, the loss of education drastically alters life. This change does not just impact individual girls, but also their future families and their children’s future families, changing the nature of the community and increasing the chances of being stuck in the cycle. Amnesty International’s findings concerning conditions in Hatcliffe Extension as recently as August 2011 underscore the severe need for investment in the education of girls.
Chapter III: Review of the Literature

This chapter provides definitions for the terminology used during the study. The purpose of this section is to review the literature on investing in girls in the developing world, including the potential benefits of education and the benefits of sport for individuals, families, and communities. This chapter also introduces the challenges in delivering programs for girls and the potential barriers to support of girls’ programs, including the potential for harm.

Terminology

For the purpose of this thesis, the words development, sport, education, health, political violence, poverty, structural violence, social inclusion, self-esteem, empowerment, change, quality of life, and girls are defined in the following way:

Development

- Taken from the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG) definition using both the UN Declaration on the Rights of Development definition and the UNDP Human Development Index qualifiers. The UN Declaration on the Rights of Development (1986) describe development as “a comprehensive economic, social, cultural, and political process, which aims at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals on the basis of their active, free, and meaningful participation in development and the fair distribution of benefits” (SDP IWG, 2007, p.10). UNDP followed the Declaration in 2006 with the Human Development Index (HDI) which “measures improvements in the quality of life of humans based on
three criteria: a long and healthy life measured by life expectancy at birth; knowledge measured by the adult literacy rate and the combined gross enrollment in primary, secondary, and tertiary education; and a decent standard of living” (SDP IWG, 2007, p.10).

Sport

- Taken from the UN definition as “all forms of physical activity that contribute to physical fitness, mental well-being and social interaction, such as play, recreation, organized or competitive sport, and indigenous sports and games” (UN, 2008, p.5).
- Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) is the “intentional use of sport, physical activity, and play to attain specific development and peace objectives, including, most notably, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)” (UN, 2008, p.301). SDP recognizes sport as both a human right and a tool for development (UN, 2008).

Health

- Taken from the World Health Organization (WHO) as “a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity” (WHO, 1946, p.100).

Political Violence

- Taken from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) definition of political violence as all forms of organized violent activity for political goals, even if other motivations are also present (UNHCR, 2000).

Poverty


- Taken from the UN definition of poverty in 1995 as the lack of income and productive resources to ensure sustainable livelihoods; hunger and malnutrition; ill health; limited or lack of access to education and other basic services; increased morbidity and mortality from illness; homelessness and inadequate housing; unsafe environments and social discrimination and exclusion; and lack of participation in decision making and in civil, social, and cultural life (Gordon, 2005). The UN 1998 definition adds insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individuals, households, and communities; susceptibility to violence; and living in marginal or fragile environments, without access to clean water or sanitation (Gordon, 2005).

**Structural Violence**

- Following Johan Galtung’s definition, structural violence includes the ways in which a given social structure, institution, or system harms a population and prevents them from meeting their basic needs (Galtung, 1969). This encompasses lack of education, health care, economic opportunities, and political participation.

**Social Inclusion**

- Taken from the UN definition of combating poverty and social exclusion to create a society for all people. Social exclusion is the voluntary or involuntary “exclusion of individuals or groups from society’s political, economic and societal pressures, which prevents their full participation in the society in which they live” (UN, 2010, p.1).

**Self-Esteem**

- Is defined as a person’s overall self-appraisal and feeling of self-worth. Self-esteem is essential to mental health and well-being (SDP IWG, 2007).
Empowerment

- Involves the increased ability of girls and women to make strategic life choices in contexts where this ability was previously limited (SDP IWG, 2007).

Change

- (Positive change) To make a person, group, or situation better than it was. Theories of change, taken from Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), provide guiding theoretical frameworks, including theories that focus on addressing changes in attitude, behaviors, and skills of individuals and communities and addressing social issues, like forms of structural violence, through grassroots work (OECD, 2008).

Quality of Life

- Lowering poverty and allowing for income, employment, physical and mental health, education, social belonging, and recreation and leisure time.
- Judged through the UNDP HDI criteria: a long and healthy life measured by life expectancy at birth; knowledge, measured by the adult literacy rate and the combined gross enrollment ratio in primary, secondary, and tertiary education; and a decent standard of living (SDP IWG, 2007).

Girls

- Ages 8-20

Investing in Girls

Education.
“Study after study has taught us that there is no tool for development more effective than the education of girls and the empowerment of women” - Kofi Annan

For over a decade, the international development community has recommended investment in girls’ education to promote development. Research from the United Nations, World Bank, Plan International, The Population Council, Chronic Poverty Research Centre, and The Girl Effect, among others, have discussed the many social and economic benefits of girls’ education and shown that such investment lifts individuals, families, and communities out of poverty. This section provides a summary of the benefits of investing in girls’ education.

There are 600 million girls in the developing world, most of whom do not make it to secondary school (Plan, 2008a; UN, 2009). Many live on less than $1 a day, marry early, have children early, and are at greater risk for complications from childbirth or contracting and spreading HIV/AIDS (Plan, 2007). They are less free, less healthy, and less educated than males in their communities (Levine, Lloyd, Green, & Grown 2009). Having to work at home, or in the informal sector, girls are more at risk for violence and exploitation. They are often invisible in the public sphere and lack access to social networks and resources. Left isolated, unsupported, and uneducated, their children will lead similar lives and the cycle of poverty will continue. In economic terms, the World Bank and UNESCO found that the failure to educate girls, measured partially by the effect on adolescent pregnancies and joblessness, is costing developing countries millions of dollars (World Bank, 2011; Plan, 2008b). In Zimbabwe, only 25% of girls are enrolled in upper secondary education and the country is losing out on an annual estimated growth of 53 million dollars by not educating its girls to the same standards as boys (Plan, 2008b).
The benefits of girls’ education in the developing world include not only individual benefits, but family and community gains as well. Jones, N., Harper C., & Watson, C. (2010) of The Chronic Poverty Research Centre reported, “The returns on education trickle down to far more than individual women and their families; communities with educated, empowered women are healthier, have more educational options and are less poor” (p.4). This cycle of investing in girls to lift individuals, families, and communities out of poverty is what the Nike Foundation has termed ‘The Girl Effect’ (The Girl Effect, n.d.).

The immediate benefits of education for girls include greater safety, enhanced social status, and empowerment (Lloyd, 2009). Lloyd (2009) discussed the advantages of enhanced social status, explaining, “when a girl travels through her community in a school uniform carrying books she gains a protected social status that is recognized and valued, she has the opportunity to develop a social identity beyond her family, and she is granted respect and valued” (p.36). Lloyd (2009) also noted that the environment of the classroom can be a place of gender equality because it brings boys and girls together to spend their time similarly during a critical phase of transition to adulthood.

Research shows that girls who are educated are healthier, are at less risk for contracting and spreading HIV/AIDS, have fewer, healthier children, and are less likely to die in childbirth. The United Nations Population Fund found that when a girl in the developing world receives 7 or more years of education, she marries four years later and has 2 fewer children than her counterparts who do not receive the same level of education (The Girl Effect, n.d.). Education can not only delay marriage, but also sexual initiation, contributing to fewer pregnancies and a lowering of the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS (Jones, Harper, & Watson, 2010). Educated
mothers have children that are better nourished, less likely to die in infancy and more likely to attend school. Educated mothers can be role models for their children because they are better able to monitor, support, and encourage their children to attend school, complete homework, and study for examinations (Levine, Lloyd, Green, & Grown 2009). The cycle of educated families can contribute to healthier communities and reduce poverty.

Education can also provide girls with the knowledge and skills to move out of household work and the informal sector and into higher paying jobs. World Bank researchers discovered that an extra year of primary school increases eventual wages by 10 to 20%, an extra year of secondary school boosts those same wages by 15 to 25%, and that girls receive higher returns for their secondary education than men (Patrinos & Psacharopoulos, 2002). The World Food Program found that when girls and women in the developing world earn an income, they reinvest 90% of it into their families, whereas men only reinvest 30% to 40% (World Food Program, 2011). Education contributes to empowering girls, building self confidence, and enabling them to make informed decisions about their and their family’s lives, protecting them from HIV infection, exploitation, and child labor (Plan, 2007). Education is also tied to a woman’s power in her eventual household and political arenas, and has been equated to lowers rates of domestic violence (Jones, Harper, & Watson, 2010).

Besides improving the quality of life and the well-being of individuals and families, investment in girls’ education improves communities. Educated, empowered women are more likely to build social networks in the community, participate in civil life, and advocate for community improvements (Levine, et al., 2009; Jones, Harper, & Watson, 2010). Jones, Harper, and Watson (2010) noted one example from a study by the International Water and Sanitation
Centre that found that women’s participation was the key to improving community access to clean water and sanitation facilities. Having healthy, educated, active, engaged communities (which includes women) promotes social and economic development and democracy.

**Sport.**

“Sport represents the best school of life by teaching young people the skills and values they need to be good citizens” - Adolf Ogi, Special Adviser to the United Nations Secretary-General on Sport for Development and Peace

Sport is a recognized human right (UN, 2008). Although sport for development has existed for many years, it has been embraced widely as a tool for development and alleviating poverty by the UN and NGOs only since 2005, the International Year of Sport and Physical Education (UN, 2005b). Research from the United Nations, Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group, World Health Organization, The Population Council, Women Win, and Nike Foundation’s The Girl Effect, among others (Brady, 2005, 2011; Coakley and Donnelly, 2002; Coalter, 2002) have promoted sport as a tool for development and documented the many benefits. The findings are used to argue for investment in girls’ sport in developing countries, like Zimbabwe, to create individual, family, and community level change. This section provides a summary of the research on the benefits of sport for girls’ in developing countries.

The United Nations promotes sport as a tool for development in the areas of health, education, employment, social inclusion, political development, and peace and security and as a strategy for solving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (UN, 2005b; 2007). The UN has recognized sport’s potential in creating positive change, stating that sport is a low-cost and
high-impact tool in humanitarian, development and peace-building efforts (UN, n.d.). Sport is also used as a strategy for community reintegration, social inclusion, and reconstruction in post-conflict settings (Brady, 2005). For the MDGs, sport provides life skills essential for a productive life in society, sport helps build self-confidence and self-worth and creates social inclusion, and sport can help engage otherwise difficult-to-reach populations, including girls to provide positive role models delivering HIV/AIDS prevention messages (UN, 2005b). Using sport as a tool to empower girls has been gaining recognition and there are many international and national organizations dedicated to girls’ development through sport.

Women Win (n.d.), a leading global organization that uses sport to advance women’s rights noted in its report,

Girls and women are often forced to make choices that harm their development and they often lack the power to make alternative choices in their lives. This includes choices on whether to marry, when to marry, having ‘safe’ sex, refraining from sexual relationships, returning to school after marriage or pregnancy, getting a job, or leaving a violent partner (p.1).

Girls are often confined to the domestic sphere, with few collective spaces to meet peers or receive mentoring support and acquire new skills (Brady, 2005). Despite often being denied access, girls need safe spaces and supportive environments during their development. Safe spaces include places free from trauma, excessive stress, violence and abuse, where they will not fear judgment, will be able to obtain information about reproductive health and diseases, and build self-esteem (Brady, 2005). Safe spaces will provide them with emotional and psychological safety during a critical time in their lives (Brady 2005). Though sport teams can provide this safe
space, the majority of girls in the developing world have limited access to sport and recreation programs. Funding and equipment for sport are often dedicated to boys. Without time in their daily lives for sport, safe spaces to play, and community support for programs, girls will not reap the physical, psychological, emotional, and social benefits that sport has to offer.

Sport has many documented health benefits. Increased physical fitness has a positive impact on childhood health and helps reduce the risk of chronic disease later in life (UN, 2007). Research suggests that increased physical health may also decrease the likelihood of unhealthy practices like drug use, unsafe sex, and prostitution (SDP IWG, 2007). The United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace found that girls, the most at-risk group for contracting HIV/AIDS in Africa, were highly responsive to sports-targeted initiatives because sport provided a safe and supportive environment that encouraged open discussions about HIV/AIDS and sexual behavior (UN, 2007). Brady underscored this important point, noting, “girls who are members of sports teams are less likely to experience non-consensual sex and over 11 times more likely to have used a condom during their last sexual encounter than young women who are not members of sport teams” (Brady, 2011, p.3). The World Health Organization and UN documented the mental health benefits of sport for girls, which include a reduction in problematic levels of stress, anxiety and depression, increase in self-esteem, stronger sense of identity and direction, and improved energy and well-being (World Health Organization, n.d.; UN, 2007). The therapeutic effects of physical activity in sport post-trauma have also been documented (Brady, 2011).

For the majority of children in Hatcliffe Extension, life was transformed overnight when Operation Murambatsvina took all they had. Amnesty International’s (2011) report found that
the community of Hatcliffe Extension still suffers from the effects six years after the fact. Sport is one way of helping alleviate some of the psychological effects of displacement and trauma and loss. As Huffman explained, “the benefits of sport are particularly important for refugee communities. The refugee experience is by definition traumatic and is characterized by persecution, displacement, loss, grief, and forced separation from family, home, and belongings. As the victims of very traumatic experiences, refugees may be one of the most emotionally vulnerable populations” (Huffman, 2011, p.46). Though many families were able to resettle in Hatcliffe Extension, as Amnesty International found, the effect of loss of livelihood and having to start over “condemned most of the affected families at Hatcliffe Extension to a life of destitution” (AI, 2011, p.14). Sport offers a way to cope with these feelings of loss and trauma, in addition to learning life skills, forming friendships, and feeling a sense of achievement.

The development of life skills and values through sport has been well documented. These include teamwork; cooperation; communication; goal-setting; problem-solving; negotiation; fair play; sharing; leadership; discipline; confidence; how to manage competition, winning, and losing; the value of effort and hard work; the pursuit of excellence in performance and other achievement-oriented behaviors; and respect for rules, peers, and authority (UN, 2007; SDP IWG, 2007; Women Win, 2011; European Commission, 2007; Coalter, 2002; Cronin, 2011; Brady, 2011; Huggins & Randell; 2007). Learning skills contributes to individual self-esteem, self-efficacy, and self-empowerment. Though many of these skills and values can be learned in school, sport plays an important role by expanding the opportunity to teach such skills to children who are not able to go to school or only attend on an irregular basis. In this way, sport provides inclusion in the community that might not otherwise be possible. Sport also contributes
to individual personal and professional growth. The European Commission (2007) found, “sport is an instrument of social inclusion that includes job creation and economic growth and revitalization particularly in disadvantaged areas” (p. 2.5).

Sport also provides opportunities for enhanced visibility in the community. When girls are present in the public sphere playing sport, the way they see themselves changes, and the way their families and communities see them changes. (Brady, 2011). Sport encourages a safe and supportive environment for girls, which as the World Health Organization (n.d.) noted, is part of what motivates people to make healthy choices. Sport also encourages the formation of social networks (Donnelly and Coakley, 2002; Coalter, 2002; Brady, 2005). Social networks contribute to social inclusion in the community and play an important role in individual, economic, and community development. At the individual level, social networks offer opportunities for girls to make friends at a time when they are often confined to the domestic sphere, and if not in school, may not have time or opportunity to socialize. Friendships allow girls to feel supported, and so contribute to their mental and emotional health.

At an individual and community level, social networks provide opportunities for economic development. Social networks also provide platforms for advocating for community development and resources. As explained by Coalter (2002), the formation of social networks contributes to overall community health and safety: “increased time spent in sports leads to increased interaction with others which will increase a sense of identity with local community. Increased identity with the community can lead to a greater sense of having a stake in social relations and this in turn can lead to more socially responsible behavior and a reduction in anti-social behavior” (p.24). Although education and sport have the potential to provide positive
changes in the lives of girls, their families, and their communities, particularly in the context of extreme poverty, there are many documented challenges in delivering programs and significant barriers to support for girls’ programming in the developing world.

**Challenges.**

Girls in the developing world face a number of challenges, including reduced access to education, healthcare, food, and information; limited participation in the community and society; and less time for education and recreation than boys get (Plan, 2007). In many countries there are no systems to record their birth, citizenship, or identity (The Girl Effect, n.d). In countries lacking in resources, the burden of care for sick relatives or younger siblings falls on girls and contributes to decreased time spent in school (Levine et al., 2009). Additionally, in Zimbabwe, the national unemployment rates are the highest in the world at 95%, political violence and corruption is rampant, and there is no rule of law or respect for basic human rights. These are all major challenges in delivering programs in education and sport for girls in Hatcliffe Extension.

There are also significant but less visible obstacles that have the potential to prevent sustainable investments in girls’ programs. As Levine et al., (2009) noted, girls are discriminated against physically and mentally, in capacity, in family and household responsibilities, by local and national customs and traditions, and in visibility. Plan’s report on the State of the World’s Girls noted, “girls’ education is still too often seen as an unnecessary luxury in many male dominated societies. Even worse, it may be opposed by men fearful of the effect increased female independence may have on traditional communities” (Plan, 2008b, p.4). In such contexts, women or girls challenging dominant cultural, religious, or gender norms can become targets of
violence or further exclusion. In developing countries where resources and job opportunities are scarce, investments in females may spark jealousies from male counterparts. In a presentation on their work in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and northern Uganda, Susan McKay and Michael Wessells (2011) noted this challenge. They explained that when the boys in a community became jealous of one of the girls’ economic projects involving selling products from goats, the boys poisoned all the goats (McKay and Wessells, 2011). In Zimbabwe, Amnesty International (2011) reported in 2010 some community activists in Hatcliffe Extension had to go into hiding after being threatened by state agents for inviting NGO workers into the community. This finding underscores the importance of caution in implementing development goals and ‘doing no harm’ (Mary Anderson, 1999). In Zimbabwe, it is also important that programs promoting girls education and participation in sport do not reflect any messages that could be viewed as political. Practitioners working for girls’ development must be aware of these less visible challenges that exist in order to avoid causing a backlash against girls and their families.

Sport, too, can be seen as an unnecessary luxury, or culturally inappropriate for girls and women. Levine et al. (2009) explained the three primary factors limiting girls’ engagement in sport in the developing world as “a significant increase in domestic work, heightened parental resistance to girls’ activities outside the home, and an increased discomfort with male-dominated atmospheres” (p.25). Poverty barriers such as lack of appropriate equipment, clothing, or shoes also challenge participation (Huggins & Randell, 2007). Because families and community leadership often dictate or influence girls’ roles in society, including participation in sport, it is vital to understand their perspectives and have their support for such programs (Brady, 2011). The UN recommends seeking parental and community permission for girls’ participation and
enlisting females in the community as coaches, referees and trainers (UN, 2007). Additionally, in some contexts sport may result in competition and conflict, thereby increasing tensions between groups. For international practitioners, potentials for harm can be minimized by creating strong local partnerships and not dictating what programs should look like from a Western perspective. Failure to work within the cultural context of a community and win support from that community may result in backlash and further violence.

It is also important to note that though sport has many benefits, as Keim (2006) explained “on its own sport cannot reverse poverty or prevent crime or violence, solve unemployment, stop corruption, or respect human rights” (SDP IWG, 2007, p.176). A major documented challenge to the use of sport as a tool for development is measuring its impact. Brady (2005; 2011) noted that measuring self-esteem and empowerment has been difficult and ‘robust evaluation and impact data are sparse for girls’ sports programming in the developing world’ (p.36; p.5). The Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group also found that there needs to be more research on gender-based sport for development programs and “though there are strong theoretical reasons to suspect a causal relationship between sport and positive outcomes, the actual process by which sport participation may result in beneficial outcomes are often not understood” (SDP IWG, 2007, p.112).

Despite the potential barriers to investments in girls’ education and sport, human rights such as the right to education and physical education need to be affirmed for all members of society. Having an educated, empowered citizenry can help communities in Zimbabwe move out of extreme poverty and advocate for reform and sustainable growth and development.
Chapter IV: Theoretical Framework

This section introduces the theories of development work, including theories of change, assumptions of how education and sport produce positive change, and Lederach’s (1995) interrelated notion of individual and community empowerment. It examines how these theories attempt to address and lessen the visible and less visible violence, including structural and cultural violence in Hatcliffe Extension.

After reviewing the literature on the benefits of education and sport for girls, I examined the theoretical frameworks of this development work. The theories behind investment in sport and education focus on transforming the attitudes, behaviors, and skills of girls in poverty; breaking down barriers that isolate girls to make them more visible in society; and transforming communities to support investment in girls. Development work also attempts to address the underlying issues that create injustice, an outcome the OECD (2008) classified as a theory of change.

In his discussion of sport and community development, Fred Coalter (2002) described the connections between theories of change and sport, and examined the challenges of thinking through the assumed linkages between intentional use of sport as a tool and intended outcomes of change. As Coalter (2002) explained,

When the key objectives shift from simple output approaches (‘sport for sports sake,’) to concerns with outcomes (social impacts such as increased employability, reductions in anti-social behavior, improved health, etc.), the measurement of sport’s impact becomes
much more difficult. To address such difficulties it is useful to consider the notion of
theories of change (p.22).

Theories of change state what expected (changed) result will follow from a particular set
of actions (USAID, 2010). They describe at each level why one outcome leads to the other and
why one activity will lead to an intended result (USAID, 2010).

Coalter (2002) went on, “the notion of a theory of change relates to questions such as
‘why do we assume participation in sport can have certain impacts on participants and
communities,’ ‘what properties of sports participation lead to such outcomes,’ ‘can we define a
theory of the relationship between participation in sport and a range of outcomes (improved
health, changed attitudes; increased self-esteem)?’ (p.22). Coalter (2002) emphasized that
‘thinking about such assumed links is essential if sport development programs are to claim some
contribution to broader outcomes: improved health; reduced anti-social behavior; greater
community cohesion’ (p.24). I contend based upon evidence throughout the literature that
participation in both education and sport provide individuals with mental and physical health
improvements, increased achievement and higher chance of employment, reduction in anti-social
behavior and increased connection to the community.

The benefits of having educated, empowered girls can relate to benefits or positive
change for communities. Lederach’s (1995) paradox of empowerment is a useful framework for
understanding the interconnectedness of individual and community change. Lederach (1995)
explained, “empowerment of self is intimately wrapped up with empowerment of others through
creating community” (p.21). Lederach (1995) noted that empowering individuals to be active and
full participants in the decisions and environment that affect their lives will nurture

interdependent relationships in the community. Education and sport can provide a way for girls to become empowered, as active participants in the decisions that affect their lives. Some of the research also demonstrated how as a result of their empowerment, women feel a greater connection to their community and they become advocates for improving community conditions and increasing access to resources for the community. This is an example of Lederach’s (1995) notion of how individual empowerment contributes to the growth of others in the community (Lederach, 1995).

One goal of education and sport for development is to tackle some of the structural and cultural violence that exists in society. In Zimbabwe, there are many sources of direct, physical violence, structural violence, and cultural violence (Galtung, 1998). Galtung’s (1998) theories of visible and less visible violence explain the source of violence which affects girls and the aspects of violence that development work seeks to mitigate. Galtung’s (1998) triangle, sliced in half to separate visible from invisible violence, examines the relationships between three points - direct physical violence; structural or institutional violence; and cultural violence, the attitudes that legitimize or support direct or structural violence (Galtung, 1990).

Examples of direct, visible violence present in Zimbabwe include government operations like Murambatsvina, violent land seizures, human rights abuses such as killings, tortures, beatings, and intimidation by police, the army, or political parties. Less visible structural
violence includes the lack of public services, inadequate education and health care systems, unemployment, and government mismanagement and corruption, which have led to the total collapse of the economy. Corrupt rule of law and lack of media freedom are also examples of structural violence. Less visible still is the cultural violence, composed of the attitudes and feelings of mistrust and fear of the government, and hatred and intolerance between political groups, which in turn legitimize the more overt direct and structural violence (Galtung, 1990). Both physical violence and lack of development in Zimbabwe have contributed to the conditions in Hatcliffe Extension.

Galtung’s (1969) ‘structural violence’ explains the context of development issues such as lack of infrastructure, education, and healthcare in Hatcliffe Extension. Structural violence is based on the way in which a given social structure, institution, or system harms a population and prevents them from meeting their basic needs (Galtung, 1969). In Zimbabwe, girls have less access to recreation, education and employment as a consequence of the political violence and the current management of the country. For the entire country, political participation is risky; violence related to party membership has been a constant issue. Elections have not been free and fair for many years and there is severe mistrust between the government and the population. Galtung (1969) noted that addressing the inadequate structures, institutions, and services provides relief from these pressures that contribute to conflict. It is outside the scope of this thesis to address the many government reforms that need to occur to end the structural violence. However, the theory of structural violence provides a framework for understanding issues that afflict the Hatcliffe community and the negative factors that development work seeks to lessen.
Working at the grassroots level by investing in programs of education and sport can modestly tackle some of the structural violence faced by girls. Attitude and behavior changes in girls that contribute to the betterment of themselves, their families, and their community may lead to community support for such programs. A change in the way girls are viewed in the community or increase in community support for girls’ programs may decrease cultural violence. The inclusion of girls in community life is important for reducing cultural and structural violence. However, even if cultural and structural violence for girls in Hatcliffe Extension is reduced through education and sport, there needs to be top-down level reforms to address the widespread direct, structural, and cultural violence in Zimbabwe as well.
Chapter V: Methodology

This chapter describes the methodology of my qualitative study. This thesis serves as a starting point for action research, a “basis for knowledge production and a practical tool for solving problems experienced by people in their community or personal lives” (Hatch, 2002; Stringer, 1999, p.31). It is important for me as the researcher to note that I am invested in development in Hatcliffe Extension and future studies on programs for girls in this community. As Hatch (2002) described, “there is recognition that the values of the researcher have a prominent place in the inquiry and that change is the desired endpoint” (p.31). I plan to return to Zimbabwe and intend to contribute to programs using education and sport as a practical tool for solving development problems and improving the lives of girls. My values and future goals as a researcher and practitioner have directed the focus of my interview questions on sport and development programs for girls in Hatcliffe Extension.

Interviews

Interviews with practitioners were conducted using purposive sampling (Robson, 2002). Interviewees were chosen deliberately, based on their expertise, experience and knowledge as sport for development practitioners and familiarity with sport projects for girls in Hatcliffe Extension. Although I proposed to conduct 10 semi-structured interviews, because of time constraints of interviewees, 8 interviews were conducted. Half of the interviews were conducted with Americans who have worked in Hatcliffe Extension and half were conducted with Zimbabweans who have worked or currently work in Hatcliffe Extension. All practitioners work
with non-profit or community based organizations that are non-governmental. All interviews were conducted in English over Skype, or via email (when access to reliable internet to hold a Skype call was not available). Interviews were recorded when possible and thorough notes were taken during each interview. Most interviews lasted twenty to thirty minutes. Interviews were semi-structured in nature to allow flexibility and to be “open to follow the leads of informants and probe into areas that arise during interview interactions” (Hatch, 2002, p.94). Interviews were chosen as the primary research methodology because they allowed me to connect with practitioners by directly recording their knowledge and experience of working with sport programs for girls in Hatcliffe Extension.

Interviews were semi-structured to allow for a dialogue to take place between myself and the interviewees. The questions asked of participants included,

- What are the benefits of sport programs for girls - particularly in the context of Hatcliffe Extension and Zimbabwe?
- What behavior and attitudinal changes have you personally seen sport programs have on girl participants?
- Why should organizations invest in sport programs for girls?
- Why should the community support such investment?
- In your experience, what types of activities or programs have been successful in effecting change?
- What are the challenges to be aware of when conducting sport and development work with girls in developing countries - in Hatcliffe Extension or Zimbabwe?
- What are your recommendations for overcoming these challenges?
In conducting interviews, I had to be aware of the potential harm my research might have to participants in the study. In order to minimize this potential, I made sure all data associated with interviewees was kept confidential and anonymous. I also did not use names of organizations or individuals in my notes, coding, or analysis.

While semi-structured interviews were useful for this thesis, it was important for me to be aware as a researcher of the disadvantages of using semi-structured interviews as a primary methodology. Robson (2002) outlined the disadvantages of this methodology and explained that interviews are time consuming, lack a standardization which raises concerns about reliability, create the possibility for loss of control by the interviewer, and invoke biases can be difficult to excise.

Coding

After interview notes and transcriptions were compiled, I coded my data using Excel. Coding involves the researcher breaking the text into segments which have bearing on a particular research question, theme, or concept (Cronin, 2011; Robson, 2002). Codes serve as organizing devices that allow the researcher to attach a theme to each segment (Robson, 2002). Following Hatch’s (2002) model of interpretive analysis, I read my data to gain a sense of it as a whole before creating codes or identifying and interpreting segments. After reading the data set as a whole, I created categories to separate the different ideas. These codes served to break the text into segments, such as whole sentences or thoughts, instead of just coding by single words (Robson, 2002). Each of the text segments were separated into two columns in Excel, depending
on whether the segment reflected impact at the individual level or at the family/community level.

Then they were separated further into categories, including

- physical, mental, emotional benefits of sport
- life skills and values
- change in attitude and behavior
- challenging conditions in Hatcliffe Extension
- challenges for SDP organizations working in Zimbabwe
- recommendations for SDP organizations working in Zimbabwe.

I then listed text segments from each interview into these categories and re-read each grouping to look for repeated ideas or common themes. A sample of my Excel sheet is presented in Appendix A. I also sent my advisor, Dr. Hillyer, the Excel sheet consisting of all the anonymous interview text segments separated by categories and my analysis so she could review my findings.

**Triangulation**

Denzin (1988) suggested that triangulation can be done in social research by using multiple sources, methods, or theories. I collected data from different international and national print sources, theories, and interviews with practitioners. Data triangulation is important because, “the use of more than one method of data collection enhances the rigor of research” (Robson, 2002, p.174).

**Data Analysis**
After reviewing all my coded data, I analyzed it to search for common ideas. Coding allowed me to identify the patterns and themes that emerged from the interviews. As Hatch (2002) noted, patterns include similarities, differences, frequencies, sequences, correspondence, and causation. I checked the patterns, asking myself, “are these patterns interrelated?” (Hatch, 2002, p.155) By reading through the data separated by category, I was able to highlight different topics that appeared frequently such as ‘empowerment,’ ‘self-esteem,’ ‘inclusion,’ and ‘health.’ I also looked for themes, statements of meaning that ran through all or most of my pertinent data, like ‘empowerment’ or ‘change’ (Hatch, 2002). Having pulled out all the relationships, I discovered four main conclusions from the data. I selected data excerpts to support each of these conclusions, as Hatch (2002) recommended, and related them to my literature review and theoretical framework.

Limitations as a Researcher

In analyzing my data, I had to bear in mind the warnings for first time researchers and take note of my own limitations as a researcher. Robson (2002) noted that there are deficiencies in humans as analysts, such as first impression biases, where each new input makes such a strong impression that the researcher resists subsequent revisions or rejects findings that do not fit into the researcher’s original impression. Robson (2002) also warned of a limitation suggested by Miles and Humberman (1994) of the ‘researcher effect,’ which consists of both the effect I, as the researcher, have on the case and the effects my involvement with the case may have on me. Because I am personally familiar with conditions in Hatcliffe Extension, have relationships with the girls and local organization, support investments in sport and education programs for the
girls, and plan to return to this community, I am psychologically and emotionally invested in this study. Thinking through the way my experience in Zimbabwe has the potential to shape my biases as a researcher is necessary at each step of the thesis writing process, from researching Zimbabwe’s history to conducting interviews with practitioners, coding and analyzing data, and presenting my findings.

One of the major limitations for this thesis is a deficiency Robson calls ‘information that is unavailable,’ which includes data on Hatcliffe Extension and more importantly, the girls from Hatcliffe Extension (2002). UNICEF noted how difficult it is to gather accurate information for children and families living on the ‘urban margins’ who lack official status and access to services (UNICEF, 2012). Besides the UN and NGO reports after Operation Murambatsvina, the only publicly available research project in the last year that discusses the situation for girls in Hatcliffe Extension is Amnesty International’s report on education. There was also limited information available on other organizations working with girls in Zimbabwe, like the ones featured in Women Win’s empowerment report. Websites I found for these and other small community based organizations using sport for girls’ empowerment in townships near cities like Mutare or Bulawayo were outdated by two to four years and lacked contact information. Subsequent searches did not reveal whether the organizations are still in operation.

Other constraints included time to complete this thesis, which limited the scope of the study; inability to reach Zimbabwean organizations because of unreliable internet or limited contact information on websites; inability to interview additional practitioners working in Zimbabwe, increasing the sample size of interviews; and conducting interviews with the girls from Hatcliffe Extension. By not conducting interviews with the girls, their ‘voice as participants
is lost,” something Huffman (2011) discussed as a major limitation of SDP literature. Recommendations for future research will address some of these limitations.
Chapter VI: Analysis

This chapter reviews the major ideas and themes about sport that emerged from the interviews. These included the hopelessness in Hatcliffe Extension; the power of sport at the individual level; the use of sport as a tool of inclusion; the transferable life skills that result from team sport; and how these ideas result in changes in attitude and behavior for the girls and their families. The main finding, that sport can be a way to strengthen, heal, empower, include, and teach, is connected to Lederach’s paradoxes of empowerment which allow us to see the interrelatedness of individual and community change. This chapter concludes with a review of the major challenges for organizations working with girls in Zimbabwe and recommendations for practitioners that emerged from the interviews.

Findings from the Interviews

The interviews with practitioners revealed important ideas about the intentional use of sport programming for girls. Each interview noted the challenging circumstances of Hatcliffe Extension, a community that has suffered extreme political violence and deepening poverty. In this context, interviewees discussed the benefits of sport, including its ability to heal, empower, and strengthen individuals; to teach important life skills and values; and to include a part of the population normally excluded and subjected to discrimination.

An environment of hopelessness.
“In Zimbabwe, there is an endless cycle of young girls who aren’t in school and aren’t in a sports program. At that point, what is there to look forward to if you are a 12-year-old girl and your role is just household tasks? What sense of hope can result from that? How do you fight the cycle of young girls being involved in selling themselves for money, the spread of HIV/AIDS, the pregnancy and marriage at such a young age? When a girl feels better about herself, when she has self-worth, those things are less likely, and so sport and education together can combat a lot of that cycle” - interview with American practitioner, March 23, 2012

Hatcliffe Extension is a challenging place to grow up, especially for girls. The interviews exposed many of the issues present in the girls’ young lives. Most families lack access to health care, education, and decent housing and there is no electricity or clean water. Girls are discriminated against, treated as second class citizens, lack access to formal education, and in most cases no longer have documentation (birth certificates and passports) recognizing their existence. During the political violence and economic instability, most of the victims of sexual and social abuse were girls. Girls’ sport programs are not recognized and not funded. Many girls get married early because they have nothing else to do in the community. Of the 58 girls in the local organization’s soccer program, some are orphans, some have HIV/AIDS, and others are abused by their relatives. Because of the cycle of poverty, girls see their parents’ lives and cannot imagine their own lives looking any different. These conditions produce an environment of hopelessness. Breaking the cycle of poverty and hopelessness in the girls’ lives requires investments in programs that understand their needs. Sport is how these practitioners combat the sense of hopelessness, by giving the girls a safe place to express themselves, learn, and set and achieve goals. As one practitioner explained, “Showing these young women that they have value
and worth even if it is through a sports outreach will possibly be the only place they will get to experience that feeling” (interview with Zimbabwean practitioner, April 6, 2012).

**The power of sport to strengthen, heal, and empower.**

“Especially for kids who have suffered tremendous loss and trauma, we know that play is an outlet in healing and relief for youth. In Hatcliffe Extension, there is really little reason for them to have the hope and still have the dreams they do. Sport gives them a reason to believe that all things are possible…They probably never thought that they would play on an organized girls soccer team in their community, but they are, and this gives the ability to hope and to heal” – interview with American practitioner, March 23, 2012

For the girls in Hatcliffe Extension who have suffered loss, trauma, and abuse, sport offers psychological and emotional benefits. The literature described sport as one documented way of reducing some of the psychological effects of displacement and trauma. As one interviewee explained, “It’s such a context-specific thing to Zimbabwe, to Hatcliffe Extension, to grow up and think not only do they consider your house trash, but you are trash, you are the trash of Zimbabwe, the lowest.” (interview with American practitioner, March 23, 2012). In describing the benefits of sport, including how programs and teams can provide girls with a safe space to heal, build self-worth, release stress, and grow stronger emotionally, the interviewee highlighted how “sport can combat that specific trash mentality” (American practitioner, March 23, 2012). In running, playing, screaming, and cheering, sport offers an outlet for girls to experience emotions. In dealing with the feelings of fear, anger, and loss they have suffered, girls are undergoing what Lederach (1995) described as a personal transformation. By setting and
accomplishing personal goals in sports, girls gain a sense of physical strength, mental strength, and strength of will. Feeling stronger contributes to a greater sense of self-confidence, self-esteem, and empowerment. The idea of individual empowerment described by Lederach (1995) coincides with the empowerment of others.

**Team sport: transferable life skills.**

“Team sport is really unique because it does take a team. And with a team trying to accomplish a similar goal each member has to be recognized as worthy and worth something. You know you contribute and are valued.” - interview with American practitioner, March 23, 2012

Various life skills and values that girls can learn through intentional sport programming emerged from the interview data. These include discipline, hard work, obedience, respect, fair play, communication skills, trust, coordination, grace, stamina, time management, self-control, patience, confidence, leadership skills, cooperation, teamwork, the ability to deal with adversity and mistakes, and ability to set personal goals and challenges. These skills are not only individually beneficial in terms of personal development and achievement, but are also transferable to the benefit of a team. Through sport, girls come to understand how each person plays an important role on the team and how this role can strengthen the team as a whole. Achieving goals together gives a sense of group achievement. This directly connects to Lederach’s (1995) idea of the interrelatedness of individual empowerment and the empowerment of others. Through interdependent relationships, like those in a sports team, girls can learn a sense of community that otherwise might be lacking in their lives. By empowering girls to be
active participants in their own lives, if only at first on the playing field, sport connects them to their fellow teammates and fosters the team’s empowerment, which mirrors the community empowerment Lederach (1995) described. The life skills and values that girls learn which enable them to achieve and succeed individually and on a team are also transferable to the home and larger community. As one practitioner highlighted, “Sport allows girls to develop skills that they can use in the real world” (interview with Zimbabwean practitioner, April 4, 2012). An anecdotal account of how these skills were transferred to the family was offered by one practitioner:

Girls behaved much more respectful to their family and were much more willing to help out around the house. They [mothers and coaches] attributed that to the girls’ learning teamwork and them taking what they learned through sport and the concepts of the team to the family, beginning to see the family as a team. And for their family to succeed in the community, it was going to take all of them to do it, because no one person achieves success at home, just like no one person can achieve success on the soccer field (interview with Zimbabwean practitioner, March 23, 2012).

As explained to me by both Zimbabwean and American practitioners during the interviews, mothers, families, and coaches attributed positive attitude and behavioral changes, such as being more helpful, punctual, disciplined, and respectful in the home, directly to the girls’ participation in sport, their deference to their coaches’ authority and the rules of the game, and their learning to cooperate with teammates.

**Sport: tool of inclusion.**
The girls’ participation in sport also has the potential to create a powerful effect on the community in terms of changing cultural violence and negative notions of the role and ability of a girl. What emerged from the interviews was the theme of social inclusion through sport, not only in the context of gender inclusion, but also in the context of a marginalized, poor community once considered trash. Sport creates gender equity because it increases the visibility of girls in the community and helps to shift ideas about what girls can and cannot do. The importance of including girls as active participants in community life should not be underestimated. As explained in the literature review, when girls have a greater stake in community relations and become more interconnected, they are more likely to reinvest in the community and become advocates for development. Sport helps girls develop life skills and when they become personally empowered they empower their communities. As one practitioner underscored,

Girls—women—are half the population; half of your culture, that for so long have been left out and have been “less than.” I think it’s important that that part of your community is actually a part of your community; not just there, but able to contribute. That women and girls have a place in the future, have a place in society, and if they are not taught how to do that then they are just going to be bystanders in their communities and in their lives rather than being contributors. When you have strong girls that grow into these strong women, mothers, teachers in the next generation – that’s what stimulates a community to do something different, to be more than it is, otherwise you just have the same status quo, where half of your community has to be supported because they don’t think that they can contribute, no one’s ever told them that they can contribute. If they are given a way to,
they actually will take this sense of leadership and control for their lives to better their community (interview with American practitioner, April 2, 2012).

The notion of inclusion is also important for children who come from a community that has faced extreme marginalization and discrimination. As another practitioner explained,

In the context of Zimbabwe, sport for young girls is so important because it costs very little money, but can bring so much happiness, so much inclusion for people who have felt like outcasts, or trash, or rubbish, who have been the most marginalized community of a poverty stricken place (interview with American practitioner, March 23, 2012).

Inclusion, in all senses, combats structural violence and the supporting attitudes of cultural violence. It also contributes to Lederach’s (1995) systemic transformation, by increasing equality.

**Becoming a role model: examples of changes in attitude and behavior.**

Sport has many powerful benefits. It can be a tool to strengthen, heal, empower, include, offer hope, and teach life skills to the girls in Hatcliffe Extension. Through these benefits, positive attitude and behavior changes can occur. Learning important life skills and values helps girls to make good lifestyle choices. As one practitioner explained,

It’s not just that girls who participate in sport are less likely to get pregnant, or get into drugs, or get into abusive relationships, but it’s the emotional benefits and self-esteem and confidence that goes along with participating in something that’s challenging physically, that creates a sense of accomplishment, it’s the thinking: okay, if I can do this, what else am I capable of? (interview with American practitioner, April 2, 2012)
Sport allows them to envision a future, to set goals for themselves, their families, and their communities. In the context of Hatcliffe Extension, this is important for breaking the cycle of poverty. Participation in sport challenges negative attitudes and feelings about the self. It allows for a sense of pride and a sense of potential—of hope to develop. From every interview there emerged the idea of the girls becoming role models and leaders because of their participation in sport. Practitioners said that feeling empowered and finding a positive connection to the community allows girls to envision themselves as leaders, gives them ambitions of being more, and of imagining a better future for themselves. Also, as one practitioner explained, “they start to take this sense of leadership and control over their lives to better their community” (interview with Zimbabwean practitioner, April 2, 2012). Sport encourages individuals to impact change in their communities. Examples include the prevailing over past hopelessness, the increase in respectfulness that translates to more helpful behavior, and eventually to acting as a role model for other siblings and children in the community.

The families have noticed significant changes in the girls attitudes and behaviors as a result of participating in the local soccer program. Parents indicated a direct correlation between their daughters’ participation in the soccer program and their behavior and attitudes at home. This in turn has led to changes in entire households. As one practitioner described,

I remember how impressed they [the coaches and local staff] were by how many family members showed up to support their daughters, sisters, granddaughters. Apparently it is not common for the family members to attend a sports camp closing event. Most of them have to stay at home to take care of their other children or do chores at home. That to me
spoke volumes as to how they felt about their children being involved in a sports camp.

(interview with American practitioner, April 4, 2012)

Seeing the positive attitude and behavior changes in the girls – helpfulness, punctuality, discipline, and respect – has led parents to be more supportive of sport programs for girls, because “it’s made so many of the families better and stronger” (interview with American practitioner, March 23, 2012). Families now see sport as “a way for their child to represent their community by doing something positive” (Zimbabwean practitioner, March 23, 2012). Similar statements by other practitioners that emerged during the interviews described how parents were proud of their girls, in a context where pride in girls was rare. As another practitioner described it this way,

These girls are changing their parents’ lives and their views. I definitely felt like they [the mothers] were proud of their daughters and maybe in a place where they don’t necessarily have a lot to put their hands on to be proud of, it gives a sense of value to the parents as well (interview with American practitioner, April 2, 2012).

This increase in family support shows one of the positive benefits of the sport program for girls. Some small community behavioral changes can also be seen in Hatcliffe Extension. As one practitioner said, “most of the girls under the age of 15 have early marriages. But now it [participation in sport] has changed the rate of age of marriage…now people start to realize girls’ roles as human beings” (Zimbabwean practitioner, March 20, 2012). This shows one way in which sport is tackling structural, invisible violence in the community. The interviews with practitioners described the many valuable benefits that sport has contributed to girls in Hatcliffe Extension. As another practitioner stated, “these girls are a very valuable generation of future
leaders, mothers, and athletes, with huge potential and the drive to succeed if given the opportunity” (Zimbabwean practitioner, April 6, 2012). The interviews also gave anecdotal evidence of individual, family, and community level attitude and behavioral changes attributed to the girls’ sport program.

**Recommendations for non-local organizations**

A description of some of the inherent challenges non-local organizations face when working in Zimbabwe and some of the recommendations for overcoming these challenges also emerged from the interview data. In the context of the extreme poverty in Hatcliffe Extension, it was noted that organizations should prepare for the poverty level, the living conditions, and some of the cultural norms they must respect when entering the township (interview with Zimbabwean practitioner, April 6, 2012). Organizations have to be careful not to use terminology considered negative and not to make assumptions based on outsider perspectives. In Zimbabwe, it is important to be aware of the political situation, what politics might exist in the community, who is watching the organization’s work, and what outsiders will think the organization is doing. This is necessary because as one practitioner noted, “not everyone may want you there teaching girls how to play sports” (interview with Zimbabwean practitioner, April 6, 2012). For programs to produce long-term change, international organizations should work through a local partner. Having a local partner that has identified the needs of the community and understands the context in which work will be completed in the community is vital. Having a local understanding will help limit the potential for harm or negative backlash from a variety of actors. The non-local organization should work to empower those local leaders in order to help programs be
sustainable. This is because when the non-local organization’s mandates, priorities, or funding changes or they are no longer able to work in a country, the local partners and leaders need to be able to carry on the work. As another practitioner explained, the relationship needs to be one of mutual respect:

It’s about really listening to the community, involving the community, empowering leaders that are trying to change their own community…they are the ones that will sustain the program, they are the ones that know best the politics of the situation…outsiders need to be willing to be in a supportive role, whatever that may be… that no matter how much we’ve studied or prepared or read about, when you are on the ground, it’s not an intervention, it’s not what you think is going to work, it’s not a model that you can impose, it’s very much about listening to the needs of the community, understanding the context, and empowering those who can sustain the program (interview with American practitioner, March 23).

These ideas represent some of the best practices of international development work and are the ways a non-local organization can minimize their potential for causing harm.
Chapter VII: Recommendations and Conclusion

This final chapter offers recommendations for future research, policy and practice recommendations, and summarizes the conclusion.

Future Research Recommendations

An additional holistic and integrated sport and education program implemented jointly by the local and international organizations could build on the themes from this thesis. The education and sport program could include basic math and science courses, a literacy program, skills-building activities, health education including awareness of key issues like malnutrition, teenage pregnancy, and HIV/AIDS, small scale economic projects, and an organized sport program that uses sport to teach and empower. This type of programming would allow girls to build their knowledge and skills, meet new people, create social networks, increase their visibility and assume active roles in their community. During and after the program, the research study could use direct observation, focus groups, interviews, and surveys to measure the program’s impact on the girls, their families, and the community. An in-depth study of this programming and follow-up programs by the local organization in Hatcliffe Extension could help fill the gap in the literature on sport programs for girls from developing countries. Most importantly, the study should include direct interviews with the girls participating in the program. In conducting interviews, I would use the most significant change approach, a participatory process, that asks girls ‘what is the most significant change in your life because of your participation in this program?’ (Davies & Dart, 2005). This approach allows participants flexibility in answering,
letting them explain for themselves what has been different in their lives (Davies & Dart, 2005). Their stories of Operation Murambatsvina and daily life in Hatcliffe Extension, their views on going to school and playing sports, and their future goals should be heard. They can best articulate what school and sport mean to them and how it affects their lives. A longitudinal study could also be used to track the 58 girls in the program, measure changes in their lives, and conduct follow-up interviews with them over a set period of years. Without including their voices in either type of study the research on sport for development and empowerment, especially for girls living in extreme poverty, will continue to be lacking.

Future studies and organizations working in this field need to look at how change is measured, since the lack of monitoring and evaluation is a major criticism aimed at sport for development programs. Studies should also focus on lessening the gap in the research on girls’ programs in the developing world by conducting longitudinal and in-depth case studies. Policy recommendations for the development field include holistic investments “that provide access to safe spaces, schools, and health clinics with programs designed specifically for girls' needs” (Gibbs, 2011). As the research showed and the interviewees explained, “whole communities must be enlisted in helping girls realize their potential. Without community and family support, sustainable investments for girls’ education will not happen” (Gibbs, 2011).

Conclusion

“Investing in adolescent girls is precisely the catalyst poor countries need to break intergenerational poverty and to create a better distribution of income. Investing in them is not only fair; it is a smart economic move.” – Robert B. Zoellick, President, World Bank
Investing in girls during adolescent development is critical. As the World Bank has found, “girls face specific adversities that make them even more vulnerable than women or than boys” (World Bank, 2012). In the developing world, as girls grow up their lives become increasingly restricted to the domestic sphere and they have few social networks and collective spaces in which they can gather to meet with peers, receive mentoring support, or acquire new skills (Brady, 2005). In Hatcliffe Extension, many girls do not have the access or means to go to school. Many suffered from the trauma of Operation Murambatsvina and the election violence in 2008-2009 and now live in extreme poverty. As the literature review showed, education for girls brings returns that improve not only individual lives, but future families, and communities as well. Education can stem many of the irreversible consequences of life in extreme poverty including child marriage and early pregnancy, health complications from pregnancies, and the chances of contracting HIV/AIDs. As both the literature and the interviews showed there are many benefits of intentional sport programs for girls relating to improvements in mental and physical health, self-empowerment, leadership, and community development. Sport also offers an outlet for healing and overcoming loss and trauma. Many girls from Hatcliffe Extension do not have the opportunity, time, or support to participate in sport. Though the local organization that we partnered with runs a soccer program for girls, its program is underfunded and the girls receive less community support than the boys. The directors struggle to prove how the benefits of girls’ sport translate to individual, family, and community growth on a wide scale for Hatcliffe Extension.

As Jones, Harper, and Watson (2010) noted, “there is a growing recognition among international development actors that promoting gender equality and empowerment makes both
economic and development sense” (p.1). Though the investment returns on education are more easily measured and reported than sport, a holistic education that includes both learning in the classroom and on the field is needed for girls from Hatcliffe Extension. Sport is another space for girls from poor communities to develop, learn, and become empowered. When formal schooling is not available due to extreme poverty or exclusion, sport can offer a place for life skills development and empowerment. For developing countries, it has been established that investment in girls would result in productivity gains, improved outcomes for the next generation, more representative decision making, increased educational enrollment, improved life expectancy, and increased labor force participation (World Bank, 2012). The Girl Effect (n.d.) underscored the necessity of investment in girls living in extreme poverty by offering these two scenarios:

She is not invested in, she is illiterate, married off, isolated, pregnant, vulnerable to HIV, she and her family are stuck in a cycle of poverty.

She gets a chance, she stays educated, healthy, and HIV negative, marries who she chooses, and raises a healthy family, she has the opportunity to raise the standard of living for herself and her family.

Investment in education and sport are the means by which the second scenario becomes reality. The assumptions supporting such investment are based upon theories of attitudinal and behavioral change at the grassroots level. Although Zimbabwe faces many diverse issues, promoting individual empowerment is directly related to producing group and community empowerment as Lederach (1995) asserted. Strengthening the means of empowerment for girls
through education and sport programs will result in some positive change at the individual, family, and community level in Hatcliffe Extension.
Appendix A: Coding

These were the categories used to separate text segments in Excel during coding.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical, Emotional, Mental Benefits</th>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Community</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Life Skills &amp; Values</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in Attitude/Behavior</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Challenging Conditions</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Challenges for SDP orgs working in Zimbabwe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Recommendations to SDP orgs working in Zimbabwe</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

There were over 130 different text segments from the interviews. This is a sampling of text segments:

- safe space to heal
- building their self worth
- gives girls an opportunity to express themselves
- makes them stronger so that they don’t feel out of place
- sense of physical strength, mental strength, a strength of will
- coordination, grace, stamina, time management, and communication among your teammates
- learn how each person plays an important role on the team
- all the girls are becoming a role model to the youngsters
- creates this sense of accomplishment
- allows individuals to achieve ambitions of being more
- take this sense of leadership and control for their lives to better their community
- saw it as a way for their child to represent their community by doing something positive.
- promotes gender equality
- girls are discriminated
- culture of hopelessness
- lack of hopefulness
- about listening to the needs of the community, understanding the context, and empowering those who can sustain the program
- don’t lead people to think you have an agenda outside of sport
- marginalized-- especially in education, schools, and facilitates
- local people with whom the team or organization travels with throughout the time in that community.
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