ISS International
Institute of Social Studies

Contesting Marginalisation through Sport in: A Case of Female Youth in Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA) in Mathare Slums, Kenya

A Research Paper presented by:

Cheruiyot Jacklyne Chepkemei

(Kenya)

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTERS OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Specialization:

Women, Gender and Development

(WGD)

Members of the Examining Committee:

Dr. Auma Okwany (Supervisor)

Dr. Erhard Berner (Reader)

The Hague, The Netherlands
December 2012

Inquiries:

Postal address:

Institute of Social Studies
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands

Location:

Kortenaerkade 12
2518 AX The Hague
The Netherlands

Telephone: +31 70 426 0460
Fax: +31 70 426 0799

Contents

Acknowledgements

List of Acronyms

AU	African Union
CBOs	Community Based Organisations
FGDs	Focused Group Discussions
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
HIV/AIDs	Human Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ICC	International Criminal Court
MYSA	Mathare Sports Youth Association
MYTO	Mathare Youth Talented Organisation
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
RYSA	Rumbek Youth Sports Association
UN	United Nations
WB	World Bank
SDP/IWG	Sports for Development / International Working Group
SEYDEL	South East Youth Empowerment League

Abstract

The study is an attempt to make visible the experiences of female youth from Mathare slums and how they are contesting their marginalisation by getting involved in Mathare Sports Association (MYSA) that uses soccer as an entry point to development through its various programs and activities. The findings reveal the difficulties faced by the female youth in slums which cannot be underplayed despite their attempts in the female youth exercising their agency. The research also highlights that the factors explaining their situation is attributed to the interplay of individual biographies with structural forces that need to be addressed. Thus, for female youth empowerment in these locales to be realised, such interlocking factors have to be put into consideration.

Relevance to Development Studies

The study seeks to stoke further interest that surround the subject and practice of female youth involvement in sporting programs in marginalised locales in the scholarly, policy and development arena. Its application though based on the female youth in marginalised locales should attain wider relevance in the developing countries in the context of promoting gender equity and female youth empowerment strategies.

Keywords

Sports, Gender, Female Youth, Mathare Slum, Kenya

Chapter 1:   Introduction

1.1 Research Problem

The current generation of youth, 'the largest in history in the world, is facing a mix of social and economic conditions and demographic trends certain to make their lives dramatically different from those of their parents or grandparents' Fussel et al. (2002:1). The World Development Report, (2007) projects that most developing countries may experience an increase in youth population in the coming years. On the other hand, the WB (World Bank) World Youth Report (2007) indicates that in Sub-Saharan Africa, which is urbanizing faster than other continents, the youth are the fastest growing labour force in the world. Yet a large number of them are unemployed and hence marginalised from the social, economic and political development of their countries. As a result of their marginalisation, the youth have tended to migrate to urban centres as one way in which they attempt to access better education, employment and housing and in other ways try to better their life chances (ibid).

The UN-Habitat (2003b) reports states that Kenya has 12 million youth (18-32 years) and statistics show that most of these youth face a lot of economic, social and political marginalisation in society. For example, 67% of these youth are unemployed. Additionally, the report further illustrate that due to their economic inabilities, once in the cities, the youth tend to live in slums since it provides low cost life as they try to position themselves in the city. Living in these locales, youth are not provided with social amenities such as sanitation services and social institutions. This is despite slums playing a great role in the running of the city

Kenya, one of the developing countries is home to some of the biggest slum in Africa -Kibera and Mathare in Nairobi. These slums are characterised by the same features commonly associated with informal settlements. Sommers (2010) argue that the youth in general make up the highest populations in slums. Yet the circumstances faced by the urban poor female youth on a day to day basis are many. Okwany (Under review: 2) adds that 'slums are unfavourable sites for male and female youth but harsh realities of slum life are more accentuated for females whose identity as females predisposes them to a host of challenges.' For instance, Sommers (2010:317) points out that female youth tend to have low economic options and when other alternatives fail, they may resort to prostitution as the only means of survival. In a study he conducted in a slum in Dar es Salaam he reveals that female youth engaged in transactional sex and sometimes colluded with their poor boyfriends to sleep with other men for money because they couldn't afford to support them on their own (ibid).

Therefore as a result of the above arguments, vulnerability to Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs) and HIV/AIDs infection among the female youth are heightened. In Kenya, a study conducted in Kibera slums by Erulkar et al. (2003) cited in Sommers (2010:328) provides a lens for better understanding the challenges faced by the female youth in these locales. For instance, the study reveals that half of the females studied, had migrated from

other parts of the country accompanied by their families or solely in search of employment in towns either as domestic workers, apprentices or to work in the industrial sectors. In the study, it was also noted by that the threat of sexual violence and rape for female youth was high (ibid).

The above views are in agreement with those of Okwany (Under review:11) who also studied slums and states that 'apart from the above challenges, parents' position of lack of enough money for sustenance and for education for their children often meant parents sacrificed their daughter's education.' Furthermore, she adds that the female youth could also contribute income by working as domestic workers in the nearby estates or by helping take care of their siblings as their parents ventured into various income generating activities. Moreover, the study reveals that female youth in slums are susceptible to sexual harassment from the males in the community as well as in their homes. Another feature affecting the youth, the study revealed is that slums do not have enough housing and the available ones are small to accommodate families and relatives, as a result privacy in these houses is only ensured by a makeshift sheet separating the room. It is therefore such squalid living conditions that heighten female vulnerability.

According to literature in the academia, slum dwellers in an attempt to make a living resort to some survivalist income generating activities like selling local illegal brew (chang'aa). This particular activity predisposes female youth in particular to sexual harassment from male customers. Research conducted in various slums reveals that teenage pregnancies, single motherhood and early marriages are at a high rate (Sommers 2010; Spaaij 2009; Coalter 2010) . In spite of the above, the literature reveals that significant strides have been made on the well-being of the female youth in the area of development (ibid). Nonetheless, Okwany (Under review) states that significant differences in female and male youth experiences in slums particularly in Kenyan slums remain. These differences she posits are traced back home where disparities between male and female domestic workloads are evident. For example female youth engaging in house chores on behalf of their mothers while male youth are exempted.

On the whole, Sommers (2010:323) states that it is clearly evident that female youth will continue to migrate to the cities and never go back to their rural homes due to the stimulating effects and personal development opportunities that cities offer. These views are also supported by Okwany (Under review: 1) who states that however marginalised these locales are, 'female youth are not passive conduits of marginalising forces but active resilient actors exercising agency and thus they are involved in positive socio-economic and political development and social change in addressing their marginalisation.'

To address the different development challenges and marginalisation facing youth in slums some Non- Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have designed intervention programs. One of the interventions, 'sport' has been described as having the potential to address marginalisation of youth. Saaverda (2005) argues that 'sport as an embodied practice has the capacity to free female youth from constraints of discursive, and practical gender inequalities and empower them within their communities, thus contributing to overall social, political and economic development. Mathare Youth Sport Association (MYSA) is one such intervention operating in the slums of Mathare. There is

therefore need to investigate how such programs are addressing the marginalisation of the female youth and their potential in influencing gender relations.

1.2 Framing the Research

According to Bridge (2008:2) 'in November, 2003 the UN Resolution 58/5 was adopted and appealed to governments to use sports as a means to promote human, social, economic and political development. These were based on the belief that sports for development had the potential to address all the eight of the UN's Millennium Development Goals. This has led to a rise in organisations and governments' emphasis on sport to promote education, health, development and peace'. In the same year, (ibid) states that the Magglingen Declaration on the role of sport in development was signed in Switzerland. The outcome being the founding of the International Platform for Sport and Development which brought together representatives from UN, International and national sports federations, NGOs and other sports bodies .

Furthermore Bridge (2008) adds that the first World Conference on Women and Sport was held in Brighton, UK in 1994 leading to the founding of the Brighton Declaration and the founding of the International Working Group on Women and Sport. Correspondingly, in 1995, sport was added in the Beijing+5. The Windhoek Call for Action was founded to promote women issues such as the involvement of women in sport as a vehicle of achieving broader goals in health, education and women's human rights. The Windhoek call was further promoted at the Third World Conference on Women and Sport in Montreal Canada in 2002. This particular conference was about the inclusion of sport within community development projects, information campaigns around health and other issues, and national advocacy campaigns for gender equality and women's rights (ibid).

Regionally, as illustrated in AU (2006) report, the African Union (AU) Assembly of Heads of States and Government adopted the African Youth Charter in Banjul, Gambia, in 2006. The Charter outlines the rights, freedom and responsibilities of youth, as well as duties to be performed by signatory states to advance their rights. The Charter is generally meant to be a legal instrument for youths' development across its members. In addition, the Charter provides a structure for governments, community youth organisations and international organisations.

Kenya as a member of AU enacted the Youth Policy in 2006. The policy acknowledges sports as a vehicle for development to the male and female youth by providing an opportunity to socialise and spend their time productively, strengthening and developing their character, team skills, and peace and understanding among themselves. The Charter also states that the female youth who comprises 52 per cent of the total youth are faced with more challenges that lead to their marginalisation. For instance, sexual activity among female youth the Youth Policy (2006) posits begins early in their life with estimation that over 44 per cent of female youth between the ages of 15-19 years old have had sexual intercourse. This leads to high levels of exposure to Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs) including HIV/AIDs. Low levels of education for female youth intersecting with traditional gender roles constrain

them thus limiting their chances for progression and personal development (ibid: 51).

Research conducted in Mathare in the past by Willis (2000) shows that the state of female youth in Mathare is alarming. Majority of female youth are school drop-outs, teenage mothers, while others practiced prostitution for survival or brew illegal liquor. It's the above conditions that led to the integration of female youth in MYSA as a possible router to their empowerment. Literature indicates notable success for MYSA especially as it pertain working with male youth in the slums' (Coalter 2010:7). However little is known about how the female youth are using MYSA as a platform to contest marginalisation in urban poor locales of Mathare. Saavedra (2005) argues that 'emerging from a particular historical trajectory beginning in the West, the dominant modern practice of sport has largely been hegemonic masculine enterprise'. Within the context of this particular framing of sport as masculine and within the context of the discursive and practical realities of female youth in slums, this research intends to bring to the fore the gendered experiences of female youth as they contest individual and collective marginalisation.

1.3 Relevance and Justification

The existence of international legal and policy frameworks that support female youth involvement in sports, national laws requiring equal access and opportunities for female youth, and an emerging body of evidence establishing the contribution of sports involvement have laid groundwork for experimentation with a variety of female youth sports programs (Brady and Khan 2002). Thus for female youth these provisions represents a historical departure from gender norms that acknowledges sports as a male space and challenges the dominant gender norms about femininity. Correia et al. (2006 cited in Ireri 2010: 14) adds that the goal of gender equality –which is a universal concern will be difficult to achieve if ways in which femininities are defined and acted upon are not altered. Hence this calls for active involvement of female youth in sports programs.

Female youth from poor locales have long been subsumed negatively hence ignoring their active involvement in socio-economic and political development programs that promotes problem driven approaches that underpin their marginalisation. However little is known on how female youth from poor locales are contesting their marginalisation by getting involved in such programs. It therefore becomes imperative to explore the possibilities of sport programs in challenging these norms and material realities of female youth. Interventions that fail to acknowledge these realities may fail to be transformative.

1.4 Organisation of the paper

The paper is organised into five main chapters; the second chapter provides a conceptual and theoretical framework that serves as a lens in analysing the lived experiences of the female youth in slums, MYSA, and their families. Chapter 3 and 4 provide an analysis of the research findings; with chapter 3 highlighting the overview of MYSA activities and programmes and its

empowerment of the female youth and community. While chapter 4 provides analysis of the key factors that leads to female youth marginalisation in slums and how they are contesting it by getting involved in MYSA programmes and activities. Similarly it looks at various ways MYSA is helping to empower the female youth. The concluding chapter 5 provides an overview of the study findings and their implications on marginalised female youth.

Chapter 2:   Research Questions Methodology and Methods

Introduction

Based on my own experience working in one of the youth organisation in Mathare slums, I had seen the enthusiastic devotion of the female youth involvement in the various programs and activities offered by youth based organisations in Mathare, I was motivated to question why irrespective of the availability of these initiatives, the female youth continued to be at the periphery of development. I was also inspired by the academic literature on sports and gender which largely paints an optimistic picture of the power of sports to be used as platform for development among the female youth in marginalised locales. Thus to answer the following question I had to come up with the following questions,

Main questions

How do sports act as a catalyst for economic and social transformation with a special focus on gender relations?

How do sports contribute to social transformation within community?

Sub-questions

   a) How does involvement of female youth in MYSA improve the girls' confidence and capabilities?

   b) How do female MYSA members become involved in struggles for slum improvement?

   c) How are female youth resisting the dominant notions of soccer as a male space?

   d) In what ways is involvement in sports providing an alternative space for contesting political, social and economic marginalisation of the female youth

2.1 Research Objectives

The study seeks to explore how MYSA is using sports to transform the dominant gender norms that privilege men and masculinities. The research also intends to investigate the potential for this intervention to address other social and economic marginalisation to address other social and economic marginalisation of female youth in slums. Therefore this study will add to existing discourses on sports and development as well as provide recommendation on what works for the marginalised female youth to developers.

2.2 Research Site

The study was conducted in Mathare 4A in Mathare slums which fall in both Starehe and Kasarani constituency in Nairobi Province. According to Coalter,

(2010:1379) Mathare slums is located 5Km North East of Nairobi's City Centre. It is believed to be one of the oldest and largest slums in Nairobi. The slum is divided into different villages, Mathare 4A, Mathare North Area 1, 2 and 3. Before the 1950s, it was dominated by Asians who used it as a quarry. In the late 1950s.Furthermore, Coalter (2010) states that the area was later taken over by the Mau Mau freedom fighters that used the place to hide weapons and to conduct oaths. The population is estimated to be 500,000 living in an area of 2km by 300 metres. The houses are made of rusted iron sheets. In addition, it lacks water, is surrounded with open sewers, lacks infrastructure with access only by use of paths separated by continuous rows of houses that double up as waste water collectors and mountains of rotting waste (ibid).

The lack of good housing structures and the basic amenities is attributed to area's lack of legal status. Mathare arose from encroachment on government land and therefore house owners are reluctant to invest in permanent structures that are likely to be demolished anytime (Erulkar and Matheka, 2007). The major ethnic groups, Kikuyu and Luo overshadow other ethnic groups like Kisii, Kamba, and Luhya. The Luo and Kikuyus are generally clustered together in certain areas.

Mathare slums face neglect from the government leading to marginalisation of its resident's. Furthermore the residents live under deplorable conditions with lack of the most basic needs and social amenities such as lack of clean water supply, improved sanitation, housing, health services and lack of solid waste management (Erulkar and Matheka, 2007).

2.3 Sampling methods

The research was based on purposive sampling which involved selecting a group of participants such as the female youth in the program, those who were in the program but dropped out, male youth, parents of those in the program, community leaders, and a staff member. The key respondents (female and male youth in the program and the drop-out girls) were selected on basis of their age (16-26 years) and those married or single with children and still were engaged in MYSA. Apart from purposive sampling, a snow ball sampling was utilised with the identification of one respondent who studied at Mathare Youth Talented Organisation (MYTO) who led the researcher to the next participant who had similar characteristics.

A total of 34 participants were finally chosen consisting of 8 female youth in the program, 8 who had dropped out, 8 male youth, 6 parents, 4 community leaders and 1 staff member. The sample chosen was below the target the researcher had intended to interview. This is attributed to the fact that the majority of the participants particularly the female and male youth were at school while some joined their teams for training in the different fields. The fewer number of parents is largely attributed to their busy schedules.

2.4 Sources of Data and Methods

In-depth Interviews

The study employed in-depth interviews as one of the main research techniques. The advantage of using in-depth interviews is the probability of finding unexpected data as O'Leary (2010) says. Therefore 3 in-depth interviews were conducted with 8 female youth in the program who comprised the married and unmarried, 1 staff member, and 6 females who had dropped out. The interviews were conducted in one of Mathare Youth Talented Organisation (MYTO) Junior academy classroom which is used as a church on Sunday. The exception was the interview with a staff member which was held in the library. The length of the interviews ranged within 20-30 minutes.

Focused Group Discussions (FGDs)

The venue too of the FGDs was at MYTO Junior Academy. 5 separate FGDs were conducted comprising of the community leaders, parents, the male youth, female youth in the programme and the drop outs who were selected for the confirmation of accuracy of the information given by female youth in the program.

Secondary Data

In addition the research used extensive literature written on MYSA and other related organisations to complement the data collected. Such as, journals. Articles from the website and books.

2.5 Getting the data and analysis

The method used in the research is qualitative case study research that made use of primary data (FGDs and in- depth interviews) and secondary data. Data was analysed using Harding (2005) feminist stand point theories that argue for the 'starting off thought', which means analysing data starting from the lives and experiences of the marginalised female youth in slums. Taking the standpoint of the marginalised as a starting point as Harding proposes leads to a less partial and less distorted accounts not only of the female youth but also of the male youth lives and of the whole of social order.' Whilst by use of this analysis she 'acknowledges that it does not provide foundations for knowledge in the conventional philosophical sense, it still serves as the grounds from which scientific questions arise (ibid). The narratives were mostly unstructured, even though I had standardised questions designed to prompt them to narrate their experiences as well as define the boundaries of the research. For some of the participants such as the female youth in the program, female youth drop-outs, male youth and staff member, I collected data through in-depth interviews. In the process of interviewing, their narratives went beyond the research questions and the participants used them as a chance to express and clarify themselves. Additionally the generation of the themes resulted from their constant interactions. Participant's impressions during the interviews were captured through photographs and some written down with their consent. Later the data was categorised and transcribed into the emerging themes as I analysed them. Moreover pseudo names were used in the analysis to maintain the privacy of the participants.

2.6 Challenges and Ethical Dilemmas

Having worked in Mathare slums previously, I had a prior experience of the slum space as well as the preconceived notions of life in the slums and was therefore aware of the biases this could introduce to the research. Slums have also been imagined through a poverty and squalor 'motif' with the representations denying the inhabitants any agency. Venturing into Mathare as an emblem of squalor, marginality and 'otherness' through research, was therefore entering and positioning myself centrally within this metanarrative. This therefore called for reflexivity on my part. I also ensured I informed them about what the research was all about and that their identity would be held anonymous unless they preferred otherwise. I also took pictures and recorded some of the in-depth interviews with their consent

The political context of the research was also important in my research. Being a student at the ISS at The Hague where the International Criminal Tribunal (ICC) is located, some participants displayed mixed reactions the moment I introduced myself. The ICC is trying the 4 Kenyans accused of masterminding the 2007/08 post-election violence that occurred in Kenya. Mathare slum is cited widely as one of the hot spots and this might have created anxieties on my respondents. While interviewing the parents for instance, one was quick to ask if my research was related to ICC cases. One of the female parents became excited and started to open up. I took charge of the situation and I explained what the research was all about and making sure they were convinced by showing them my particulars including my school identity card.

Generational issues played out as I engaged the parents. Some of the parents were older than me and at some point I could sense their discomfort, it looked like it wasn't ethical culturally to ask some of the questions. For instance, asking questions about the challenges faced by living in small houses with their families and the accusations of sexual harassment of their daughters who were MYSA members. Due to these reactions, I made them comfortable by giving them an option of not answering questions that they felt uncomfortable to respond to.

The question on sexual harassment drew a heated debate from one of the parent who was trying to convincingly deny the allegations. Additionally getting the full number of parents that I had intended to interview was a challenge. Most parents were not available since some worked in their businesses or at the industrial area or nearby estates. I therefore had to reschedule meetings to at least fit their appropriate timings. For instance, Sundays was the most favoured day since most of them were at home.

The male youth wanted to know how the research was going to assist them. One of them was complaining that they had been taken advantage of before by some people who had promised them education scholarship and never returned. I had to convince them I was a student and that I didn't have any power to help in any way directly in terms of finances except that the research was going to be of help to MYSA and other organisations interested in running sports for development programmes among the marginalised. Due to the vulnerability of the slum residents, it was reported some 'outsiders' have tended to take advantage of their vulnerabilities to benefit themselves.

The venue of the interview was a classroom cum church that was made of iron sheets and during the time of the interview the temperatures were high and the sheets could not shelter us from the excess heat. As a result of the above conditions small children that had be brought to the interview by the female youth who were also mothers became restless and thus I had to suspend the interview to another time

Chapter 3:   Conceptual Framework

Introduction

This chapter will be looking at the relevant theories and concepts that will serve as a lens from which experiences of female youth in slums can be viewed and analysed in chapter 3 and 4. These theories and concepts are gender and power relations, urgency, youth, urban poverty and sports for development.

3.1 Gender and power relations in sports

The contradictions arising from women's increasing influence in the society, and the influential positions men seem to hold have drawn feminists to look at gender and power relations in a deeper manner (Hall 1996). Due to the above it follows that the relationships existing between women and men can only be understood by looking into the power relations involved. These relationships have been identified by Scott (1988) as constitutive of social relationships grounded on perceived differences between sexes based and premised on social relations of power. Thus, she states that power plays a great role in interpreting and challenging gender relations and calls for a critical analysis to understand these relations. Agarwal (1997) further adds that the interactions between women and men entail both material and ideological dimensions that are constitutive in nature and often power tend to favour men in most patriarchal societies.

Agarwal on the hand states that the above material and discursive dimensions are visible both socially in the allocation of roles, responsibilities and resources and in ideas and representations ascribing to women and men different abilities, attitudes, desires and personalities (ibid). According to Harding (1986), at the ideological level, feminised private spaces are associated with the home perceived as an arena for personal relations while on the hand the masculinised public sphere is associated with impersonal relations. The concept gender therefore is a social construction that varies depending on the context and that it has the capacity to be reconstructed. Hence, gender like other relations are bound to evolve with time shaping the nature of relationships between male and female in private and public space. For instance, the gender division of labour in reproductive work and gender norms on sexuality have become accepted in many societies as natural.

According to Brady and Khan (2002) in their research they argue that the use of sports for development has the potential to transform these gender norms in urban slums. Therefore in this study I will adopt the social construction of gender to understand and analyse the gendered experiences of female youth in marginalised settings and in organisations that seek to use sports programmes particularly soccer which is a 'male' sport for development

3.2 Youth

The terms youth and young people are often used interchangeably in every day discussions. However, there has been a persistent challenge facing people who

work with youth in defining who they really are. According to Harrera (2006: 425) as a generational group, youth 'situated between childhood and adulthood has long existed as a social and cultural category and has been subject to UN declarations strategies and proposals for actions since the mid- 1960s.' Similarly, Jones (2009:87) posits that youth changes and advances depending on the trajectories of experience over a life course making it distinct from previous generations. Moreover in African contexts, cultural practices of rites of passage into manhood- womanhood have traditionally existed to mark transitions. Youth are therefore seen in 'transition'-transitioning into adulthood (Wyn and White 1997). The above definitions shows that there is no particular clear conceptualisation of who a youth is but rather a number of different discourses that are contradictory and seem to have their origins in different historical context (Ansell, 2005).

However the above arguments have attracted critics who state that youth is a gendered construct. For instance, De Waal (2002) argues that when youth is analysed from a political perspective the term 'youth' is not gender neutral while McRobbie (2000) adds that youth as a gendered construct is historically determined and that changing structural conditions such as socio-economic changes interferes with the experiences of the period between childhood and adulthood. Thus, different generation experience youth differently. From the arguments put forward in the above definitions, I conclude that the definition of youth is fluid and arbitrarily defined. However the implication of defining this phase in one way or another is vital for programme development. Thus in this study I will focus specifically on youth as a gendered construct.

3.3 Agency and Empowerment

Kabeer (1999: 438) points out that 'agency is a process of empowerment, during which women gain material and intangible resources such as the ability to define one's goal and act upon them.' She further adds bargaining and negotiation as one of the forms of agency that a woman can exercise to resist power in the form of patriarchal structures, on her way to empowerment. Additionally she also sees agency as a cognitive moment when a subject shifts to a different level of reality (presumably enlightened) level of reality or 'doxa' (Bourdieu 1977 cited in Kabeer, 1999) in which the subject decides to resist power terming it as 'power to' and not 'power over'. In this case, Kabeer acknowledges the role of structures in shaping the resources that a subject needs in order to be empowered as well as the choices that the subject makes. These choices will be qualified depending on the availability of alternative choices, how 'strategic' they are and the extent to which they reproduce or challenge social inequalities. Thus, Kabeer sees agency and empowerment as inseparable. However Mahmood (2004) differs with Kabeer's conception of agency and notes that some subjects desires submission to divine or patriarchal authority. That is, they choose to express and reproduce social inequalities. Thus agency is a crucial concept that will provide an analytical framework to understanding the actions taken by female youth to subvert, conform or negotiate their marginalisation in slums, households, community and the sport organisation. Empowerment on the other hand will help to understand whether MYSA activities are indeed leading to empowerment of the female youth.

3.4 Urban Poverty and Slums

According to Wratten (1995), states that it is rare for conceptualisation of urban poverty and the means of identifying the poor made explicit or its distinct conceptual category challenged. Moreover, he argues that poverty is mostly associated with a lack or deficiency of needs for human survival and welfare. Although the above argument may be tenable a contention arises about what basic human needs are and how they can be identified (ibid). Conversely, Moser et al. (1995: iii) adds that while the dimensions are many, there is a subset of characteristics that are more pronounced for the poor in urban areas which emphasise the vulnerability and risks, such as;

'Commoditisation: one set of risks faced by urban dwellers arises from their integration into cash economy. Urban households most often are obliged to pay for their food and shelter (rather than rely on their production), and may be more dependent upon purchasing services such as transportation and education. Employment is frequently unavailable, insufficient or insecure. Shelter is frequently illegal and insecure,

Environmental hazard: the poor are disproportionately affected by urban environmental problems. Special characteristics of low-income communities include: a) inadequate access to environmental services (water, sanitation, drainage, solid waste management); b) poor quality housing; c) overcrowding; d) settlement on marginal or degraded land. These factors increase health risks to the poor, with corresponding economic costs for health care and lost or lowered productivity,

Social fragmentation: The vulnerability of urban dwellers may also be high because of community and inter-household mechanisms for social security are less likely to operate in urban areas. Urban areas are often characterised by higher levels of violence, alcohol and drug abuse. '

Therefore in this study poverty will be conceptualised according to the above characteristics which states that urban poverty is the inability of the slums to get proper sanitation, lack of proper housing and overcrowding, insufficient water for domestic use, none or few public institutions such as schools, and health facilities, unemployment, crimes ridden and lack of security that exacerbates female youth vulnerability.

3.5 Sports for Development

Sports

Sport covers a variety of meanings. The SPD/IWG Right to play defines sport as all forms of physical fitness, mental well-being and social interaction, such as play, recreation, organised or competitive sport and indigenous sport and games. Besides, the European Sports Charter (2001:1) states that 'sports means all forms of physical activity which through casual or organised participation, aims at expressing or improving physical fitness and mental well-being and forming relationships , obtaining results in competition at all levels.' Similarly Levermore (2008: 184) sees sport in its broadest sense as including physical education as well as the more recognisable competitive

development and has long been used by states and NGOs in attempts to foster development particularly in unifying desperate groups of people.

Development

The 'ambiguity and multiplicity around the conception of development presents one of the most crucial initial challenges for understanding and theorising the sports for development field' (Hartmann et al. 2011:1). For example, he argues that there are two approaches of conceptualising development in sport; 'the dominant vision in which sport is seen as a function to maintain and reproduce established social relation and the interventionist approach which is intended to contribute to significant changes and transformation for the disempowered, marginalised young people' (ibid).

Sports for development

Hartmann et al. (2011:185) states that 'since the UNs 2003 adoption of Resolution 58/5, sport has been a prominent and increasingly powerful mechanism for development in the international community. By the year 2011, for instance, 295 organisations worldwide had officially registered with International Platform on Sport for Development.' However, Coalter (2008) points out that while the international community is marketing the use of sport as an effective developmental tool, there remains a lot to be done to conceptualise organisations and structure the whole sport for development field. According to Kidd (2008) cited in Coalter (2010:298), he suggests three overlapping frameworks for conceptualising sports for development. These are; 'the traditional sports development in which basic sports coaching equipment and infrastructure are of significant, humanitarian assistance in which fund-raising is used to provide forms of aid assistance and a sport for development and peace movement which is composed of multiple organisations and loose coalitions.' In contrast, Levermore (2008) cited in Coalter (2010: 298) proposes a different conceptualisation which he states it should be based on the desired outcomes of sport for development organisations such as conflict resolution and intercultural understanding, building physical, social and community infrastructure, awareness raising, empowerment, economic development and poverty alleviation. On the whole, therefore he suggests that classification be based on the relative emphasis given to sport to achieve certain objectives. Such as traditional forms of provision for sport with the assumption that such sport has development properties for participants, *sport plus* in which sports are adapted and often incorporated with parallel programmes in order to maximize their potential to achieve developmental objectives and *plus sport* in which sports popularity is used as a type of 'fly paper' to attract young people to programmes of education, and training with the systematic development of sport rarely a strategic aim. Whilst the above categorisation of *sport plus* and *plus sport* programmes appear differently, they tend to overlap each other. This framework of sports for development will be used in analysing the activities of MYSA and the extent to which it brings transformation.

Chapter 4:   Soccer as an Entry Point for Transformation in Slum: Perspectives on MYSA

Introduction

The following chapter seek to highlight an overview of MYSA, what it has been doing for the community of Mathare in terms of its programs and activities. It also brings in other examples of organisations that use the same approach as MYSA to reach out to youth in marginalised locales. The data is obtained from various published reports on MYSA and MYSA website.

4.1 Bringing transformation in slum: perspectives on MYSA

The last two decades has seen concerted efforts to remobilise sports as a vehicle for broad sustainable social development especially in the most disadvantaged and marginalised communities in the world such as Mathare slums. Thus it is behind this backdrop that MYSA as an NGO was founded in 1987 by a Canadian expatriate Bob Munro. His initial aim was to organise a small-help organisation for the youth of Mathare to have some sport outlet while making headway against the garbage and filth endemic to the slums.

Willis (2000:827) posits that 'MYSA presents an intriguing view of the relationship between sport and grassroots development in Africa. This important initiative embraces in its motto the goal of 'giving youth a sporting chance.' From its establishment, MYSA has grown into one of the largest grassroots organisations in Kenya and continues to expand. According to Brady and Khan (2002:7) 'MYSA began its programs mainly focusing on male youth who were playing football out of recycled plastic bags around the garbage filled slums. The reason for focusing on male youth was due to the perception that male youth found outside their homes unlike females would end up being delinquents if their talents were not tapped (Willis 2000). Furthermore there was a belief that youth in Mathare were glue-sniffing, used and abused drugs and their lives were destined to prison, death from HIV/AIDs, if not life on the street (ibid). However MYSA soon developed into a much more complex and ambitious *sport plus* project whose ultimate ambition is to enhance citizenship rights of the youth in slums. In this regard, soccer is being used as an entry point to comprehensive, interdependent programs in which all elements are mutually reinforcing each other.

According to Brady and Khan (2002), from its earliest days, environmental clean-up and environmental awareness were linked to MYSA's football and youth development programs. Five years after its inception, MYSA introduced organized soccer leagues for female youth and in the same year during the Earth Summit in Brazil, MYSA received the United Nations Environment Programme's Global 500 Award for environmental innovation and achievement' (ibid). Part of MYSA's philosophy is helping its members develop life skills on and off the playing fields. Over the years MYSA has

increased the scope of its programs as well as the numbers of the youth it serves.

4.2 MYSA and a focus of female youth

 MYSA management got the idea of integrating female youth when they saw other female youth playing soccer at the annual Norway Youth Tournament. Thus MYSA formulated its programs on the basis of female youth needs with a goal of empowering them. However the integration of the female youth team encountered challenges. This is attributed to the prevailing traditional attitudes and beliefs about gender roles in slums that tend to curtail female youth access to public spaces and more so the use of sports (soccer) which is believed to be a male space (MYSA 2012).

Brady and Khan (2002:1) states that while 'in a number of countries 'public spaces' are not legally defined, they are designated places where citizens can go for recreation, education, entertainment, and to participate in political life. Furthermore the kinds of public spaces that are seen legitimate avenues for females are markets and health clinics which ironically are spaces that enable female youth accomplish their domestic and reproductive roles. Whilst these public spaces may have been intended for the public, all too often female youth are too intimidated to use them for fear of physical or psychological harm by men and/or authorities. Thus, public spaces become a 'de facto' men's space.' To circumvent these challenges, MYSA management visited the families of the female youth to endear the parents into allowing their daughters to join the program (ibid). The discourse of the need to participate was framed within the context of what the male youth participation in the program had achieved. For instance, during the previous year, the male youth team had participated in a youth tournament in Norway (MYSA 2012). With time the involvement of female youth in slums increased.

 Given the objective of reducing female youth pregnancies, MYSA programs and activities such as the educational program have largely decreased cases of pregnancies (ibid). While the above arguments may be true, on the whole Coakley (2011a) states that 'empirical evidence of such outcomes is limited. Similarly, Coalter (2010:48) states that 'sports does not automatically engender the many social outcomes that are often associated with it, and that any decontextualized, romanticised and communitarian generalisation about the value of sport for development calls for wariness and scrutiny.' This is because; 'the prevailing accounts rarely use interpretive, reflexive and longitudinal methodologies to enable us to appreciate the material and non-material impact of these initiatives across time and space' (Shehu 2010: 146).

Furthermore giving female youth a voice can also be a great benefit to MYSA. MYSA's has a policy of hiring participants for open positions, which reinforces a positive cycle of empowerment that builds over generations. 'A female youth who gain skills and confidence goes to play a leading role in the organisation itself is not only a role model, but a source of direct insight into the needs of other female youth' (MYSA, 2012). In addition Saavedra (2005) emphasises 'the special importance of female role models as peers educators in sport-for–development organisations, most of which seek to confront

traditional, exploitative and often abusive social relations.' However, Nicholls (2008) argues that the necessary support for peer educators is not always available in the resource poor and donor driven world of development through sport.'

4.3 Sport for development: MYSA activities and programs

From the lens of sport for development, it is important to understand that MYSA does not depend on simple view of 'sports participation' to maximize the possibility of achieving the desired outcomes. Instead over the years MYSA has crafted programs and activities based on the needs of the youth and Mathare residents. According to the MYSA (2012), it offers several programs and activities: 'MYSA has about 400 annual leadership awards. Although 'schooling in Kenya is 'free' many schools require pupils to wear uniforms (prohibitive for those living in poverty) and in the post-primary schools, fees are required. The awards are paid to the school of the winners' choice and are to pay for tuition, books and uniforms. Points towards these awards are also linked to volunteer, peer –leadership and coaching work' (Coalter 2010: 1380). Additionally, MYSA provides libraries and study rooms to compensate for the lack of study spaces in slums for all the students members and non-members of MYSA programs and activities (ibid).

MYSA acknowledges the need to keep the environment clean and hence promote a healthy environment for all which subsequently leads to prevention of diseases that are caused by dirty environments such as diarrhoea and typhoid. MYSA members therefore do slum clean-up with the help of Nairobi City Council. Instead of having to pay fees to play soccer which the youth could not afford, the clean-up would earn the team 6 points (equivalent to 2 wins) in the league standings Willis (2000). 'Although this is a noble endeavour and has the potential to bring an impact, it has been argued that within the context of overwhelming environmental problems in Mathare slums, this approach is not very successful and there are suggestions that the program should encourage collective responsibility to the community' (ibid).

Another Program that MYSA has is the Jailed Kid project, an outreach whose approach is feeding of children in remand homes as well as securing their release and reuniting them with their families. This as Willis (2000: 839) states 'aims to improve the conditions of the juvenile courts as MYSA's commitment to foster social justice and civil responsibility. The Shootback project promotes the development of skills in photography and videography with a vision of members documenting their everyday lives as well as Mathare slums. Using simple point -and –shoot cameras, the youths are instructed in the basics of photography and allowed to capture significant aspects of the community environment and their own lives on film. The project is believed to provide vocational possibility for those trained in the program.

Similarly it runs a leadership academy whose membership is largely through the sports program. It is composed of soccer leagues for both female and male youth. It provides training for MYSA coaches and referees. Annually MYSA also arranges international travel for selected female and male youth to participate in the Norway Youth Cup, the World's youth football tournament.

From the outset, MYSA has believed in youth self-empowerment. It claims to be an organisation of youth run by youth and designed for youth. The principle of youth ownership is particularly pronounced and reflects favourably in its attempt to address the HIV/AIDs scourge. The HIV/AIDS prevention and awareness project promotes awareness of HIV/AIDs and other social and health problems through peer trainings Willis (2000).

Furthermore, to tackle the scourge of HIV/AIDs, MYSA has Voluntary Counselling Centres (VCTs) which serve the youth as well as the community (MYSA 2012). The youth are trained as peer educators and are also involved in community awareness campaigns. The use of peer educators according to Coalter (2010: 1380) is based on sound educational and learning theory which argues that 'because young people's attitudes are highly influenced by their peers values and attitudes, peer educators are less likely to be viewed as 'preaching' authority figures and more likely to be regarded as people who know the experiences and concerns of the youth. Additionally, they add to the program sustainability and a cost reducing action to aid agencies'.

MYSA influence abroad

The success of MYSA in Mathare slums according to its website has seen the replication of these programmes in other parts of the developing world. For instance, Southern Sudan we have the Rumbek Youth Sports Association (RYSA) an area torn apart by civil war. The program started in 2004 with support with from donors. RYSA's mission is to empower young people to use sport to secure peace and development in their communities. The range of activities is extensive, from involvement in football leagues, to environmental clean-up days; peace keeping initiatives, HIV/AIDs and drug awareness seminars and training. Mentoring by role models including female youth is promoted. Similarly, in Botswana, MYSA helped establish the South East Youth Empowerment League (SEYDEL) that uses soccer as an arena to reach youth to respond to threats of HIV/AIDs and other socio-economic issues in the communities. SEDYEL has therefore taken the concept of sport for development to reach out to issues of gender inequality, health education initiatives and facilitate life skills development (MYSA 2012).

Conclusion

The aim of the above chapter was to provide an overview of MYSA, its programs and activities. MYSA has indeed enhanced empowerment of the youth and its community through its programs and activities. However, 'MYSA's environmental clean-up effort may well be a salient metaphor for its whole initiative within Mathare. The scale of the challenge is enormous. The organisation's collection effort makes little impression on the mountains of garbage of those in slums. Thus, its efforts are only effective 'around the edges' (Willis 2000: 849). Similarly, MYSA, programs only have limited effect on the overwhelming challenges of Mathare slums which requires societal restructuring rather than peripheral solutions. Additionally, Willis (2000) state that the basic problems that produce and sustain Mathare are scarcely being addressed. However, it would not be fair to expect MYSA to deal with them. The next chapter engages the voices of female youth and community in finding out the effects of the program in social and economic transformation.

Chapter 5: Economic and Social Transformation through Sports: Voices of Female Youth and Community

Introduction

The following chapter will present the perspectives of the female youth, their parents and community on the perceived benefits of involving female youth in MYSA. It will also present views about how MYSA participated in transforming the community. The chapter also highlights the various constraints the female youth face in slums leading to their marginalisation and how they are contesting it through involvement in MYSA activities and programs. The chapter looks at how sports can be used as a mechanism of transforming gender norms. The findings are based on interviews with the female youth in the program triangulated with those of male youth in the program, female drop-outs, parents, community leaders and a staff member.

5.1 Mathare slums and the interlocking system of marginalisation: A view from the community

Mathare slum like any other slum world is faced with lots of constraints as it struggles to contain its inhabitants. The community leaders interviewed felt that life in Mathare was a daily struggle and they had to contend with it. Poverty levels are high caused by lack of employment or better paying jobs. The majority of parents engage in survivalist income generating activities in the informal sector as watchmen/women, vegetable vendors, Jua Kali artisans, and second hand clothes dealers. These jobs enable the slum dwellers just to 'get by' (Honwana 2012) and do not fetch enough money to feed, clothe, pay rent and take them to school. Tripp, (1997) cited in Sommers (2010: 322) similarly states that 'the informal economy also called the black market, the hidden sector, the underground, fraudulent, peripheral, shadow and creeping economic markets constitutes a denial of fundamentally economic realities.' Given this context, female youth are highly disadvantaged because they have to stay at home to assist in household chores as parents attend to income generating activities or look for jobs as house helps in the nearby estates. This scenario is triangulated by a research done by Okwany (Under review: 11) who did a research in the slums of Kibera and asserted that 'the burdened femininity that is a dominant feature in female youth lives in the form of the skewed gender division of labour intertwines with parents insecure livelihood to modify childhood for many female youth who are thrust early into adulthood.

Coupled with the above problems, living spaces in slums are small leading to congestion and lack of privacy and thus heightening female youth's vulnerability to sexual abuse and exploitation from the male relatives (ibid). Indeed cases of rape by male relatives have been widely reported in slums as data reveals. Ann is now 17 years old, she and her other siblings are forced to

share a room with her parents which are only separated by makeshift curtain for privacy. This exposes her to a myriad vulnerabilities and she reports her distant relative attempted to rape her.

HIV/AIDS and its ravages within the slums

One of the programs MYSA is engaged with is creating awareness on HIV/AIDS among the female youth who are believed to be the most affected. The data from participants interviewed agreed to the fact that HIV/AIDS in Mathare was rampant and that it was mainly among young people. *One problem in these slums is that people and especially the youth are sick sick... (*Emphasizing*) of the 'disease (HIV/AIDs).* These assumptions are supported by facts from Greif et al, (2009) who states that, one in every five people in Mathare is thought to be HIV positive with notable high rates in female youths. Female youth ranging from age 15-24 are four times more likely to be infected. Similarly, Okwany (under riew:10) reveals that 'poverty in slums coupled with the ideology of men as breadwinner increases females dependency on males and makes them less able to control their own sexuality, consent to sex, recognize their own victimization or seek help when victimized thus female youth susceptibility to HIV/AIDS is increased'.

Furthermore, the study states that slums are 'fearscapes' for the girls who face constant personal insecurity. The scenario is worsened by the 'lack of sufficient social institutions such as health care services to administer treatment to the victimised (ibid) Bruce and Joyce (2006) cited in Mabala (2006: 411) puts into perspective the gendered, generational and class face of HIV/AIDS as,

> 'Wherever the epidemic begins, it is inexorably heading towards the poorest , youngest and least powerful segment of society composed of individuals with limited social and economic assets , unable to avoid, mitigate the effects of, or leave unsafe relationships. Hundreds and millions of female youth living in the path of HIV have had no or limited benefit from schooling, feel unsafe in their communities, face a significant risk of sexual coercion and having few or no assets or livelihood prospects, have been compelled to exchange sex (inside and outside of marriage) for money, gifts, food and shelter. Within the specific context of Mathare, an intersectionality of disadvantages converges on the bodies and realities of poor female youth, who often have to use their bodies for materiality. This supports Mabala (2006) argument that the 'inconsistent and informal sources of income weakens female youth economic status, exacerbates gendered inequalities and increases their exposure to HIV risks'

Strategic invisibility of the slum and limited education opportunities

According to Oketch et al (2009), 'in the year 2003, Kenya implemented a policy of free primary education and this led to swelling of numbers of children enrolled in schools. This resulted in huge increases in enrolment to the government schools in Mathare leading to congestion in the 3 available government schools that serve a population of approximately 3000 pupils. It is indeed this state that has led to the mushrooming of fee-paying community based and informal schools in Mathare. The increase of these informal schools has been attributed to what has been referred to as 'excess demand'. Whereby there are few schools in slums to absorb the high numbers of pupils.' This scenario has also been occasioned by the invisibility of slums to the eyes of the

state with arguments that slums are illegal and therefore outside the realm of the state planning for schools, this position denies citizenship rights of slum dwellers and their children Focused group discussions with community leaders confirmed these arguments asserting that the state was not regulating these institutions. And gave examples where every church had their own school. An interview with parents reveals the fees paid in these schools are out of reach hence leading to school drop- outs. *I am expected to pay for each child fees and provide them stationery which I feel it's beyond my capability.*

Apart from the fact that these programs are woefully incapable of adequately meeting the high demand to serve the large pools of young people out of school, non-formal education is viewed as 'second grade' education further marginalizing the female youth(Okwany: Under review). However, despite getting scholarships, the parents interviewed pointed out that it was not satisfactory to give school fees without knowing to which schools their children attended. M*y daughter gets scholarship but the school where she attends has many children in one classroom and I don't like it. Sometimes she tells me they sit on the floor or stand.*

Sanitation

Data reveals that slums do not have enough latrines and the available are not in good conditions. Additionally, they are not safe to use at night. One parent interviewed pointed out that for her and the family, it was difficult to go to the latrine at night forcing them to use polythene bags because of insecurity. She gave an example of cases where a woman was kidnapped and raped as she was intercepted while going to the latrine. Wangui one of the community leaders cited cases where during the day women in particular used tins. The reason given was that the pit latrines available were not clean and fees charged were extremely high.

The 'failure of the Nairobi city planning department to provide sanitation services to Mathare residents has made the Landlords to close their eyes too on this important need for slum residents and are instead charging the tenants for using the few toilets they have constructed. This coupled with the lack of space within the slum creates a health hazard for the slum residents, where many latrines are emptied manually into drainage systems and others are covered and abandoned upon filling up (Ondieki et al. 2009: 12). The shortage of latrines has also resulted to alternative options of excreta disposal such as the use of 'flying toilets' (use of polythene bags for excreta disposal that are dumped into surrounding environments). But in spite of the above challenges, research shows that the frequency of using flying toilets have decreased in the past years due to the increased intervention from Community Based Organisations (CBOs)(Thieme et al. 2012).

5.2 Female Youth Motivation for joining MYSA

The process and reasons for female youth joining MYSA is more than sports but highly motivated by the expectation of rewards. The data shows the aim of joining MYSA varied for each participant interviewed. The female youth interviewed pointed out that what drove them initially is the reward for scholarship .*I heard that MYSA was giving education scholarships, and therefore I decided*

to join the program. (Alice). This is also consistent with the views of their parents who concurred that the main aim of allowing their female youth involvement in MYSA programs was driven by the need to get education scholarships. From the above arguments it can be deduced that the female youth are aware of their marginalisation and they belief they can only walk out of it by going to school hence breaking the poverty cycle. Some of the female youth gave the reason of the desire to walk out of the boring daily routines of domestic chores. For instance, Anne says she was 'idle' at home this is despite attending to house chores. While another said she wanted to keep herself busy. Asked what she meant by being busy and yet she was helping her mother, she said she did not consider house chores as work.

Joining Soccer and Female Youth agency

The female youth in the program rebelled against the dominant discourse of sports (soccer) as a male space. By the female youth engaging in MYSA they were exercising their own agency. For instance, Akinyi narrates how initially some of her friends were laughing at her and calling her a boy because she played soccer. *Walking to the field as not easy, some of the girls could shout at me calling me a boy.* Similarly, Mwende says she had developed a passion for sports and therefore the only place she could realise her dream was in MYSA. However, she points out that her passion did not go well with her mother who decided to take her to their rural home for schooling. She was only allowed to visit during their holidays. Despite the short holidays in Mathare, she could join her friends in the team, but her persistence eventually bore fruits when her mother finally agreed to let her fully join MYSA.

From the findings above we can conclude that the female youth drew strength from positive feedback they got from her friends who were already in the program. I therefore draw conclusion that the exercise of her agency is consistent with Kabeer's and challenges the popular notion that female youth are marginalised and their spaces are in the private sphere (2001). Kabeer sees agency as a process of empowerment during which female youth gain material or intangible resources such as the ability to define one's goal and act upon them as in the case of the above female youth (ibid).

Benefits /evidence of social transformation from the perspective of female youth

Research has found out that female youth engagement in sports programs and activities leads to their positive development (Larson 2000).These outcomes related with sports involvement consists of higher self-esteem and self-efficacy, enhanced social skills greater academic achievement and lower rates of sexual activities (Brandy and Khan 2002; Coalter 2010; Coakley 2011b; Richman and Shaffer, 2000; Cooky, 2009) MYSA as an organisation is achieving this by its goals of transforming female youth lives in slums.

Nonetheless, Coakley (2011b: 310) states that it should be noted that 'it is sometimes difficult to investigate separately the developmental transformations related to sport engagement from more general developmental change in young people's lives and from the influence of social forces and structural factors unrelated to sports.' Instead he states that outcomes would be related to and dependent on combinations of several factors, such as, material and cultural context in which involvement occurs, norms and culture

associated with particular sports or sports experiences, actions and orientations of peers, parents, coaches and program administrators and the type of sport played (ibid)

Data from the participants interviewed shows that female youth have benefited and improved their notions of self -worth and enhanced their identity. They attributed this to the leadership skills and peer training gained from MYSA. Alice for instance had this to say, *I no longer see myself vulnerable since I can express myself confidently.* The following remarks from June affirms this, *I am always told by my friends I am courageous and therefore I should represent them In anything we do in class while my mother usually tells people I used to be the quiet one at home until I joined MYSA and school.* Similarly Betty expressed her joy to have unearthed her talent. *Through peer training I have realised that I can be a good teacher and a facilitator, this is because every time I do a peer training, I get a positive feedback from my peers.* By female youth having confidence to express themselves, they become assertive and hence have the ability to make informed decisions concerning their sexualities, such as when to get married or have children or not. Manyonganise (2010) adds by stating that sports can develop female sense of ownership over their bodies and increase their self-esteem.

Brady and Khan (2002: 4) too state that 'sports may help the female youth rewrite the conventional scripts of femininity that encourage them to establish their self-worth in terms of their sexualities.' Involvement in the program also has had other material benefits to the youth. One of the married female youth playing for the married team revealed how one of her teammate who was not able to attend the interview because of other commitments had started a business after participating in the Norway tournament and thus economically empowering her. *You see that shop over there (*pointing to the direction) *it belongs to one of my teammates. She once went to Norway and when she came back she started that business.* Similarly one of the female youth also shared that she was paying school fees for her siblings as well as doing shopping for her parents.

Manyonganise (2010:16) concurs with the above narration by stating that 'with involvement of female youth in sports, they can manage to generate their own incomes which means they cease to continue being economically dependent on males.' Thus sport for females becomes a vehicle for poverty eradication. Furthermore some of them have been employed as coaches, referees, librarians and taken to driving schools. *I joined as a member in 2003, I used to play and coach before MYSA employed me as an assistant coach.* Participating in MYSA has enabled some female youth to acquire Birth certificates and achieve formal citizenship. This is because for one to travel to Norway one has to have a passport that is given on presentation of a birth certificate. Majority of slum dwellers are born at home because their parents cannot afford medical fee, and therefore majority never had them and MYSA helped them to process. *I was born at home and therefore I have never had one. When I joined school, I told my teacher I was going to process it but am happy that MYSA was able to do it on my behalf.* (Eunice).

Moreover, travelling out of the country provides female youth participant's greater mobility and opportunity to broaden their horizons, encounter such new places, people and build their skills and knowledge, MYSA has helped build their aspirations. When some of the female youth were asked how they felt by going to Norway. Such remark attests to this, *I am happy to have*

travelled to places I never imagined, I got to experience another life and it has opened my eyes that everything is possible.

The quotations above illustrates that slums still holds a ray of hope in empowering the female youth and they are articulating their aspirations by engaging in MYSA activities and programs. Brady and Khan (2002: 2) notes that 'when a significant number of female youth are involved in community programs, they acquire new community affiliations, mentors, access to new venues and begin to more openly participate in community life, thus, leading to transformation of their lives.'

Sports as a catalyst for challenging gender norms

According to Groenmeyer (2010: 111) she states that 'sport programmes can enhance the empowerment process by challenging gender norms, reducing restrictions and offering female youth greater mobility, access to public spaces and more opportunities for women to experience their bodies, physically, through physical work.' In the case of MYSA this is seen through the involvement of female youth in soccer largely considered as a male space. Interviews with respondents reveal that it is indeed through the involvement in MYSA programs and activities that they were challenging gender stereotypes. For instance, MYSA has a team of married female youth playing though not as developed as that of single female youth. This is attributed to the responsibilities married female youth are engaged in and therefore they do not have enough time. Esther a mother of one and taking care of her sister's children is happy her husband allowed her to be involved in MYSA. *My husband supports me whenever we are having a team play she joins other community members in supporting us while playing.*

In contrast, Esther points out that one of her friend dropped out because her husband did not approve of her involvement in MYSA programs and activities. 'The above argument reveals that once female youth are married they do not have a voice in the family. In fact they are encouraged to learn in silence, making them receivers of information and not initiators' (Manyonganise 2010:17). However the female youth interviewed pointed out that they had to do their domestic chores before joining their teams. This prompted MYSA to set them an appropriate time where the majority felt they were 'free' to meet. Setting appropriate time by MYSA so as not to interfere with the house chores reveals that MYSA is reinforcing some dominant gender norms about female youth identity and sexuality hence perpetuating their marginalisation.

Community perception of female youth in MYSA

The community as data reveals has embraced the idea of female youth involvement in MYSA. Faced with poverty and vulnerability of female youth, involvement of female youth in sports is seen as a possible router out of poverty and vulnerability. This has been enhanced by the visibility of female youth by the media depiction of positive stories of females in sports. Indeed 'media play a great role as a reflector and shaper of the dominant attitudes, values and knowledge in the current society' (Betterton 1987 cited in Buysee and Embser Herbert 2004: 25). Data from community leaders also reveals that community support the female youth due to their acceptance to vacate some of the spaces that they had built houses. *This whole area had been build structures*

and with the support of the police, we were able to clear the area for more space. The community however pointed out that MYSA should look at other programs that female youth can engage in once they become adults. For instance those who were deemed adults could no longer engage in the programs and activities unless they were employed by MYSA. Additionally, female youth in the program reported that they were getting support from their parents by being bought sports jerseys and boots. *Although MYSA no longer provide boots to my daughter, I make an effort to buy her.*

5.3 Playing in slums: Gendered, discursive and practical constraints

'Sport as male space discourse'

Sport involvement for males is considered 'natural' and backed strongly by the different socialising agents particularly parents (Manyonganise, 2010). Nonetheless 'female youth athletes have continued to gain access to more and more sports which were formerly men's domain. However, 'the question remains whether this situation has altered female youth images and practices of sports' (ibid: 17). For instance, Nock (1992) cited in Manyonganise 2010:16) states that 'family members gives the child her/his first notion of roles in the larger society for example images of what it means to be a female or male.' Therefore female youth engagement in sport is restrained from full involvement in sporting activities due to the social construction of spaces earmarked for women and men (ibid). Similarly, Brigde (2008:4) states that in 'many societies it is considered inappropriate for female youth to engage in sports and female youth who do may be perceived as masculine.' Conversely, male youth who do not engage in sport or who are not talented in sport may be labelled unmanly. Thus involvement of female youth in MYSA was not easy either. The following articulation from one of the parent reveals the above sentiments. *I opposed my daughter's joining of MYSA because I had always thought playing soccer was for males.* On the other hand, one of the female youth cited situations where in school male youth could make fun of her because she is masculine.

In Mathare slums, female youth do most of the domestic chores while the male youth have little or nothing to do. As a result, male youth have a lot more time for outdoor activities as compared to females. *My mother has to make sure I have done the entire house chores allocated to me before I set foot to MYSA.* (Rose) The argument is in tandem with what Brady and Khan (2002:15) claims that 'female youths may be athletes but they must know that they are females first and therefore perform what is expected of them.' Nonetheless, in the playing fields, the female youth said they sometimes played with male youth which they saw as normal. However the male youth pointed out that their counterparts were sometimes fearful of them and therefore not aggressive to go for balls. *The female youth were only comfortable when left to play against themselves but when they are mixed with males in the field their aggressiveness disappears.'* (Freddie)

Conversely, male youth interviewed felt that the female youth were being favoured when it came to issuing of uniforms. Although MYSA no longer provides free uniform to teams, the few uniforms available are not always enough for all. This shortage thus results to male youth being given t-

shirts while girls are given full uniforms. One had this to say, *Female youth are more favoured than us. They are given full uniform while us males we get T-shirts. Moreover, when it comes to training females do not train a lot and you find them being given priorities when it comes to selections to play in other teams.* When the staff member was asked the same question, he was not aware of the favouritism although he was quick to point out that female youth were not allocated better playfields as male youth. This he says is due to the belief that the male youth are better in soccer than the females. The preferential treatment of the male youth by MYSA when it comes to better training fields would be the reason why female youth are not confident enough playing with male youth leading to reinforcement of the dominant gender norms.

The physical dangers of the public space within slums

The concept 'public space' continues to be a preserve of men. Sports fall within this category. Thus sports arenas, for female youth who are deemed to belong to the private spaces is a taboo. 'Female youth have much more difficulties and in some cases, are completely excluded from visiting these spaces. Though public spaces may have been intended for general public use, all too often female youth are too intimidated to use them for fear of physical or psychological retaliation by men or authorities (Brady and Khan 2002: 2). Manyonganise (2010: 16) adds that 'these restrictions on mobility and a perceived lack of security for female youth signify that female youth have fewer opportunities to learn, play socialise or participate in sporting activities'. Indeed insecurity in Mathare is one of the reasons given by some female youth who dropped out of the program. *I dropped because my father felt that the place was far and insecure in the evenings to pass through certain areas.* (Alice)

Terezia a mother to one of the drop outs is bitter about the vulnerability of female youth in Mathare slums. She points out that her daughter got pregnant while coming from team training. However, the said female youth was not available to give her side of the story. The female youth interviewed feared about their safety. *I live far from the training grounds and because of the insecurity issues I sometimes fail to join my team members* and *sometimes the path we follow is not safe. We Meet Chokoras (Street boys) who may be really bad on us.* (Joyce)

Cultural norms in Mathare slums is that if anything goes wrong, for instance, a female youth is abused, gets hurt, or abused: the female youth are blamed. This is evident in in MYSA where female youth were held responsible once they were released to go home. In response to this problem, the management of MYSA introduced very 'technical' solutions like wearing uniforms (brightly coloured green and yellow jersey) with an intention of protecting the female youth since it was easy to identify them thus safe from security forces patrolling some areas in slums. Wearing the jersey as data reveals did not serve its intended purpose instead female youth were easily identified and kidnapped. As a result the girls are no longer wearing them in the community. *When I am must wear it, I make sure am with my elder brother for protection or put on another clothe to conceal it (Frida).*

The community leaders interviewed however were quick to point out that insecurity had improved from the street lighting that had been done a while back by MYSA in conjunction with Nairobi City Council. However still the female youth pointed that even during the day, they could not pass some parts of the slums unaccompanied. Data from one of the staff member reveals

that MYSA sometimes liaises with parents of the female youth but this has always been difficult because they sometimes were not available. This then leaves the female youth to take care of themselves and ensure their own safety. When the female youth do not reach home on time, they are usually punished by MYSA by suspending them for sometimes as reported by the staff member interviewed. This in a way reinforces specific dominant norms about their identity and sexuality that they should be at home at particular time after which they are considered deviants.

Conclusion

The chapter demonstrates that participation of female youth in the community has positively impacted on the notions of the self and identity of the female youth and to some extent impacted on gender norms that perceive soccer as a male space. In addition to bringing material benefits for the female youth specifically and community as a whole, the findings also reveal a resilience of some norms about women's sexuality and the fact that gendered insecurity and sexual harassment in the slums is perceived to be the responsibility of the female youth. The chapter also highlight the importance of involving the male youth as their behaviour in public spaces and private spaces bears strongly on female youth mobility and involvement in public life and because male youth are the future husbands and partners that MYSA hope to reach. Furthermore, transforming gender norms may help decrease the pressure many male youth have to conform to traditional roles.

Chapter 6:   Conclusion: Female youth Soccer and Social and Economic Transformation

Introduction

The aim of this study was to establish how female youth in slums are contesting marginalisation by being involved in MYSA programs and activities. This chapter brings together the main issues emanating from the study. It was not the intention of the study to offer solutions on best ways for working with female youth in marginalised locales. The chapter therefore engages with the discussions emanating from the research and concludes by pointing out some important areas which have implications in addressing the intersectional factors that bear on female youth in urban poor locales.

6.1 Slums and marginalisation for female youth

The finding reveals that female youth in slums have to grapple with various interlocking factors faced in their locales. Such as, lack of enough schools, sanitation, insecurity, exposure to HIV/AIDS which leads to their marginalisation. The lack of these facilities is attributed to area's lack of legality. This has led to the failure of government to plan for urban growth and the rapid increase in both inequality and poverty which is compounded by growth policies that fight urbanisation rather than work with it (UN Habitat 2003b).

It can therefore be argued that the popular motif of 'slum as illegal' within the City Council of Nairobi spatial ordering has in a way constructed the slum dwellers and their children as 'non citizens' who have to rely on 'inferior' education even within the context of universal free primary education offered to all *Kenyans Citizens*. Their excision from the 'centre' also means loss of privileges that accompany *real citizens* and they have to rely on inferior or no services at all. Female youth as the study has unearthed are the centre of this marginalisation and where according to Crenshaw (1991), the 'scapes' for heaviest traffic for marginalisation find way.

HIV/AIDs particularly among female youth in Mathare as findings reveals are high. Poverty is the main cause for female youth engagement in prostitution thus increasing their vulnerability to HIV/AIDSs exposure. Additionally poverty coupled with the male as breadwinner discourse increases female youth dependency and decreases their agency in negotiating in sexual relations and decision making. This further predisposes them to HIV/AIDs.

However the study found out that female youth were not just passive conduits of these marginalising forces. Instead they were exercising agency by challenging the predominant portrayal of them as victims. As a result, the findings draws conclusion for the need to integrate the female youth in decisions and programing activities pertaining their lives.

6.2 Female youth sport as sphere invaders

The study has revealed female youth had varied reasons for getting involved in sports the primary one being to obtain diverse rewards. The study also reveals that female youth in a public male sphere of soccer have to negotiate myriad practical discursive challenges. Their identity as females who have to juggle domestic work with activities in the public sphere meant that they were not participating as well as they would have wished.

As female and youth, their participation in sport is affected by the gendered insecurity rampant in slums. The female youth and the community reveal that sexual harassment as they walk to and from the soccer playing fields and activities disadvantage them more. The study has revealed that the management of MYSA has made efforts to address insecurity by providing 'brightly coloured uniforms' as well as punishing the female youth who for some reason take long to reach home after soccer sessions. I however argue that these strategies may not be transformative in that the underlying assumption is that they themselves should be 'gate keepers' to their security. There is no evidence of efforts being undertaken to engage with the unequal gender norms that lead to perception of the female youth as potential sexual prey for irresponsible men.

Furthermore, at the playing field the study reveals that the female youth were allocated better playing fields as their counterparts. The reason given is the belief that male youth were better in playing soccer than females. This could also be the reason why the female youth were not aggressive to go for balls when they were playing with the female youth.

6.3 Perceived Benefits of participating in female soccer

The study has revealed positive benefits for female youth participation in sport. The provision of education scholarship for instance had retained them in schools. Additionally those who had participated in annual tournament in Norway felt that exposure to the different cultures have widened their horizons and have an improved perspective in life. Some youth also have started business as a result of exposure through this program. Through sports the female youth felt their self-esteem, notions of identity and confidence had improved. MYSA use of peers to train and create awareness on HIV/AIDs was pointed out as one of the benefits of engaging in sports. The female youth also felt that they had better information on HIV/AIDs and therefore their ability to protect themselves as well as the community.

6.4 Transformation of gender relations and norms at the 'Pitch'

The study has revealed that despite the discourse that govern the public male sphere of sport, female youth have used different methods to circumvent these norms and create a space for themselves at the 'Pitch', both the discursive and physical pitch. Evidence from the study illustrate that when male youth are

present particularly at the playing field, female youth adjust their roles, anticipating the reactions they have come to expect from males. Whether consciously or not female youth become inhibited or may retreat from, or avoid situations that may involve encounter with physically aggressive male youth. This holds true especially when female youth are the minority.

The study also revealed that the community (and also as revealed through the narrative of the parents) have revised their views about the female youth playing soccer and have become more accepting. This as has been argued has mainly been because of the dividends accrued through the boys team as well as the practical benefits of female youth participating in soccer. Despite this apparent acceptance of female youth playing as normal, 'the Soccer Pitch' in a practical and metaphorical sense is still unequal since females youth bear the brunt of insecurity in the slums as they play, which places restriction on their mobility compared to their counterparts. The traditional gender division of labour as has been earlier argued also places an inordinate burden on female youth who have to juggle both the responsibilities of playing soccer, education as well as their domestic duties. In recognition of the fact that female youth is also differentiated through diverse axis and especially marital and motherhood status for this study, the management of MYSA has also started a football wing for married female youth. This has a potential in changing the way the community perceives the married female youth.

6.5 Female youth in soccer: way forward

The research reveals that the female youth despite facing challenges inherent with their identity and sexuality, they still see soccer as a ray of hope in articulating their aspirations. The study also reveals that the female youth apart from the desire to participate in soccer, they were not provided with playing attires thus limiting the involvement.

Concluding Reflections

The study of use of sports as an arena for empowering female youth particularly in marginalised locales is complex, contradictory and confusing. Despite the attention of research to gender and sports and moves to integrate female youth in slums in sporting programs and activities, there is still resistance to change and the acceptance of the abilities of each sex by the other. Past research studies reveal that there has been an increase in number of female youth in sports programs and activities yet gender inequalities persists (Martin 2000: 207). However, from the above study I conclude that there is a clear potential for sport to be used as an arena in advancing various aspects of development among the marginalised in poor locales.

References

African Union (2006) '*African Youth Charter*'.
    http:www.africaunion.org/root/ua/conferences/mai/hrts/charter%20english
    Accessed 1st June, 2012.

Agarwal, B. (1997) 'Re-sounding the Alert: Gender Resources and Community Action', World Development, 25(9): 1373-1380.

Ansell, N. (2005) '*Children, Youth and Development*', Nicola Ansell. London. Rutledge.

Buysee, J. and M. Embser-Herbert (2004) 'Constructions of Gender in Sport - an Analysis of Intercollegiate Media Guide Cover Photographs'*, Gender and Society* 18(1).

Brady, M. and A. B. Khan (2002) 'Letting Girls Play'*, The Mathare Youth Sports Association's Football Program for Girls'. Population Council, New York.*

Bridge, C. (2008) 'Gender and Sport: Mainstreaming Gender in Sports Projects.' Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation

Kidd, B. (2008) 'A new Social Movement: Sport for Development and Peace, Sport in Society': Cultures, Media, Politics, 11(4).

Coakley, J. (2011b) 'Youth Sports: What Counts as "Positive Development?'*, Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 35(3):306-324.

Coakley, J. (2006a) 'The Good Father: Parental Expectations and Youth Sports'*, Leisure Studies* 25(2): 153-163.

Coatler, F. (2008) 'Sport-in-Development: Development for and through Sport?' in Nicholson M. and R. Hoye, (ed) *Sport and social capital,* Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann. 39-67.

Coalter, F. (2010) 'The Politics of Sport-for-Development: Limited Focus Programmes and Broad Gauge Problems? ' *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 45(3): 295-314.

Cooky, C. (2009) 'Girls Just aren't Interested: The Social Construction of interest in Girls' Sport'*, sociological perspectives* 52(2): 259-283.

Council of Europe (2001) 'The European Sports Charter (revised)'. Brussels. Council of Europe'.

Crenshaw, Kimberle (1991) 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence against Women' *Stanford Law Review* 43(6) 1241-9.1

De Waal, A. (2002) 'Realizing Child Rights in Africa: Children, Young People and Leadership.' in A, De Waal and N. Argenti. (eds), *Realizing the Rights of Children and Youth.* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Erulkar, M., Matheka, J. (2007) 'Adolescence in the Kibera Slum of Nairobi, Kenya', Population Council.

Fussel, E. and M.E. Greene (2002) 'Demographic Trends Affecting Youth around the World', Cambridge University Press.

Greif, J., F.A., Dodoo and A. Jayaraman (2009) 'Urbanisation, Poverty and Sexual Behaviour: The Tale of Five Cities African Cities' *Urban Studies* 48 (5). Sage Publications.

Groenmeyer, S. (2010) 'Challenging gender stereotypes: A case study of the three South African Soccer Players' in Shehu, J. (ed) 'Gender, Sport and Development in Africa: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Patterns of Representation and Marginalisation' Codesria Books.

Hall, M.A. (1996) 'Feminism and Sporting Bodies: Essays on Theory and Practice'. Champaign, IL: Kinetics.

Harding, S. (2005) 'Rethinking Standpoint Epistemology: What is 'Strong Objectivity'? in Cudd, A. E and Anderson , R.O (eds*) Feminist Theory. A Philosophical Anthology*, Blackwell Publishing.

Herrera, L. (2006) 'What's New about Youth?' in *Development and Change* 36(6): 1425-1435.

Hartmann, D., C. Kwauk (2011) 'Sport and Development: An overview, Critique, and Reconstruction'. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*. Sage

Honwana, A. (2012) 'The Time of Youth, Work'. *Social and Politics in Africa in Africa*' Kumarian Press.

Ireri, J. (2010) 'Masculinities and Young Men's Participation in Self-Help: The Case of Poverty Eradication Interventions in Mwingi District of Rural Kenya'. Master Thesis. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies.

Jones, G. (2009) 'Youth'. Cambrigde: Polity Press.

Kabeer, N. (1999) 'Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment'*, Development and Change* 30(3)

Kenya Youth Policy (2006) http://www.g-youth.org/main/images/youth.pdf) Accessed, 30th October 2012

Larson, R. W. (2000) 'Toward a Psychology of Positive Youth Development'. *American Psychologist*, 55(1)

Levermore, R. (2008) 'Sport: A New Engine of Development?' *Progress in Development Studies* 8(2) 183-90.

Mabala, R. (2006) 'From HIV Prevention to HIV Protection: Addressing the Vulnerability of Girls and Young Women in Urban Areas,' *Environment and Urbanisation Sage.*

Manyonganise, S. (2010) 'Safety to Public Spaces: Women's Participation in Sport in Zimbabwe' in Shehu, J. (ed) 'Gender, Sport and Development in Africa: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Patterns of Representation and Marginalisation' Codesria Books.

Mahmood, S. (2004) 'Politics of Piety.' New Jersey: Princeton University Press

Messner, M.A.Dworkin, S.L. (2002) 'Gender Relations in Sport' *Sociological Perspectives,* 45.

Martin, J. (2000) 'Hidden Gendered Assumptions in Mainstream Organizational Theory and Research'. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 9(2): 2007-216

Mathare Youth Sports Association, (2012) http://www.mysakenya.org/ Accessed on 20th September, 2012.

Moser, Caroline O.N., M. Gatehouse., H. Marcia. (1995) 'Urban Poverty Research Source Book: Module 1 Sub-City Level Household Survey, Washington. The World Bank.

McRobbie, A. (2000) '*Feminism and Youth Cultures'* London. MacMillan.

Nicholls, S. (2008) 'On the Backs of Peer Educators: Using Theory to Integrate the Role of Young People in the Field of Sport –in -development '. in R. Levermore and A. Beacon (eds) Sport and International Development . Palgrave Macmillan London.

Ondieki, H., M., Mbegera (2009) 'Impact Assessment Report on the Peepoo Bag, Silanga Village Kibera, Nairobi Kenya'. Jean Africa Consultants.

Oketch, M., M. Mutisya., M. Ngware, A. Ezeh (2009) 'Why are there proportionately more pupils enrolled in non-state schools in Urban Kenya in spite of Free Primary Education Policy?' African Population and Health Research Center (APHRC), Kenya.

Okwany, A. (Under review) 'Negotiating tensions in Girlhood: Marginalization and Agency of Poor Urban Girls in Kenya' in Honwana (ed) Youth

Marginalization and Citizenship in Africa. Special Issue Development and Change: Wiley-Blackwell.

O' Leary, Z. (2010) 'The essential Guide to Doing Your Research Project.' London Sage.

Pfister, G. (2010) 'Women in Sport - Gender Relations and Future Perspectives', *Sport in Society* 13(2):234-248.

Pearson, R. (2000) 'Moving the Goalposts: Gender and Globalisation in the Twenty-first Century:' *Gender and Development* 8 (1).

Richman, E.L. and Shaffer, D.R. (2000) 'If you let me play sports: How might Sport participation influence the Self-esteem of adolescent females?' *Psychology of Women Quarterly,* 24 (10).

Ross, S.R. and K.J. Shinew. (2008) 'Perspectives of Women College Athletes on Sport and Gender', *Sex Roles* 58(1):40-57.

Saavedra, M. (2005) 'Women, Sport and Development: International Platform on Sport and Development (www.sportanddev.org)' http://assets.sportanddev.org/downloads/56women sport and development.pdf 3rd November, 2012.

Sommers, M. (2010) 'Urban Youth in Africa', *Environment and Urbanization* 22(2): 317-332.

Spaaij, R. (2009) 'Sport as a Vehicle for Social Mobility and Regulation of Disadvantaged Urban Youth: Lessons from Rotterdam', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 44(2-3):247-264.

Shehu, J. (2010) 'Football for Hope Centres in Africa: Intentions, Assumptions and Gendered implications. www.codeseria.org/IMG/pdf/chap _10_Jimoh.pdf United Nations Report, 2007, Accessed 14th October, 2012

Scott, J.W. (1986) 'Gender: A useful Category of Historical Analysis.' *American Historical Review* 91: 1053-75 (reprinted Scott, J. W., 1988, *Gender and Politics of History,* New York: Columbia UP revised (ED) New York.

Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP /IWG). (2007) 'Harnessing the Power of Sport for Development and Peace; Recommendations to Governments', Toronto, Ontario, Canada: Right to Play.

Sport for Development and Peace International Group (2006) 'Sport for Development and Peace, from Practice to Policy,' Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Thieme, A.T., J.P., Dekoszmovszky (2012) 'Community Cleaning Services: Combining Market-and-donor-based approaches to Urban Sanitation and Youth engagement'. *Field Actions Science Reports.* Special Issue (4) Institut Veolia Environment.

Thomas, A. (2000) 'Development as practice in a liberal capitalist world'. *Journal of International Development* 12(6): 773-787

UN-Habitat (2003b) 'The Challenges of slums': London: Earth scan Publications ltd.

Willies,O. (1999) 'Sport and Development: The Significance of Mathare Youth Sports Association', National Library of Canada. Accessed 30thNovember, 2012.

Wratten, E. (1995) 'Conceptualising Urban Poverty.' *Environment and Urbanisation* 7(1):11-38.

Wyn, J and White R. (1997) 'Rethinking Youth.' London. Sage Publications.

World Bank (2007) 'World Development Report 2007: Youth Development, World Bank.

UN World Youth Report (2007)
http://social.un.org/index/WorldYouthReport/2007. aspx Accessed 17th
June 2012.

UN (2003) 'General Assembly Resolution 58/5: Sport as a Means to Promote
Health, Education, Development and Peace.
http://www.sportanddev.org/en/browse-by-type-of-document/united-
nations-documents/index.htm Accessed 17th June 2012.

Appendix

Interview Guide

The following is an interview guide for In-depth interviews and Focused Group
Discussions (FGD) posed to the female youth and male youth in MYSA, female
youth drop outs, and the community.

Female youth

1) When did they join Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA)?

2) Why did you join MYSA?

      a) Did you join the association voluntarily?

3) What are some of the challenges girls in this community face?

4) What are some of the challenges people living in slums face?

5) How has MYSA brought about transformation or is trying to solve these
challenges

6) How has participation of female youth in MYSA lead to social-economic or
political transformation?

7) What activities are you involved in and how do you perceive them in trans-
forming slum life?

8) How do you perceive yourself before and after joining MYSA?

9) How do they articulate themselves in reference to notion of self- identity?

8) Do they see themselves as stereotyped, marginalized or poor?

10) How do you relate with the male youth in the association?

11) How does the community perceive your participation in MYSA?

12) How do you overcome the community's negative perception if any?

13) How do the management of MYSA supporting your objectives?

14) How are they resisting the notion of football as a male space?

15) What are the challenges in participation and how are you circumventing them?

Male Youth.

1) When did they join?

2) Why did you join MYSA?

3) Did you join the association voluntarily?

4) What are the benefits of joining MYSA?

5) How do you perceive yourself before and after joining MYSA?

6) What do they see as the role of sports/MYSA in transforming life in the slums?

7) How do you relate with the female youth in the association? What are the perceptions of female youth within the association?

8) How does the community perceive participation of female youth in MYSA?

9) How do the management of MYSA supporting female youth?

10) What changes in the community have you noticed after involvement of female youth to in MYSA?

Parents

1) What aspirations do they have from their girls?

2) Why did you allow your girls' to join the sports association?

3) Were there any negative reactions from the community? If yes how do you handle these issues?

4) What are the issues that hinder the participation of the girls in the association?

5) What changes has MYSA brought to the community by involving girls in sports?

   a) Positive

   b) Negatives

Drop -outs

Drop-outs in this case refer to those members who once were in MYSA but due to one reason or another left.

What reason made you to leave MYSA? I will be keen to reasons such as, some administrative issues like time for meeting with regard to security or negative norms about girls etc.

2) How did they benefit from being in MYSA?

3) How can MYSA contribute to transformation of slum life?

To leaders and community members

1) How do they support female youths in MYSA

2) What are their perceptions on gender relation?

3) What changes has MYSA brought to the community by involving girls in sports?