

“Will the Crested Cranes be there in the future?”
An exploration of the Ugandan Senior Women’s National Football Team

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the many people who have grabbed a paddle to help me navigate rough waters and a bucket when it seemed that my boat was sinking.

It is dedicated to Majidah Nantanda, who has inspired me through her selfless service to girls and women in her country and her unwavering commitment to increasing access to sport and education for girls in all regions of Uganda. She is an inspiration to people all around the world.

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Abstract

Previous research has demonstrated that gender inequity exists in national level competitive sport in Uganda (Kateshumbwa, 2011). The Federation of Uganda Football Associations (FUFA) established the women's senior national football team, the Crested Cranes, in the early 1990s (FUFA, n.d.); however, only the men's senior national football team, the Cranes, has been referenced in the literature (Chappell, 2008; Kasoma, 2013). The purpose of this study was to explore (a) how Ugandan women experience football (soccer) in terms of their social identities (e.g., gender, ethnicity, social class, nationality, geographic location); (b) how Ugandan women experience being a player on the senior women's national football team; and (c) how colonialism and/or neocolonialism shape the experiences of the Ugandan women football players. A postcolonial feminist theoretical framework guided the study along with elements of feminist ethnography.

Ten semi-structured interviews were conducted with Ugandan women who have competed on the official roster of the Ugandan Senior Women's National Football Team (UGSWNFT) for at least one international competition. The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. After transcription, participants engaged in an in-person member check by reading through and approving their transcripts (Creswell & Miller, 2000). In addition to the semi-structured interviews, other sources of data included participant and non-participant observation and reflexivity. Data was analyzed using a modified version of Hatch's (2002) interpretive analysis procedure and a peer debriefer (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Themes from the data included historical changes in women's football, socialization processes, mixed experiences with parental support,

impact of football bursaries and traveling through football, societal (family, male peers, FUFA, and broader society) influences, experiences with abuse, hanging on and dropping out, motherhood, younger versus older players, envisioned potential of the Crested Cranes, and waiting for change from the top. Other results will be discussed that explicitly answer the three research questions previously listed. Results will be disseminated to the communities identified by participants (e.g., FUFA, Confederation of African Football, Federation of International Football Associations, UGSWNFT coaching staff), through this dissertation, and peer-reviewed journals.

Keywords: postcolonial feminism, women's football, Uganda, gender, intersectionality

Preface

The first time that I traveled to Uganda was in January 2012 as part of *Courts for Kids*. Upon request from the community, we built a basketball court in northern Uganda. During that trip, I met Akiiki (pseudonym; Ugandan) and Briana (pseudonym; American). These two women shared how they were traveling around the country doing free clinics for girls' football (soccer) teams because they were trying to increase support for girls' football. I joined them on their adventures during the summer of 2012 and part of the summer of 2013. The other part was spent with a colleague conducting research on secondary school girls' sport participation in northern Uganda (Johnson & Whitley, in press; Whitley & Johnson, 2015).

Through the relationships I built with Akiiki and Briana, I began to learn about the context of girls' football in Uganda. I heard many stories from Akiiki about what her generation had to overcome to take the pitch. She was, and still is, dedicated to making an easier road for future generations. The topic for my dissertation resulted from the lack of awareness in Ugandan society about the women's national team and the lack of recognition for players on the team. It is my hope that this dissertation will contribute to increased equity for the women's senior national football team.

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Chapter One: Introduction

“Sport has the power to inspire and unite people. In Africa, soccer enjoys great popularity and has a particular place in the hearts of people.” –Nelson Mandela

The quote above exemplifies a commonly held belief that football (referred to as soccer in the United States) plays a central role in African lives, yet it also overlooks the many complexities of such an assumption. The first complexity is the “historical and cultural baggage” (Saavedra, 2009, p. 184) that accompanies football within the African context. Scholars have previously exposed the historical relationship between football and European colonization in Africa (Darby, 2002; Giulianotti & Armstrong, 2004; Njororai, 2014; Szymanski & Zimbalist, 2005). Football was used during colonization as a means of “creating and maintaining socio-cultural conditions that were favorable for continued European economic penetration” (Darby, 2002, p. 22) by teachers, missionaries (mostly Christian), soldiers, and colonial settlers (Giulianotti & Armstrong, 2004). Through the organizing of football into leagues by colonizers, football also became a form of social control since the colonizers ran the leagues (Darby, 2002).

Several factors aided in the original diffusion of football into indigenous African cultures during the colonial period (1800s to mid-1960s), including that many of the colonial rulers dwelled in more urban areas where indigenous elite often resided (Darby, 2002). Football was first introduced to elite indigenous men (Darby, 2002; Giulianotti & Armstrong, 2004). This effectively set up a social class, geographic location, and gender hierarchy whereby people from lower social classes and rural areas as well as women in general were excluded from participating in football. The hierarchical way football was

originally introduced in Africa exemplifies the second complexity the opening quote overlooks, that football has not historically been inclusive to all populations. However, indigenous people of lower social classes picked up the game by observing colonizers and indigenous elite play, adapted the game to accommodate their own style of play, and eventually used football as a symbol of African solidarity and resistance against colonization (Darby, 2002). This has influenced Giulianotti and Armstrong (2004) to describe African football as a “story both of cultural colonization by Europeans and of cultural adaptation ... by the African people” (p. 8). In the post-colonial era, football seems to be one way in which women resist exclusion from social advancement opportunities such as education and employment (Giulianotti & Armstrong, 2004).

Even though women have used football as a tool of resistance globally, they have long been seen as the “Other” and have subsequently been excluded from football culture as participants, fans, referees, and administrators (Caudwell, 2011; Saavedra, 2003). While women’s football participation has been on the rise, this growth has not generally been met with increased financial backing or sociocultural support (Caudwell, 2011). Additionally, it is clear that women’s football participation is not only limited as a result of sexism; racism and homophobia have also played a role in excluding women from being fully accepted into the world of football (Caudwell, 2011). Economics may also influence women’s participation in football. Hoffmann, Ging, Matheson, and Ramasamy (2006) found that women’s football is played mostly in countries with higher wealth while men’s football appealed to a wider range of countries. The assumption that football automatically and inherently transgresses boundaries (nationality, gender, ethnicity,

geographic location etc.) is, thus, inaccurate. Findings from Hoffman et al. (2006) reinforce that women in countries with lower wealth, such as Uganda, continue to be marginalized within football.

Saavedra (2003) noted disparities between men and women's football within the African context. She argued that it is perhaps due to the cultural entrenchment of football within African masculine culture that women are excluded from the game. As previously noted, this entrenchment could also be a legacy of colonization. The continued exclusion impacts the ability of women's football to grow and develop. Further, Saavedra (2003) claimed that, "even where other sports for women, such as netball, handball, athletics, and basketball, have flourished, women's football has been met with scepticism [*sic*], neglect and sometimes outright hostility" (p. 225). For example, Ogunniyi (2014) examined men and women's perceptions of the 2010 African Women's Championships, one of the largest women's football tournaments in Africa and a Federation of International Football Association (FIFA) Women's World Cup qualifying tournament. Results from this quantitative study found that women continue to be seen as the "Other" within football. Participants saw the football pitch as a "sacred" male space that women were trying to invade (Ogunniyi, 2014). In the discussion about women's football, women are continuously compared to men. Rather than liberating women and allowing them to compete and develop as footballers on their own terms, the current football structure has maintained the comparison with men and therefore kept women in a subordinate position in the world of football.

Women's football in Africa receives little support from structures implemented and reinforced by FIFA, Confederation of African Football (CAF), government organizations and sport federations (Saavedra, 2003). Further, African women who wish to participate in football face additional barriers including cultural expectations to bear children and keep up with domestic housework and the fact that the development of women's sport, especially football, is being viewed as a lower social priority than other women's issues such as domestic violence (Saavedra, 2003). These barriers are faced at both a structural level (e.g., lack of policy and government/federation support) and at the individual level (e.g., community members' perceptions of women playing football).

Statement of the Problem

Literature about competitive sport in Uganda has almost exclusively focused on male sport (Chappell, 2008; Kasoma, 2013), with an exception of Chappell (2008) noting a growing interest in women's 7-a-side rugby. The overall attention is largely on football but when Chappell (2008) and Kasoma (2013) mentioned Uganda's national football team, only the men's national football team, the Cranes, is referenced. There has been no mention of the Crested Cranes, the Ugandan women's national football team, in the literature to date.

The Crested Cranes were established in the early 1990s and played their first international match in Nairobi, Kenya in 1994 (Federation of Ugandan Football Associations [FUFA], n.d.). Since 1994, the team has only competed internationally a handful of times. Akiiki, who was a player on the inaugural team and is a former captain, became the first female head coach of the Crested Cranes in 2007. Currently, FUFA

sponsors Under-17 (U17), Under-20 (U20), and Senior Women's National Football Teams. With the Crested Cranes existing for more than two decades, it seems striking that there have been no empirical investigations conducted about the development of these teams or about the experiences of players who are on the women's national football teams.

More broadly, research focused on girls' and women's competitive sport participation in Uganda is scarce. One exception is Kateshumbwa's (2011) survey of 303 male and female Ugandan board, executive, or committee members, coaches, and athletes about their perceptions of gender equity in competitive sport. Participants were associated with the National Council of Sports, Ugandan Olympic Committee, or ten sports federations/associations, one being the overseer of the Crested Cranes, FUFA. Results of the study revealed perceptions of gender imbalance in sport participation as well as representation in coaching and administrative positions (Kateshumbwa, 2011). Participants across all three categories strongly agreed that women were underrepresented in Ugandan sport.

Men have more opportunity to compete as athletes on Ugandan national sports teams (Kateshumbwa, 2011). From 1997 to 2004, only 30% of national team athletes were women. This gap has started to decrease and in 2009 women represented just over 40% of national team athletes. Kateshumbwa, however, did not explore why the gap has started to decrease. Through her study, Kateshumbwa revealed a need for further exploration of women's competitive sport participation in Uganda. Further, a qualitative investigation could yield deeper meaning behind the perceptions indicated by the results

of Kateshumbwa's quantitative survey. The need for further examination of women's competitive sport in Uganda is also supported by the lack of discussion regarding women's competitive sport in other literature about Ugandan sport (Chappell, 2008; Kasoma, 2013).

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study is to explore how Ugandan women experience football (soccer) in terms of their social identities (e.g., gender, ethnicity, social class, nationality, geographic location) and being a player on the senior women's national football team. An additional purpose of this study is to examine the ways in which colonialism/neocolonialism shapes the experiences of the Ugandan women football players. Participants of this study had competed on the official roster of the Ugandan women's senior national football team (UGWSNFT) for at least one international competition and it is their experiences that I explore in this study.

Research Questions

1. How do Ugandan women experience football (soccer) in terms of a variety of social identities (e.g., gender, ethnicity, social class, nationality, regionality)?
2. How do Ugandan women experience being a player on the senior women's national football team?
3. How do colonialism and/or neocolonialism shape the experiences of the Ugandan women football players?

Delimitations

1. Only UGSWNFT players who have competed as part of the official roster for at least one international senior team competition were included in this study. This delimits the study by excluding players who were on the team but did not make the official roster and other levels of the national team (e.g., U-17, U-20).
2. All players contacted were above the age of 18; however, this did not delimit any younger populations, as there are no players on the senior team, current or former, who are under the age of 18.
3. To protect participants, I did not include a discussion of sexuality in this research due to the extreme homophobic climate of Uganda, even if a participant discussed sexuality within the semi-structured interviews.

Limitations

1. I was an outsider in terms of race, ethnicity, and nationality. While I remained reflexive throughout the research process so as to engage feminist objectivity (Haraway, 1988; see Chapter Three), the ways in which I have been socialized may have impacted the interpretations I have made in this dissertation.
2. The exclusion of issues related to sexuality further silences the already marginalized population of sexual minorities.
3. There were some challenges during the interview process in terms of language and linguistic comprehension. I made every effort possible to check understanding and rephrase questions as needed (see Chapter Three for more details).

Significance

The years of colonialism and the decades of political turmoil and conflict have shaped many aspects of everyday life in Uganda, including sport. However, there have been few studies that have looked at how sport has been impacted by colonialism (Chappell, 2008; Kasoma, 2013). Participatory sport and physical education were used in pre-colonial Uganda as a way to pass down cultural values and traditions to the youth from the elders (Ndee, 2010). Uganda was established as a British protectorate in 1894 following more than a decade of battles for influence in the country between Protestant, Catholic, and Muslim religious groups from colonizing nations (Mittelman, 1975). The British colonial administration further exacerbated ethnic conflict when they aligned with the chiefs of the Buganda Kingdom. In the northern region, where the indigenous ethnic groups did not organize themselves around a hierarchical structure, individual clans maintained authority, and the people managed small agricultural economies (Mittelman, 1975). Alternatively, the Buganda ethnic group followed a chiefdom hierarchy with centralized authority and had larger economies.

Even before colonialism there was an unequal distribution of economic wealth and social services throughout the country. When the British colonial administrators aligned with the Buganda Kingdom, they opted to implement the centralized authority throughout the country (Mittelman, 1975). This led to further grievance with the people outside of the central region. They not only had to follow a political structure that went against their traditional way of organizing, but the economic and social development continued to be largely kept within the central region. The Baganda people thus had

increased opportunity to pursue education and administrative positions, which situated them to take over authority during the decolonization period (Mittelman, 1975).

During these colonial years, each ethnic group in Uganda had their own sport structures and developed sport informally; however, sport developed more formally through its connection to physical education in schools (Kasoma, 2013). A turn towards competitive or elite sport occurred when the British colonial administrators founded the Ugandan Olympic Committee in 1953 (Chappell, 2008). While Ugandan sport has grown in the post-colonial era (Chappell, 2008), the current sport system is still recovering from a collapse resulting from political turmoil between 1970 and 1985 (Kasoma, 2013).

Ugandans have been subjected to decades of political turmoil since independence. This postcolonial political turmoil is arguably related to British indirect colonial rule due to the colonial rulers favoring the Buganda Kingdom (Otiso, 2006). In the postcolonial era the central region has continued to receive more development and economic opportunities than the northern region. However, no region was safe from the brutal dictatorship of Idi Amin (notably, not of the Buganda ethnic group) that lasted for a period of nine years (1971-1979). Amin's almost decade of tyranny resulted in more than 300,000 Ugandan deaths, and, at the end of his reign, the Ugandan economy buckled (Otiso, 2006). For the northern region, Amin's rule was followed by a civil war between the Ugandan government and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) that lasted for two decades (1986-2006/2007). The LRA's terror was characterized by "abductions, especially of children; mutilation of victims; and massacres of civilians" (Cline, 2013, p. 57). The estimated number of children abducted by the LRA ranges from 20,000 to

40,000. The abducted boys were turned into child soldiers and the abducted girls were either turned into sex slaves, wives, and/or child soldiers (Cline, 2013). In addition to the abductions, thousands of civilians were mutilated or massacred and around 1.8 million people were displaced as a result of the conflict (Cline, 2013). As previously noted, the scholarly discussion of Ugandan sport and colonialism is limited (Chappell, 2008; Kasoma, 2013). Through the current study I help to expand this body of literature by examining how colonialism and/or neocolonialism shapes the experiences of the Ugandan Women's Senior National Football Team players.

In the introduction and statement of problem, I demonstrated that women have largely been excluded from the world of football globally (Caudwell, 2011; Saavedra, 2003) and that women have been excluded from the literature about competitive sport in Uganda (Chappell, 2008; Kasoma, 2013). This study marks the first time that the Crested Cranes are mentioned in any literature. Through this study the voices of the Crested Cranes will become more "audible" (Bhavnani & Talcott, 2012), although I do recognize that the players live in a silencing culture, as will be demonstrated, and might have self-censored and not shared their full voice or perspective. The audibility of the players' voices is particularly important given the increased participation of women in Ugandan football, marked by the creation of an elite league in 2015, and an increased interest in using sport as a vehicle for development initiatives focusing on girls and women in Uganda (Hayhurst, MacNeill, Kidd, & Knoppers, 2014).

Further, this study was intended to primarily benefit the members of the national team, the coaching staff, and the Federation of Uganda Football Associations (FUFA) to

increase understanding about the experiences of players on the national team. This may help inform policy decisions and further progress toward gender equity within FUFA. Additionally, it is hoped that the broader sport community in and beyond Uganda will benefit from the results of this study. Given that I am employing a postcolonial feminist theoretical framework, I will expose the ways in which colonial legacies and neocolonialism have shaped the experiences of the players on the Ugandan Women's Senior National Football Team.

Definition of Terms

- **Crested Cranes** – The nickname of the Ugandan Women's Senior National Football Team and the population of this study.
- **Colonialism** – The British were the colonial rulers of Uganda from 1894 – 1962 (Mittelman, 1975). In this dissertation I recognize that “colonialism was never just as an exploitative political or economic process, it was also a *cultural conquest* [original emphasis] of the native whereby the native's forms of knowledge, art, cultural practices and religious beliefs were studied, classified, policed, judged and altered by the European” (Nayar, 2010, p. 2).
- **Ethnicity** – “A cultural heritage that people use to identify a particular population” (Coakley, 2009, p. 276). Uganda has a diverse population with approximately 55 recognized ethnic groups (Cline, 2013). Ethnicity in this study will represent the ethnic group in which a participant self-identifies. The participants at times use the word “tribe” instead of ethnic group. I avoid using tribe due to the term's colonialist and racist history (see Tamale, 1999).

- **Football** – A team sport that is known as soccer in the United States and as football in most countries, including Uganda.
- **Gender** – “Gender is a system of power in that it privileges some men and disadvantages most women. Gender is constructed and maintained by both the dominants and the oppressed because both ascribe to its values in personality and identity formation and in appropriate masculine and feminine behavior. Gender is hegemonic in that many of its foundational assumptions and ubiquitous processes are invisible, unquestioned, and unexamined” (Davis, Evans, & Lorber, 2006, p. 2)
- **Geographic location** – For this study, geographic location will represent a differentiation between rural and urban as well as region (central, eastern, western, northern) of Uganda.
- **Hegemony** – “Process of maintaining leadership and control by gaining the consent and approval of other groups, including those who are being led or controlled” (Coakley, 2009, p. 116).
- **Imperialism** – “The practice of governance of ... African nations through ‘remote control’, *without* [original emphasis] actual settlement in the non-European spaces when European or American powers control financial, military, political, cultural activities in ... African ... nations ... Imperialism is the *ideology* [original emphasis] that recommends, furthers and justifies colonial rule” (Nayar, 2010, p. 2).
- **Lady** – In Ugandan society, based on my inquiries during fieldwork, lady refers

to females who are perceived as being of a lesser status than women (and men).

The shift from “lady” to “woman” may occur through marriage or career success.

Lady may also indicate a female who is adhering to cultural gender expectations.

- **Minority** – “A socially identified population that suffers disadvantages due to systematic discrimination and has a strong sense of social togetherness based on shared experiences of past and current discrimination” (Coakley, 2009, p. 276).
- **Nationality** – “National identity can be seen as an awareness of the affiliation with a nation that gives people a sense of who they are in relation to others, or infuses a sense of purpose that makes them feel at home” (Njororai, 2014, p. 70).
In this study, the nationality of all participants is Ugandan since they must have a Ugandan passport to compete on the national team. No participants revealed that they hold dual citizenship and therefore identified with multiple nationalities.
- **Neocolonialism** – “The continuing economic exploitation of ... African nation-states by the former colonials – Europeans – and American powers” (Nayar, 2010, p. 2).
- **Postcolonial** – When postcolonial is referenced without a hyphen between “post” and “colonial,” it references the ways in which many former colonial nations continue to experience harmful legacies of colonization and continue to be subjects of imperialist and neocolonial missions (Hall, 1996; Hayhurst, MacNeill, & Frisby, 2011).

- **Post-colonial** – In this study, the hyphen will be placed between “post” and “colonial” when referencing the period of time after formal decolonization. For Uganda, the post-colonial period began on October 9, 1962.
- **Postcolonial feminist theory** – “An exploration of and at the intersections of colonialism and neocolonialism with gender, nation, class, race, and sexualities in the different contexts of women’s lives, their subjectivities, work, sexuality, and rights” (Rajan & Park, 2004, para. 1).
- **Race** – Anthropologists recognize that the concept of race has no natural or biological distinctions but has rather been socially constructed to sustain dominance of those from a European heritage (American Anthropological Association, 1998).
- **Regionality** – In the context of this study, regionality will refer to the districts in Uganda recognized as central, northern, eastern, and western (see Figure 1). Additionally, a discussion on East African regionality will also be included but will be specified as such.
- **Socialization** – “A process of learning and social development, which occurs as we interact with one another and become familiar with the social world in which we live” (Coakley, 2009, p. 92).
- **Social class** – “Constructed classes can be characterized in a certain way as sets of agents who, by virtue of the fact that they occupy similar positions in social space (that is, in the distribution of powers), are subject to similar conditions of existence and conditioning factors and, as a result, are endowed with similar

dispositions which prompt them to develop similar practices” (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 6). According to Bourdieu (1987), social class comprises three fundamental forms of capital: economic (e.g., financial wealth), cultural (e.g., education), and social (e.g., connections and social group memberships).

- **Social identity** – “aspects of a person that are defined in terms of his or her group memberships.” (Deaux, 2001, p. 1059) Social identity is first a constructed label but is connected to lived experiences that have implications for people who claim the social identity. (Deaux, 2001)
- **Sports** – “Well-established, officially governed competitive physical activities in which participants are motivated by internal and external rewards.” (Coakley, 2009, p. 6)

Organization of Study

In Chapter One, I have provided background and contextual information and stated the problems that will be addressed through this study. Additionally, I outlined the research questions, delimitation, limitations, and significance of this study and defined selected terms. In Chapter Two, I will discuss the historical and geographical context of Uganda, introduce postcolonial and postcolonial feminist thought, review the status of women’s football globally, across the African continent, and within Uganda, and literature about social identities in general and in sport. In Chapter Three, I will outline the methods and procedures for this study. In Chapter Four, I present the themes that resulted from the interpretive analysis and in Chapter Five I organize the results by research question. In Chapter Six, I will engage in a discussion of the results. Lastly, in

Chapter Seven I will review the implications of this study, recommend directions for future research, and end with conclusions about this research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Building from the problem statement and significance of the study in Chapter One, in this chapter, I discuss the geographic and historical context related to Uganda, women's football globally and within Africa, theoretical frameworks, and theories and literature about social identities.

Geographic and Historical Contexts

In this section, I first comment on relevant historical considerations about the development of East Africa as a region. To compliment the history of Uganda discussed in Chapter One, I provide additional contextual information in this section. I then revisit literature related to women in Ugandan sport.

East Africa

East Africa encompasses the present-day nation-states of Uganda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, and Tanzania. This group of nation-states has also been called the African Great Lakes Region to recognize the “historical, sociopolitical, cultural, and economic geographies that cross and complicate these constructed borders” (Omeje & Redeker Hepner, 2013, p. 1). The East African or African Great Lakes Region has always been a region full of diversity, yet in recent history the region is often discussed in relation to the many conflicts that have marred the region (e.g., civil war in northern Uganda). Omeje (2013) recognized that some of the conflicts and ethnic tensions existed in the pre-colonial era and that colonialism further exacerbated the conflicts. In post-colonial East Africa, the artificial nation-state

boundaries created under colonial rule have been maintained but the historical attempts at regional integration continue.

In discussing the history and politics of the regional integration of East Africa, Ochwada (2013) argued that attempts to integrate nation-states across the region have taken a top-down, authoritative rather than a bottom-up, collaborative approach that has been part of the regional culture even during the pre-colonial era. Further, the top-down approach to integration has centered on economic integration and largely ignores, and perhaps even negatively impacts, social integration. A focus on social integration could support the realization of equity and human rights across the region (Ochwada, 2013).

One attempt at regional integration was the creation of the East African Community (EAC) in 1967, which did not re-shape the political and societal structures that were residual from colonialism. Rather these structures became the foundation from which the EAC would build. With increasing nationalist competition, the EAC crumbled in 1977 (Ochwada, 2013). There have been subsequent attempts to create unity across East Africa since the collapse of the EAC but they have had little success. What may be more successful, and potentially make for a promising future for the possibility of regional integration, are the grassroots organizations and collectives that have heard and embraced Ochwada's (2013) rationale for a bottom-up integration. One of the collective movements that have taken to the idea is the women's movement, which will be revisited in a following section.

In this study, one of the social identities explored is participants' East African identity as well as their identity in relation to their home region from within Uganda.

Understanding the pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial, and neocolonial attempts at creating a uniform East African identity can shed light into the related results in Chapter Five.

Uganda

In Chapter One, I provided a brief discussion of the history of Uganda. In 1862, the King of Buganda sent a letter to Queen Victoria requesting for her to send missionaries to the Kingdom of Buganda to teach Bagandans about Christianity and “Western knowledge.” Queen Victoria responded by sending British missionaries to Buganda in 1877 and later declared Uganda a British protectorate in 1894 (Mutibwa, 1992).

During the era of British colonialism in Uganda, Bagandans (members of the Bugandan Kingdom) became the enforcers of colonial law as the British took an “indirect rule” approach to colonialism (Mutibwa, 1992). The post-colonial era began in 1962. Bagandans took over leadership of the newly independent country due to the leadership and educational opportunities they were able to access during the colonial era, creating a form of hegemonic power. This Bagandan hegemony has continued through the present day, and, as will be demonstrated in Chapter Five, has also influenced sport.

In post-colonial Uganda, English continues to be the national language, with Luganda (language of the Buganda Kingdom) also widely spoken (CIA World Factbook, 2016), furthering Bagandan hegemony. Interestingly, Bagandans are estimated to only comprise 16.9% of the total population of 37,101,745 (CIA World Factbook, 2016). In 2015, 16.1% of the population reportedly lived in urban areas. While Bugandans and

urban-living people make up a smaller percentage, they also experience a considerable amount of privilege, as will be demonstrated in this study. Lastly, Uganda is predominantly a Christian nation: Roman Catholics and Protestants (including Anglicans and other groups) make up roughly the same percentage, 41.9 and 42 percent, respectively (CIA World Factbook, 2016). These numbers are meant to help contextualize the experiences of the participants in this study.

Women in Uganda

Uganda is a patriarchal society that strongly values heterosexual marriage (Otiso, 2006). Within marriage women are often expected to fulfill a domestic role while men work outside the home to earn money for the family. While this division of labor existed in pre-colonial Uganda, colonialism introduced Victorian values that reframed domestic work as less valuable than the work men did outside the home (Tamale, 1999). This hierarchical division of labor has persisted in the post-colonial era and women continue to experience marginalization in Ugandan society.

An important disclaimer to women's experiences of marginalization is that women have not experienced the marginalization passively. The women's movement in Uganda began right from independence even though women were not represented in the post-colonial political structure. The history of political turmoil hampered, but did not extinguish, the women's movement. For example, when Idi Amin appointed himself as president he wanted full control and this eventually led to the banning of women's organizations in 1978 (Tamale, 1999).

After Amin was overthrown in 1979, two women became House representatives. In 1984 Uganda celebrated International Women's Day for the first time (Tamale, 1999). The following year in 1985 Uganda signed and ratified the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW; United Nations, 2015). In 1986 the National Resistance Movement (NRM), led by current President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, gained control of the Ugandan government and became the first government to actively promote the inclusion of women in the political sphere. With the new government also easing heavy restrictions on NGOs (Tamale, 1999), the women's movement seemed to be rejuvenated.

Unfortunately, the support of women by the NRM ended up being largely symbolic (Ottemoeller, 1999). The NRM implemented some policies that would support gender equality (e.g., representation quotas) and included affirmative action policies in the 1995 Constitution (Kadaga, 2013). However, these policies did not translate to the improvement of gender equality in the daily lives of Ugandan women (Ottemoeller, 1999). Women continue to experience marginalization in many aspects of daily life including land ownership and access to and completion of education (Otiso, 2006), as well as sport (Kateshumbwa, 2011).

Women in Ugandan Sport

The status of Ugandan sport was reviewed in Chapter One. Most of the literature in regards to girls' and women's sport participation in Uganda has focused on the intersection of sport and development or empowerment (Hayhurst 2013a, 2013b, 2014; Hayhurst, MacNeill, Kidd, & Knoppers, 2014). As noted in Chapter One, research

focused on girls' and women's competitive sport participation in Uganda is scarce, with the exception of Kateshumbwa's (2011) survey exploring Ugandan board, executive, or committee members', coaches', and athletes' perceptions of gender equity in competitive sport. One of the participating sports federations was the Federation for Uganda Football Associations (FUFA). Of the participants, 66.7% were male and 33.3% were female. Additionally, 62% of participants were athletes, 24.4% were board, executive, or committee members, and 13.6% were coaches. Kateshumbwa (2011) developed two descriptive surveys: one for board, executive, and committee members and coaches and one for athletes. Participants responded to survey items using a five-point Likert scale (Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Undecided, Agree, Strongly Agree). The researcher and research assistants administered the survey to participants in person. Results of the study reveal gender imbalance in sport participation as well as representation in coaching and administrative positions. There was no disagreement among any groups of participants about the underrepresentation of women in Ugandan sport (Kateshumbwa, 2011).

Between 1988 and 2009, on average men held 85% of positions on board and executive committees (Kateshumbwa, 2011). While women have had some representation on these committees, a woman has not yet held the position of a Chairperson. Specific to sports associations or federations, like the Federation of Uganda Football Association (FUFA), men continue to hold more leadership positions (Kateshumbwa, 2011). Additionally, national team coaches have largely been male. During the time period selected for the study (1988-2009), men coached 100% of men's teams. Further, men coached 100% of women's teams until 2004 when that percentage

dropped to 80% (Kateshumbwa, 2011). Men also continue to have more opportunity to compete as athletes on national sports teams. Less than one-third (30%) of national team athletes were women between 1997 and 2004. More hopefully, in 2009 women represented just over 40% of national team athletes, which might indicate a trend toward gender equity in terms of participation (Kateshumbwa, 2011). If trends found in Kateshumbwa's (2011) study continue at the same rate, gender equity would be realized for board/executive committee positions in the year 2251, for coaching in the year 2039, and for athlete representation/participation in 2017 (Kateshumbwa, 2011).

Kateshumbwa (2011) also explored some of the perceived causes of this gender disparity in sport, which were found to include the fact that more opportunity, support, and resources were awarded to men's sport. Additionally, some of the causes were due to social, cultural, economic, and political factors (Kateshumbwa, 2011). One example of a social factor that may explain gender disparity in Ugandan sport is that participants across all three categories (board/executive committee members, coaches, athletes) perceived women as less interested in sport than men. Cultural factors that contribute to the gender disparity included participant perceptions that sports are meant for men and not for women and that men should be the ones in leadership positions (Kateshumbwa, 2011). Even with the belief that men should be the ones to lead, both board/executive members and athletes agreed that women are allowed opportunities to lead. Interestingly, coaches disagreed with this statement (Kateshumbwa, 2011).

Gender disparity in Ugandan sport was also perceived by participants to be caused by economic factors like women's sport receiving less funding. Lastly, political factors

were also perceived to play a role in sustaining gender disparity in sport (Kateshumbwa, 2011). Only half of board or executive members believed that legislative policies that support gender equity in sport were in existence. Contrarily, coaches and athletes did not believe that these policies were in place. Often gender equity committees are established to assess these policies; however, all three groups of participants acknowledged there is a lack of gender equity committees in national sport organizations. Further, board/executive members and coaches believed that leaders in sport were aware of gender issues while athletes did not support this belief (Kateshumbwa, 2011). Athletes did believe that they themselves were aware of gender issues in sport but board/executive members did not believe athletes held this awareness. Coaches were split on whether athletes were aware of gender issues in sport (Kateshumbwa, 2011).

The results from Kateshumbwa (2011) provide a strong foundation for further exploration of women's competitive sport in Uganda. She also included an exploration of how gender equity in sport could be realized. Some of these suggestions included increased media coverage for women's sport, ensured equal funding, and the establishment of gender equity committees and policies (Kateshumbwa, 2011). However, it seems that further exploration of women's competitive sport experiences, especially at the national level, is warranted. Kateshumbwa's (2011) study explored male and female perceptions of women's competitive sport in Uganda, as reported through quantitative methods, but women's actual lived experiences in competitive sport are left out. A deeper understanding of how the perceptions reported through Kateshumbwa's (2011) results connect to what is being experienced by female athletes is needed. More specifically, an

exploration of whether women's lived experiences support or conflict with the broader perceptions of women's competitive sports could help support and inform gender equity policies, which Kateshumbwa (2011) suggested should be put in place.

While it is clear that gender equity has not yet been realized in Ugandan sport, it is important that there is a desire for this achievement by those who are experiencing the disparity, as identified through pilot studies. This qualitative study was conceptualized as a result of personal experiences and communication with the Head Coach of the Uganda Women's Senior National Football Team (UGWSNFT), Akiiki, and several athletes on the team.

Women's Football

To set the scene for the current study, I first engage in a brief discussion about women's football globally and then move to focusing on the continent of Africa.

Women's Football Globally

Recently elected FIFA President Gianni Infantino boldly claimed at the second FIFA Women's Football and Leadership Conference, "Women's football and women in football is a priority – it's part of the solution for the future of football" (FIFA.com, 2016b). Such a statement from the top football executive in world football might be a ray of light in an otherwise gloomy and inequitable past. To example FIFA and football's inequitable past that has been a focus in recent media, only one of the 13 committee members charged with creating reforms for FIFA was a woman (Glass, 2016). In addition to inequity in FIFA leadership, there is a pattern of women's football being under-resourced and underpaid. Recently the United States Women's National Soccer Team

filed a federal wage discrimination complaint against their governing body, U.S. Soccer and reported that they earn a mere 40% of what players on the United States Men's National Soccer Team receive (Das, 2016). Before the media picked up the recent stories about gender inequity in global women's football, FIFA conducted an online survey of women's football (FIFA, 2014). The survey assessed the existence of national women's football leagues, presence of women in leadership, coaching, and referee positions, and the number of registered female footballers, among other topics. Of the 209 member associations (MA), 177 participated in the survey, one of which was FUFA. Overall the survey demonstrated that inequity existed within women's football by nations and geographic regions, not just in terms of gender inequity.

Results of the survey indicated that there are a total of 1,186 full and part-time employees dedicated to women's football, which is only 10% of employees working within football. Interestingly, the higher the number of employees dedicated to women's football, the higher the MA is in FIFA rankings. The FIFA rankings determine how teams are performing in relation to other, with the most successful team ranked as one. For example, MA with teams ranked between 1st and 20th in the world average 20 employees dedicated to women's football. Conversely, MA's ranked 100th and greater, or are unranked, such as FUFA, average three (FIFA, 2014). Further, only 52% of the employees dedicated to women's football are full-time employees. One key action item mentioned in the report, based on these numbers, is that the number of full-time employees dedicated to women's football has a significant impact on the development of

women's football, and if a MA wants to develop women's football they should hire more full-time employees dedicated to women's football (FIFA, 2014).

In terms of MA leadership, the survey showed that women comprise a mere 8% of executive committee members, with an average of 1.1 per MA. The representation of women on executive committees was also associated with higher world ranking (FIFA, 2014). MAs ranked in the Top 20 averaged 13% of women on the executive committees, while all other levels averaged 7. FIFA recently passed reforms making it mandatory for each MA to have a minimum of one female Council member (FIFA, 2016a), which may be a step toward equity.

Women also had less representation than men in coaching positions globally (FIFA, 2014). There were a total of 83,262 female coaches registered through participating MAs, without regard for licensing level, bringing the average per MA to 496. This means that only 7% of all coaches registered through MAs are female (FIFA, 2014). These numbers are again connected to performance. The MAs with teams ranked in the Top 20, on average, register 5,037 female coaches (8%) while teams ranked below 20 drop to 4% female coach registrants. At the bottom, MAs ranked greater than 100 or were unranked, average a mere 15 registered female coaches (FIFA, 2014). These numbers suggest that educating and registering female coaches is an important factor in the development of women's football.

Results from the *2014 Women's Football Survey* also revealed that there are 4,801,360 female players registered with their respective MAs. However, the US and Canada alone account for 47% of those players and the MAs ranked in the Top 20

(includes USA and Canada) account for 91% of the nearly five million female players worldwide (FIFA, 2014). Based on these numbers, FIFA recommends that MAs organize more competitions in an effort to formally register more female players and therefore increase the MA representation globally. Further, of the registered female players globally, 54% are under the age of 17 years, making senior players the minority (FIFA, 2014). This makes sense as competition opportunities often dwindle or become more selective with advancement of age and level, yet for MAs outside of the United States and Europe the reverse is often true, indicating a weaker grassroots development system in those MA countries.

One of the last categories the *2014 Women's Football Survey* assessed was annual investment in women's football measured in United States Dollars (USD). The total annual investment across all participating MAs was 156,624,000 USD (FIFA, 2014). Again the MAs ranked in the Top 20 made the greatest investment, an average annual investment of 5.4 million USD, while the MAs ranked lower than 100 or were unranked only, on average, invested .1 million USD (100,000 USD) annually. FIFA argues that this investment gap helps explain the performance gap (FIFA, 2014). Former FIFA President Sepp Blatter once advised women footballers to lobby for an equitable share of funds from the national federations on their own (Saavedra, 2003). This may not be an appropriate suggestion given that most of these federations are male-dominated, as demonstrated in the results of the *2014 Women's Football Survey* (FIFA, 2014). Further, Former FIFA President Blatter also provided a first-hand example of the sexism that would make it difficult for women to lobby to male leadership for an equitable share of

funding. He was quoted saying, “let’s get women to play in different and more feminine garb than the men ... tighter shorts for example ... beautiful women play football nowadays, excuse me for saying so” (Reuters, 2004). Such sexist perceptions of female athletes continue to hold them secondary to male athletes.

In Chapter One and in this section, I have established that women’s football on a global level is treated inequitably in all facets of the game, as evidenced by scholars (Caudwell, 2011; Saavedra, 2003) and FIFA (FIFA, 2014). This includes participation, coaching, funding, and administrative representation. Additionally, as discussed in Chapter One, female football players often face societal stigma and cultural barriers to being accepted as footballers (Caudwell, 2011; Saavedra, 2003). I will explore this further in the next section.

Women’s Football in Africa

The overarching governance structure of football is set by FIFA. However, each continent or world region and each participating nation has its own governing body. The governing body for football across the African continent is the Confederation of African Football (CAF). Both FIFA and CAF govern national football federations such as FUFA.

As a result of from rising resistance to women continuously being discriminated against in football globally, the FIFA-sponsored Women’s Football Association was established in 1993. The Women’s Football Association has increased opportunity for girls and women to play football; however, its existence has not eliminated the presence of sexism within football (Caudwell, 2011). While CAF has established a Women’s Committee, similar to FIFA, there has been very little tracking of the support (e.g., fund

distribution, equipment, field access) of women's football (Saavedra, 2003).

Accountability is not maintained without regular reporting and tracking, which may be a contributing factor to the lack of growth in the development of women's football in Africa. "Enhanced control of money flows" is a goal of the recent FIFA reforms (FIFA.com, 2016a).

In the previous section I summarized results from FIFA's *2014 Women's Football Survey* with a focus on the overall or global statistics. In Table 1, I have compared these statistics with CAF statistics to assess the performance of CAF in relation to women's football on a global level. When comparing the performance of CAF to other regional or continental governing structures, CAF most often performs at a lower level. In relation to the overall statistics, Table 1 shows that CAF does perform at the average level in terms of percentage of women on executive committees, although the average is a mere 8% (FIFA, 2014).

When asked about how women's football is perceived in their countries, only 18% of MAs from CAF thought women's football is a great platform for international participation. This may be due to how few MAs are able to fund teams for international competition. While the relation to these statistics to FIFA ranking is intriguing, what might be more telling for this category is if the numbers were compared by how many international competitions each MA competed in annually, biannually, or every five years. Alternatively, MAs from CAF viewed women's football more strongly (36%) as a vehicle for social development than the overall average of MAs (32%), which may

Table 1. *FIFA 2014 Women's Football Survey* – Overall Versus CAF

<i>Variable Assessed</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>CAF</i>
Average number of staff dedicated to WF	6.7	5.0
% of full-time employees dedicated to WF	52	47
% of women on executive committees	8	8
% of female coaches registered	7	6
% of female referees	10	6
Total number of registered female players	4,801,360	54,055 (1.13%)
% of senior versus youth female players	46 / 54	54 / 46
Female players per 10,000 inhabitants	47.4	14
Annual investment in WF (USD)	156,624,000	11,600,000
Median annual investment per MA (USD)	157,500	37,500
% of MAs with a WF sponsor	29	20
% of MAs with government support for WF	33	24
% of MAs with both types of support	12	9.0
% of MAs in which WF is perceived:		
• As a great platform for international participation	35	18
• As a vehicle for social development	32	36
• As a sport for women which is culturally challenged	30	33
• As a sport which is not traditionally seen as being for women	29	22
*WF = Women's Football		(FIFA, 2014)

connect to an increased focus of using football for international development programs across Africa. Interestingly, MAs from CAF perceived that women's football is a sport which is culturally challenged at a higher percentage than the global average but perceived at a lower percentage than the global average that football is a sport that is not typically seen as being for women. So while 88% of MAs in CAF indicate that football is perceived as a sport for women in their country, they also recognize that women face cultural barriers when participating in football.

Literature about the development of and experiences in women's competitive football in Africa has been most widely studied within South Africa (Engh, 2011; Mills, 2010; Pelak, 2005, 2006, 2009). Clark (2011) also studied female administrator experiences in relation to the 2010 FIFA World Cup hosted in South Africa. Specific to East Africa, there is one case study about Kenyan girls' football (Tranfaglia, 2014). In this case study, Tranfaglia argued that the increased focus on using football as a tool for development and women's empowerment has increased the competitiveness of girls' football in Kenya through the associated training. Kenya has a growing professional league for women and the top secondary school teams are often covered in the media. While it is likely that these development and empowerment-focused programs have helped increase access to and competitiveness of women's football in Kenya, they also overlook any efforts by administrators, coaches, and players already in the competitive football structure, if such efforts exist.

Women's Football in Uganda

In Chapter One, I provided a brief history of the Crested Cranes. There is no literature to date about women's football in Uganda and the information in the opening chapter is what is currently available to the public. Reporting this study's findings in Chapter Four, I will share the participants' insights about women's football in Uganda, including its history, as well as the observations and contextual pieces I have gathered through participant-observation.

Theoretical Frameworks

In this section I introduce postcolonial and postcolonial feminist theory, which have theoretically guided this dissertation with consideration that Uganda is a post-colonial nation.

Postcolonial Theory

Two theorists that contributed greatly to the advancement of postcolonial theory are Frantz Fanon and Edward Said. While including other theorists as well, this section will largely focus on two key concepts from some of Fanon and Said's foundational works. For Fanon, I draw from his first book *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952/2008) and *Orientalism* (1978/1994) for Edward Said. The two themes for this section are construction of the "Other" and truth and knowledge.

Construction of the "Other". Loomba (2015) reminded us that colonial practices were largely sustained and justified by Europeans through the construction of "Self" and "Other." The Europeans were, of course, represented as "Self" (read: superior) and the colonized people became the "Other" (read: inferior). From a psychoanalytic

perspective, Fanon (1952/2008) discussed how colonialism created a binary division between the colonizers and colonized. This division is not simple and is not experienced passively. Rather, as Fanon (1952/2008) showed and experienced first-hand, the colonized, or the “Other,” experience the division quite viciously. He proposed the division as two facts: (a) “White men consider themselves superior to black men,” (b) “Black men want to prove to white men, at all costs, the richness of their thought, the equal value of their intellect” (Fanon, 1952/2008, p. 3). The first fact represents the rationalization for colonialism; if White men are superior then the “Other” (Black) men are inferior. The second fact reflects the internalization of the first fact, or epidermalization according to Fanon (1952/2008).

The epidermalization of White superiority is marked most strongly when Black men adopt the colonizer’s language and cultural standards. Fanon (1952/2008) said:

Every colonized people—in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality—finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country. The colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country’s cultural standards. (p. 9)

This quote also references that colonialism brought about the death of the culture of the colonized people. This is important to note when studying the impact of colonization because colonialism was much more than economic and political domination.

Colonialism allowed the Europeans to be dominant because of their efforts to replace the colonized people's cultural traditions and beliefs with European ones. While it might be tempting to want to return to or recover native culture, other postcolonial scholars have warned against this yearning. For example, Spivak (1988) stated, "a nostalgia for lost origins can be detrimental to the exploration of social realities within the critique of imperialism" (p. 87). Such "nostalgia" is misleading because both Fanon and Spivak have argued that colonized (or formerly colonized) people are not allowed to become Subjects; they remain objects to be used to sustain European (Western) domination. Additionally, looking for lost origins could be seen as a smokescreen to what actually needs to be uncovered—the legacies of colonialism and imperialism that continue to oppress large numbers of people around the world. Edward Said (1978/1994) has exposed such legacies in his discussion about how the Orient is represented in Western discourse.

In *Orientalism*, Said (1978/1994) also drew upon the role of language in the colonizer ("Self")/colonized ("Other") relationship. While Fanon (1952/2008) saw language as representative of the penetration of the colonizer culture into the colonized, Said talks about the role of language in the creation of Orientalist discourse. Said (1978/1994) believed Orientalist discourse to be "a set of representative figures, or tropes" (p. 71). However, this description could be misleading because the tropes are not necessarily representative of Oriental reality. Rather, they are reflective of the representation put forth by Orientalism and Orientalists. Said wrote:

we need not look for correspondence between the language used to depict the Orient and the Orient itself, not so much because the language is inaccurate but because it is not even trying to be accurate. What it is trying to do ... is at one and the same time to characterize the Orient as alien and to incorporate it schematically on a theatrical stage whose audience, manager, and actors are *for* [original emphasis] Europe, and only for Europe. (Said, 1978/1994, pp. 71-72)

In this excerpt, Said (1978/1994) claimed that the representations of the Orient by Orientalists (travelers/scholars who study the Orient) are not accurate and thus we should not worry about if the descriptions are or are not accurate. However, in the last sentence of the quote, Said (1978/1994) hit on how descriptions create the Orient as the “Other.” If the “Other” is created and is made to appear alien, then the Europeans might not take interest in the Orient. This would be problematic because the Europeans need support at “home” to continue the colonialist and imperialist project, or the “civilizing mission.” The language of Orientalism is written to appeal to Europeans for their consumption, not for it to be an accurate or actual representation of the Orient. Thus, language clearly has a powerful role within colonialism, imperialism, and Orientalism.

While Fanon (1952/2008) examined language for its role in the erasure of the culture of the colonized and the assimilation of the colonized into the colonizer culture, Said (1978/1994) built upon this by discussing how the language used to represent the colonized/Orient is not meant for consumption by the colonized. This may be because the culture of the colonized no longer exists, as Fanon argues. In the structure of language

there are both subjects and objects and it is important to question if the colonized or Orient are subjects or objects within colonial/Oriental discourse.

When the colonized and/or Orient are forced into the role of the “Other,” they remain objects rather than subjects of discourse. Additionally, this discourse becomes represented as a stereotype, which is the argument put forth by Bhabha (1994). As he claims, “The objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonised as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 70). This objective would thus effectively situate the colonized people as “Other” by rationalizing that they are inferior on the basis of their race. There are similarities between this argument and the arguments put forth by Fanon (1952/2008) and Said (1978/1994). For example, based on Fanon’s argument, one might presume that the black man cannot become a subject until he rids himself of his blackness and becomes a man (read: white man). This relates to Said’s discussion about the delicate balance between portraying the Orient as alien, which would make it uninteresting to the West, and as exotic and an intriguing place to visit, study, and invest in. In all of these arguments, the West maintains its position as “Self” and the Orient or colonized as “Other.” While we can see how this division has been maintained within discourse or rationale for the ‘civilizing mission,’ it is also important to explore how colonization and Orientalism is an intellectual project (Said, 1978/1994) on an ontological and epistemological level. I will now turn our focus to this aspect of colonization/Orientalism by evoking dialogue about truth and knowledge.

Truth and Knowledge. Building upon colonial discourse sustaining the “Self” and “Other” binary division between the colonizer and colonized (respectively), this section will focus on connections between truth and knowledge. Said (1978/1994) argued that the “Self”/ “Other” division, or the Orient/Occident division within Orientalism, is an ontological and epistemological distinction. Thus, we can discuss the relation between truth and knowledge within colonial discourse.

Loomba (2015) claimed, “colonialism reshaped existing structures of human knowledge” (p. 71). This claim builds on Fanon’s (1952/2008) argument that colonization served as an erasure of native culture. Yet, it is not likely that this reshaping happened simply or quietly. Loomba reminded us of this by noting that colonialist production of knowledge “included a clash with, and marginalization of, the knowledge and belief systems of those who were conquered. But colonialist knowledge also involved a constant negotiation with or an incorporation of indigenous ideas” (p. 80). This argument recognizes that the reshaping of human knowledge structures was not only a one-way process.

Said, in his discussion about knowledge production in *Orientalism*, did not seem to agree with Loomba’s (2015) argument that knowledge production is a negotiated process. Said (1978/1994) warned, “one ought never to assume that the structure of Orientalism is nothing more than a structure of lies or of myths which, were the truth about them to be told, would simply blow away” (p. 6). It would seem that if Said believed knowledge production was a negotiated process, there would be at least some truth to ground the knowledge and protect it from being blown away. Related to

knowledge production, Said also discussed how Orientalism is constructed through methods used to analyze the Orient and is political.

Said (1978/1994) noted that Orientalist approaches to analysis are also problematic in the production of knowledge. If an Orientalist is using the Orient and West as two polarizing categories of analysis it reinforces the distinction between the two (e.g., comparative analyses). More specifically, such an approach reinforces the inferiority of the Orient. Thus, the knowledge produced from these analyses leads to “the sense of Western power over the Orient” being “taken for granted as having the status of scientific truth” (Said, 1978/1994, p. 46). This taken-for-granted knowledge is problematic given the shaky ontological and epistemological ground it stands on, as previously argued by Said. Additionally, reinforcing the inferiority of the Orient may continue to objectify the Orient thereby reducing the Orient’s autonomy.

Knowledge production within Orientalism or colonial discourse is also problematic because it extinguishes the autonomy of the Orient. To this extent, Said (1978/1994) noted:

to have such knowledge of such a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it. And authority here means for “us” to deny autonomy to “it” – the Oriental country – since we know it and it exists, in a sense *as* [original emphasis] we know it. (p. 32)

Thus, indigenous knowledge is not viewed as “real” knowledge because the Orientalist did not create it. In this passage, Said (1978/1994) demonstrated that the Orient no longer exists as the Orient knows itself; the Orient only exists as the Orientalist knows it.

Without the Orientalist, the Orient does not exist. This also reinforces the division between “Self” (Orientalist/subject) and “Other” (Orient/object) while maintaining the Orientalist as superior. Additionally, this argument is similar to Fanon’s (1952/2008) argument that colonialism erased the culture of the colonized.

Postcolonial scholars such as Fanon and Said have helped further the understanding of how indigeneous knowledge of colonized people is not as valued as the knowledge constructed by the colonizers. Knowledge produced by women has also historically been less valued. Now I will turn the discussion to focus on postcolonial feminism, which is the overarching theoretical framework that guides this study.

Postcolonial Feminist Theory

Postcolonial theory has historically centered on the male experience with colonialism while feminist theory has centered on the White, Western woman’s experience with gendered oppression (Rajan & Park, 2004). Postcolonial feminism is a response to both postcolonial theory and feminist theory. Further, “postcolonial feminism is an exploration of and at the intersections of colonialism and neocolonialism with gender, nation, class, race, and sexualities in the different contexts of women’s lives, their subjectivities, work, sexuality, and rights” (Rajan & Park, 2004, para. 1). This is an important intersection given arguments that claim colonialism contributed to the increased gender imbalance in colonized nations in both the public and private spheres of life (Loomba, 2015). In the public sphere women were part of the larger collective of colonized people who experienced limited agency and economic exploitation under colonial rule. At home in the private domain women became symbols of culture and

nationality and men, who were negotiating their own reduced agency in the public sphere, sought to protect women (as symbols of culture and nationality) from becoming Westernized (Loomba, 2015). Spivak (1988) also discussed the colonized woman in a related manner. She argues that the economic exploitation and patriarchal social relations experienced by the colonized woman puts them “doubly in the shadow” (p. 84).

While women were placed “doubly in the shadow” (Spivak, 1988, p. 84) during colonialism, they did not fully escape colonial discourse. Loomba (2015) noted, “women are the ‘site’ rather than the subjects” of colonial discourse because they “are not just a symbolic space but real *targets* [original emphasis] of colonialist and nationalist discourses” (Loomba, 2015, p. 214). For example, colonizers often justified their “civilizing mission” by claiming that they were rescuing native women from the patriarchal oppression of the native culture. Yet, it is also important to recognize how these monolithic narratives of the “Third World” woman continue to be perpetuated in scholarship.

Chandra Mohanty (1988; 2003) is the postcolonial feminist scholar who has made the deepest impact on my development as a postcolonial feminist. Mohanty critiqued Western feminism, which was, at the time of her first essay (1988), largely produced by White, Western, middle class women. While critiquing feminist scholarship, it is clear that she drew upon the writings of postcolonial scholars. For example, she noted:

the definition of colonization I invoke is a predominantly *discursive* [original emphasis] one, focusing on a certain mode of appropriation and codification of ‘scholarship’ and ‘knowledge’ about women in the third world by particular

analytic categories employed in writings on the subject which take as their primary point of reference feminist interests as they have been articulated in the US and western Europe. (p. 61)

Her critique begins with describing how Western feminism set up the White, Western, middle class woman as “Self” and women from different race or class backgrounds as “Other.” This unequal structure of power between “Self” and “Other” has been critiqued in postcolonial literature (Said, 1978/1994). Through this binary structure, Mohanty (1988) argued that Western feminist writings:

discursively colonize the material and historical heterogeneities of the lives of women in the third world, thereby producing/re-presenting a composite, singular ‘third-world woman’ – an image which appears arbitrarily constructed but nevertheless carries with it the authorizing signature of western humanist discourse. (pp. 62-63)

The notion of discursive colonization is similar to Spivak’s (1988) argument of epistemic violence where colonialist and imperialist administrators disperse monolithic narratives through education and law thereby silencing and objectifying the subaltern. This type of discourse also relies on assumptions that the colonized/subaltern/Orient are static and unchanging.

Mohanty (1988) put forth the notion of “third-world difference,” which is evoked when ‘sexual difference’ is assumed to be stable, ahistorical, and universal. The “third-world difference” does not account for the various ways gender relations existed in pre-colonial societies or how colonialism diversely impacted gender relations. Additionally,

the ‘third-world difference’ does not account for the interconnections between the First and Third World or for the role the Third World played in creating the dominance of the First World. Loomba (2015) described colonialism as “the midwife that assisted at the birth of European capitalism” (p. 22). The dominance of Europe and the West is intimately tied to capitalism and their transition to capitalism would not have been as successful without the colonized people in the third world. Perhaps for this reason, Mohanty (2003) then identified herself as both an anti-racist and anti-capitalist scholar.

Building from her 1988 article, Mohanty wrote a follow-up article in 2003 to dispute claims that the basis of her 1988 argument was that First and Third World women should not work together against oppression. She noted that such critiques do not accurately reflect her argument; she simply wanted “to make clear that cross-cultural feminist work must be attentive to the micropolitics of context, subjectivity, and struggle, as well as to the macropolitics of global economic and political systems and processes” (Mohanty, 2003, p. 501). Further, Mohanty believed that women could build solidarity based on common differences but must simultaneously acknowledge and work through power differentials amongst women. These arguments and cautions contributed by postcolonial feminism have informed the ways in which I approach the current study, particularly how I research across differences and power differentials between the participants and myself.

Social Identities

One of the research questions in this study, as outlined in Chapter One, is how multiple social identities influence Ugandan women’s participation in elite football. In

this section I will discuss definitions and beliefs about social identities and review scholarship from sport sociology that has examined social identities in the context of sport.

Jenkins (2014) defined identity as “our understanding of who we are and who other people are, and, reciprocally, other people’s understanding of themselves and of others (which includes us)” (p. 19). In this definition, it is clear that our individual process of personally constructing our identities do not occur in a vacuum. Social identities are created relationally and are not fixed. Jenkins (2014) goes on to further define identity and connect it to identification:

- ‘Identity denotes the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their relations with other individuals and collectivities.
- ‘Identification is the systematic establishment and signification, between individuals, between collectivities and between individuals and collectivities, of relationships of similarity and difference.
- Taken – as they can only be – together, similarity and difference are the dynamic principles of identification, and are at the heart of the human world. (p. 19)

The ways in which other people, and thus society, construct identities impact the ways in which we construct and experience identities through identification.

Identity and social identity are sometimes differentiated. For example, Deaux (2001) defined social identity as the “aspects of a person that are defined in terms of his or her group memberships” (p. 1). However, Jenkins (2014) believed that putting social in front of identity is redundant because his proposed definition of identity clearly could

not exist without social aspects. While I agree with Jenkins and will adopt his definition of identity, I find it important to use social identity to be clear that I am talking about socially constructed collective identities (e.g., gender, ethnicity) as opposed to personal identities (e.g., extravert, introvert). Moving forward, I will use the term social identity in the same spirit of Jenkins (2014) since he uses identity and social identity interchangeably in his book.

In the United States, the study of identity grew largely out of social psychology and symbolic interactionism, also known as microsociology, and focused on examining how interpersonal interactions helped an individual develop a sense of self (Cerulo, 1997). Social psychology also serves as a bridge between those who argue for identity as a personal construction (e.g., psychology and/or psychoanalytic scholars) and those who believe identity to be a social construction (e.g., macrosociology and/or postmodern theory scholars). This bridge will be demonstrated in the subsequent discussion about social identity theory and identity theory.

Two main theories of identity that come out of social psychology are social identity theory and identity theory. While some scholars believe the two to be conflicting, Stets and Burke (2000) argue that they are complementary and highlight the foundational similarities between the two theories. For starters, the self is seen as reflexive and able to categorize itself in relation to other social categories. This is called self-categorization in social identity theory and identification in identity theory (Stets & Burke, 2000). For social identity theory, the self-categorization process impacts a person's self-esteem when the person reflexively evaluates their positioning in terms of other members of the

category, or the in-group, and members of the out-group. If the self feels a sense of belonging within the in-group, self-esteem may be elevated (Stets & Burke, 2000). Instead of categories, identity theorists base the construction of identity on the self's identification with roles, which come with existing meanings and expectations that the self must negotiate. However, both theories acknowledge that while the self-categorization or identification processes impact the self (e.g., self-esteem), the meanings of categories or roles that the self must negotiate are constructed socially and culturally (Stets & Burke, 2000).

Both social identity theory and identity theory also evoke other cognitive and motivational processes beyond the reflexivity required for self-categorization or identification. For example, depersonalization (social identity theory) and self-verification (identity theory) highlight how the self embodies and internalizes the norms of the ascribed category or role, which can be facilitated or constricted by societal structures (Stets & Burke, 2000). The self is motivated to adhere to and uphold the category/role norms in order to increase self-esteem or self-worth, yet the self-esteem or self-worth is often dependent upon whether other in-group members acknowledge and accept the self for fulfilling the category or role expectations (Stets & Burke, 2000). Thus, if the self is rejected from the group or was not able to fulfill the category or role expectations, then self-esteem, self-worth, and other cognitive processes could likely decrease. Deaux (2001) identified three motivational functions of social identity:

- 1) social identity may serve as a means of self-definition or self-esteem, making the person feel better about the self;

- 2) social identification may be a means of interacting with others who share one's values and goals, providing reference group orientation and shared activity; and
- 3) social identification can serve as a way of defining oneself in contrast to others who are members of another group, a way of positioning oneself in the larger community. (p. 5)

Understanding motivations for social identification is important because they may impact behavior (Deaux, 2001; Stets & Burke, 2000). Typically, the stronger the self identifies with a social group or role, the stronger their motivation to adhere to the group's behavior. For example, an athlete who has recently joined a team might accept hazing practices in an attempt to be accepted into the in-group (the team).

Both social identity theory and identity theory provide important considerations for the study of social identities. It may not be enough to simply look at how societal structures shape and construct identities as these theories clearly demonstrate that the lived experiences of people within these identity categories have a real impact on their psyche. Yet, it would be limiting to not also take a macrosociology approach and study the societal structures that are influencing the construction of social identities.

Those who believe that social identities are socially constructed reject "any category that sets forward essential or core features as the unique property of a collective's members" (Cerulo, 1997, p. 387). One reason for this is the belief that social identities are constantly negotiated and reconstituted through language and social interaction. However, postmodern scholars are skeptical of this belief as it implies that

discourse is equated with truth and it underemphasizes the role of power in the construction of the identities (Cerulo, 1997). Scholars who study the social construction of social identities are most often looking at collective identities and may also focus on differences between and within identities (Rummens, 2003). In recognizing that social identities are both personally and socially constructed, each view having their own implications for the individual and for society, Jenkins (2014) proposed the following to highlight the relationship between the two views:

- with respect to identification, the individually unique and the collectively shared can be understood as similar in important respects;
- the individual and the collective are routinely entangled with each other;
- individual and collective identification only come into being within interaction;
- the processes by which each is produced and reproduced are analogous;
- the theorization of identification must therefore accommodate the individual and the collective in equal measure. (pp. 39-40)

Thus, if a purely individual perspective were taken in the study of social identities, then it would undermine the influence of social and cultural structures on those identities.

Conversely, if only social and cultural structures and power were acknowledged in the construction of social identities, such an analysis would undermine the individual's agency negotiating and constructing identities. It is clear that both need to be acknowledged, although it is understandable that the personal or social construction might be weighted differently dependent upon discipline (e.g., psychology versus sociology).

Intersection of Social Identities

In 1989, Kimberle Crenshaw published a landmark essay and coined the term *intersectionality*. In this essay, Crenshaw (1989) used law to demonstrate how a single axis framework of discrimination analysis (e.g., gender or race but not both) erased the unique discriminatory experiences of Black women in the United States. However, she also noted that intersectionality is not simply the sum of two oppressions. For example, Black women might experience discrimination based on race in some environments and on gender in others. And at other times they might experience discrimination as Black women but not necessarily the same discrimination as Black men and/or White women. This concept is called *intersectionality* because Crenshaw (1989) used the following analogy:

Consider an analogy to traffic in an intersection, coming and going in all four directions. Discrimination, like traffic through an intersection, may flow in one direction, and it may flow in another. If an accident happens in an intersection, it can be caused by cars traveling from any number of directions and, sometimes, from all of them. Similarly, if a Black woman is harmed because she is in the intersection, her injury could result from sex discrimination or race discrimination. (p. 149)

Bhavnani and Talcott (2012) have critiqued the metaphor of an intersection as being too static, overlooking the agency of the person in the intersection and thus placing the person in a victim role. Instead, Bhavnani and Talcott (2012) proposed the term *interconnections* and state:

interconnections that configure [original italics] connotes more movement and fluidity than lies in the metaphor of intersection, as well as offering a way of thinking about how not only race and gender but also nation, sexuality, and wealth all interconnect, configure, and reshape each other. The concept of interconnections that configure each other also connotes a notion of active engagement, with a consequent attribution of agency to the subjects of the configurations. (p. 137)

This definition might be more in line with psychology scholars emphasizing the individual or even postcolonial feminist scholars (e.g., Chandra Mohanty, Lyndsay Hayhurst) given the common critique that postcolonial women are often represented as victims without agency.

The critique of intersectionality as too static of a metaphor is reflected in Carbado's (2013) summary of six standard criticisms of intersectionality. These criticisms include:

1. Intersectionality is only or largely about Black women, or only about race and gender.
2. Intersectionality is an identitarian framework.
3. Intersectionality is a static theory that does not capture the dynamic and contingent processes of identity formation.
4. Intersectionality is overly invested in subjects.
5. Intersectionality has traveled as far as it can go, or there is nothing more the theory can teach us.

6. Intersectionality should be replaced by or at least applied in conjunction with [fill in the blank]. (p. 812)

Carbado (2013) believed that these critiques are more reflective of the discursive limits or interpretations of intersectionality rather than limitations of the actual theory. To bring intersectionality back to its roots of critical race theory, Carbado (2013) introduced *colorblind intersectionality*, or “instances in which whiteness helps to produce and is part of a cognizable social category but is invisible or unarticulated as an intersectional subject position” (p. 817) and *gender-blind intersectionality*, which is similar to colorblind intersectionality but focuses on masculinity instead of whiteness. To me, it seems that if the critiques identified by Carbado (2013) were due to limits of conceptualization or interpretation, there would not need to be *colorblind or gender-blind intersectionality* as the concept could speak to identities that reflect both privilege and oppression. Regardless, the impact of intersectionality is clear and has helped advance scholarship beyond a single axis framework for analyzing discrimination. In Chapter Five I will highlight the ways in which intersectionality is evoked when understanding the football experiences of participants.

Identity Negotiation/Work

Identity negotiation or work may be one example of the self’s ability to be reflexive and adapt to different environments throughout the lifetime (Deaux, 2001). However, it may also be indicative of the fact that some social identities are ascribed to people as a result of social structuring and consequently do not align with the social identities with which the individual self-identifies (Rummens, 2003). Identity negotiation

or work also demonstrates that the self does not passively accept ascribed social identities. Sport sociology scholars have demonstrated how sport can be an environment where identity negotiation takes place and thus individuals resist, contest, or change their social identities within and through sport.

Negotiating gender and sexuality. In a study that examined women's rugby, Ezzell (2009) examined how the players engaged in identity work in terms of their gender in order to further expose how large-scale gender inequality is upheld within sport. One way in which the participants engaged in identity work was through defensive othering, which is when members of subordinate groups (e.g., female athletes, women) reinforce “the power of stigmatizing labels by arguing that the label is true for other members of their social category, but not for themselves” (Ezzell, 2009, p. 114). The specific defensive othering/resistance strategies that the women's rugby players utilized included identifying with dominants (male rugby players), normative identification, and propping up dominants. In identifying with dominants, the women rugby players set up a hierarchy. They viewed themselves as inferior to male rugby players but yet they were the closest female athletes to the superior status of male athletes. All other female athletes, and more so females who were not athletes, were seen as not as tough and became Othered through perceived inferiority. Toughness was a key part of the participants' “rugger” identity (Ezzell, 2009). In identifying with the dominants, the female rugby players sought to work against the stereotype of femininity being equated with passivity. However, they actually reinforced it because of their alignment with male rugby players.

Another resistance strategy that the female rugby players engaged in when negotiating their femininity was normative identification, which is when members of subordinate groups align “themselves with the norms and values prescribed by dominants for subordinated groups” (Ezzell, 2009, p. 118). So, while the participants purposefully selected rugby to work against passive notions of femininity, they became especially vulnerable to being stigmatized as lesbians. To counter this stigma, the participants engaged in normative identification and emphasized their femininity and heterosexuality. This process also engaged their racial identities since the team was overwhelmingly white and they could work to ensure that they are conforming to the white, middle class feminine norms (Ezzell, 2009). Further, through recruiting, the team leadership purposefully selected women who would protect the team’s collective (public) heterosexual, and thus feminine, identity (Ezzell, 2009). Additionally, the women’s rugby players engaged in normative identification by emphasizing their smaller stature than women’s rugby players from other teams. From this, and perhaps influenced by Griffin’s (1992) notion of heterosexy, Ezzell (2009) developed the concept of heterosexy-fit and indicated that the *heterosexy-fit identity*:

emerged out of the contradictions between “tough” and “feminine,” the seemingly incompatible identities to which the players made simultaneous claim. It was enabled by the team’s whiteness and middle class privileges, and it was a rewarding identity in a variety of ways. Constructing it relied, however, on the devaluation of other female athletes and women in general. (p. 123)

Through the heterosexy-fit identity, women's rugby players were maintaining the dominant status of male athletes by identifying with the dominants and engaging in normative identification.

The last defensive othering strategy that the women's rugby players engaged was propping up the dominants, or the (re)assertion of the supremacy of the dominant group (male athletes). Even though both women and men's rugby play by the same rules, the women reiterated that they would not promote co-ed rugby (Ezzell, 2009). They viewed themselves as tough and aggressive with other women but would not want to be seen that way in the eyes of the male rugby players. Ezzell (2009) interpreted this as the women rugby players protecting the masculinity of the male rugby players and their own heterosexy-fit femininity. Ultimately, all of these defensive othering and resistance strategies were employed in order "to be seen as an exception to the dominants' perceptions of the subordinated group" (Ezzell, 2009, p. 125). This subsequently prevents the women's rugby players from engaging in collective resistance to the subordination of female athletes because they are working toward individual accommodation rather than group emancipation (Ezzell, 2009).

Meân and Kassing (2008) also questioned the relation of identity work and group emancipation through their study of how professional women's soccer players in the United States challenge or resist female athletes being placed at the boundaries of the athlete identity. The participants of this study seemed to quickly move the discussion or focus of their gender identity out of the way. This was viewed by Meân and Kassing (2008) as the participants managing gender as an issue, through which they sought to

quickly acknowledge that male and female athletes are treated differently but then move on to recentering the focus on them as athletes (not female athletes). Much of the participants' discussion about their athletic identity focused on how it was natural that they desire to compete at the highest levels. Additionally, the participants evoked masculine descriptions of an athlete through dialogue about pain, heroic triumph, and competition. Yet, similar to the women's rugby players in Ezzell's (2009) study, they balanced this dialogue with emphasizing their heterosexuality and femininity. What is intriguing is that often times the participants would abruptly switch their focus from masculine narratives of sport participation to an emphasis on their heterosexuality and/or femininity. Meân and Kassing (2008) attribute this to the participants realizing that they were challenging the masculinity of sport if they were focusing on those aspects as women. Participants' contrasted descriptions of athlete identity and female athlete identity, which was marked by difference. The women's soccer players constructed their athlete identity based on differences between them and other women and their female athlete identity from differences between themselves and male athletes. Meân and Kassing (2008) noted:

this reflects the complexity of identities in action and the apparent contradiction by which we can resist dominant discourses, particularly in the re/production of identities at local levels, while simultaneously participating in the re/production of wider discourses of hegemonic oppression. (p. 138)

These results demonstrate that even elite female athletes, who might be seen as those who should be the most "empowered" given their elite status, construct their

athletic identities “using familiar culturally established discourses of male athleticism while simultaneously managing femininity” (Meân & Kassing, 2008, p. 142). Meân and Kassing (2008) concluded that increasing female sport participation falls short of actually achieving gender equality and empowerment in sport and therefore we must “scrutinize the embedded communicative practices of people who regulate, participate in, organize, and mediatize sport” (p. 142). Now that I have demonstrated examples of female athletes negotiating gender and sexuality, I will provide examples of how female athletes negotiate gender, religion, race, and ethnicity.

Negotiating gender, religion, race and ethnicity. Walseth (2006) demonstrated how identity work impacted the sport and physical activity participation of young Muslim women. The participants were all second-generation immigrants in Norway and constantly questioned and negotiated their belonging. Much of the identity work centered on conflicts between the participants’ identities as women and their religious and ethnic identities.

One participant, Aisha, did not contest the restrictions her ethnic identity placed on her sport participation (Walseth, 2006). At one point in her youth she desired to join her brother and participate in self-defense sport; however, her parents did not think that it was an appropriate sport selection for a girl and she accepted without challenging them. Walseth (2006) concluded that this was a way for Aisha’s parents to maintain the boundaries of their ethnic identity based on their own upbringing. Unlike Aisha, most of the participants in Walseth’s (2006) study contested these rigid ethnic identity boundaries. Another participant, Jess, noted that it was not just parents who police the

boundaries of their ethnic identity because she experienced the policing in public by other adult members of their shared ethnic identity.

However, sport and physical activity provided a way for participants to negotiate the separation of their ethnic and religious identities. By separating their ethnic and religious identities the participants rejected the ethnic identity boundaries that restricted women from participating in sport and thus successfully gave themselves increased agency to follow a more progressive reading of Islam that promotes physical activity for women (Walseth, 2006). This study demonstrates how sport can be used by younger generations to negotiate and shift identity boundaries.

Negotiating gender, race, and class. Pelak (2005) explored how female football (soccer) players in South Africa negotiated their gender, race, and class identities. Football has historically been constructed as a male domain in South Africa and girls and women are often excluded from the domain. One participant in Pelak's (2005) study recalled how boys would simply not pass her the ball thereby excluding her from playing with them. This is one of the ways the boys upheld the gendered boundaries around football. When playing on a girls' team, the participants indicated that it felt like they were treated like children. Such secondary treatment not only maintained gendered boundaries, but it also ensured that the boys' game was secured a more dominant, advanced position (Pelak, 2005).

Historically White women in South Africa were given more opportunity to participate in football than Black women; however, the increasing democratization of South Africa allowed Black women to seize increased opportunity and access to playing

football (Pelak, 2005). The increase of diversity in South African women's football led to players negotiating structural and ideological structures that might exclude certain groups through "an ethic of care and everyday acts of mutual support" (Pelak, 2005, p. 64). They worked together to overcome barriers that might have left girls or women from lower classes or certain ethnicities (Blacks/Africans) from being able to play football. Age also played a role as older players often mentored younger players. Through collective action across difference, these girls and women challenged how they were placed at the outskirts of football because of their gender identity.

Summary

In this chapter, I have provided an overview of women's football globally and across Africa. Unfortunately, there was not much information to expand upon in terms of Ugandan women's football. Yet the status of Ugandan women's football will be revisited in Chapter Five, as I have garnered further insight about the status through observations and participant interviews. I then engaged in a discussion of central ideas of postcolonial and postcolonial feminist theory. Lastly, I reviewed literature and theories about social identities and highlighted multiple studies that demonstrate how female athletes negotiate multiple, often conflicting, social identities. All of the studies discussed have emphasized ways in which social change may occur. Importantly, Pelak (2005) noted that social change must occur through collective action across difference, which supports the rationale for analyzing the UGSWNFT player experiences through an intersectional, postcolonial feminist framework.

Chapter Three: Methods and Procedures

As stated in the introductory chapter, the research questions for this study were:

- 1) How do Ugandan women experience football (soccer) in terms of a variety of social identities (e.g., gender, ethnicity, social class, nationality, regionality)?
- 2) How do Ugandan women experience being a player on the senior women's national football team?
- 3) In what ways do colonialism and/or neocolonialism shape the experiences of the Ugandan women football players?

To answer these questions and to guide this qualitative research project, I employed a postcolonial feminist theoretical framework. Since I have already engaged in a discussion of postcolonial feminism in Chapter 2, in this chapter I first describe my epistemological orientation and then move to discussing feminist ethnography, which is a methodology I have drawn upon during this research. Next, I describe what methods and procedures I followed, including the data analysis process. Prior to the brief summary, I end this chapter by detailing my positionality in relation to the participants and this study. Note that the positionality statement in this chapter was written prior to data collection. I will return to this positionality in Chapter Five to detail the negotiations I made with regard to my positionality while in the field and after.

Epistemologies

Several postcolonial feminist scholars have subscribed to a feminist standpoint epistemology. Feminist standpoint epistemology argues that women have a privileged view of the social world because of their view from their "lesser" social position(s)

(Hesse-Biber, 2012). Perhaps ironically, this privileged view comes from their lack of privilege in the (male) social world. Feminist standpoint epistemology is based on the premise of hegemonic masculinity, where men serve as the ruling class and women consent to adhering to masculine norms in society (Brooks, 2007). Therefore, women must live in two worlds: theirs and men's.

One of my largest influences as a postcolonial feminist scholar is Chandra Mohanty, who favors feminist standpoint epistemology and methodology and believes that the oppressed have epistemic privilege over the oppressor. Mohanty's (2003) argument reads as if she advocates for this epistemic privilege, or a privileged view of reality/truth, when she claims that analyzing power from the standpoint of the most marginalized women in the world (e.g., poor women who live in post-colonial/neocolonial nations) will yield the most inclusive understanding of systemic power. Thus, the reality of power is best understood from the standpoint of the oppressed woman. However, other feminist scholars have argued against feminist standpoint epistemology because of this assumption that the oppressed have epistemic privilege.

Thayer-Bacon (2003) noted that she does not believe that any person existing and living *within* a social world has a privileged perspective. Rather, she saw arguments that support feminist standpoint epistemology as promoting a "spectator's view on Reality" (Thayer-Bacon, 2003, p. 32). For Thayer-Bacon (2003), the promotion of the spectator view on Reality does not account for individuals always being embedded within Reality. She does not believe that individuals can suspend their position within Reality in order to "read up the ladder of privilege" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 511). Each person's position has a

limited view of Reality and thus no one person or group of people can have epistemic privilege over another.

Lal (1996) also argued against feminist standpoint epistemology by claiming that advocating “privileged epistemic standpoints from the specific ontological location of the oppressed thus downplays the very real possibility that such representations can be colonialist, while simultaneously obscuring the possibility of noncolonizing representations emerging from nonsubjugated standpoints” (p. 198). In other words, Lal (1996) cautioned those subscribing to feminist standpoint epistemology to not assume that their representations are innocent and cannot also be colonialist simply because they are attempting to write from the standpoint of the oppressed woman. In the second part of the above quote, Lal (1996) was pointing out that standpoint epistemologies appear to question the view of the privileged/oppressor. Mohanty (2003) argued that those with privilege are blind to the experiences of people without the same privileges, but Lal (1996) appeared to acknowledge that the privileged/oppressor may be able to engage in noncolonialist representations and work to understand those with less privilege than them.

I have been quite conflicted about my own views on feminist standpoint epistemology, especially with the consideration that many postcolonial feminist scholars have adopted the epistemology. However, I agree with Lal (1996) and Thayer-Bacon (2003) in that I do not believe that one person has epistemic privilege over another because I believe we are all socially embedded within our own reality. I also do not believe there is one reality, which may also be why I resist the notion of epistemic

privilege. Lastly, I agree with Lal (1996) because I am in a non-subjugated position in terms of nationality and race in relation to the participants. However, I am committed to representing the participants of my dissertation in non-colonialist ways. Two epistemologies that I have found helpful in reflecting on my beliefs about the social world are situated knowledges (Haraway, 1988) and relational epistemologies (Thayer-Bacon, 2003).

Situated Knowledges

In 1988, Donna Haraway introduced the notion of situated knowledges as an epistemological contribution to feminist critiques of positivist objectivity. In fact, for Haraway, “feminist objectivity is about limited location and situated knowledge, not about transcendence and splitting of subject and object” (p. 583), meaning that objectivity should be about claiming our partial, limited perspectives rather than claiming to be able to sever ourselves from the research project/participants. By claiming transcendence and “unlocatable...knowledge claims” Haraway (1988, p. 583) argued that the researcher is irresponsible because she cannot account for the origins of the knowledge. Further, Haraway (1988) seemed to disagree with standpoint epistemology warning against “romanticizing and/or appropriating the vision of the less powerful while claiming to see from their positions” (p. 584). Lal’s (1996) argument reads similarly in that if researchers claim to see from the oppressed standpoint without acknowledging their own partial, situated location, then the resulting representations may in fact be colonialist through this appropriation. Haraway (1988) did not argue that the “less powerful” cannot or should not be research subjects. Rather, she believed that it is because of the never-finished,

constructed, partial, situated knowledges of the researcher that the researcher and research subjects can “join with another, to see together without claiming to be another” (p. 586). When joining with another, it should be recognized that situated knowledges are communal, not individual. Additionally, situated knowledges should position the object of knowledge (e.g., research subject) as having agency (Haraway, 1988).

Relational (e)pistemologies

Thayer-Bacon (2003) sought to challenge the transcendental beliefs of epistemology, as it had been understood in philosophy and sociology, so that epistemology is positioned contextually within the world rather than removed from everyday lived experiences. She used “(e)pistemology” to signify that truths and knowledge are constructed “within the context of this world, not removed from our ordinary, everyday experiences” (p. 3). While Thayer-Bacon (2003) recognized that relation can have multiple meanings, she saw the multiplicity of relations as a positive contribution to her argument. The relation in relational (e)pistemology stands for connections to and caring for self and others (human and non-human). Relational (e)pistemology acknowledges “knowing as something that is socially constructed by embedded, embodied people who are in relation with each other” (Thayer-Bacon, 2003, p. 10). Not only are people in relation to themselves and each other, but they are also in relation with the world they are embedded within and with other living beings (e.g., animals, nature). Additionally, Thayer-Bacon (2003) argued that it is because of this relationality that we can become aware of our embeddedness in the world.

To me, Haraway (1988) and Thayer-Bacon (2003) provided complimentary views on epistemologies that have helped me think through truth(s), knowledge construction, and relationality. These two feminist scholars have shaped my beliefs on these concepts as I agree with both of their arguments and have found them most suitable for the current research.

Methodology

While postcolonial feminism is the main guide for this study, I have also drawn upon elements of feminist ethnography as a guiding methodology. According to Buch and Staller (2007), feminist ethnography includes:

- (1) ethnography focused on women's lives, activities, and experiences,
- (2) ethnographic methods or writing styles informed by feminist theories and ethics, and
- (3) ethnographic analysis that uses a feminist theoretical lens and/or pays particular attention to interplays between gender and other forms of power and difference. (p. 190)

While Buch and Staller (2007) put forth these three ways ethnography can be feminist and vice versa, Stacey (1988) concluded that there cannot be a fully feminist ethnography.

Stacey (1988) originally believed that ethnography could greatly address feminist research concerns about power differentials between the researcher and the participants. Yet, once she started using ethnography within her feminist research she began to question this notion. Stacey's concern with using ethnographic methods in feminist

research is centered on two contradictions. The first contradiction is that regardless of intention, the ethnographer is an intruder in a space often full of conflicts between interest and emotion as a participant of that space and as a potentially exploitative researcher/observer. The second contradiction moves from the research process to the research product. Stacey acknowledged that ethnographers often collaborate with the communities they study but the contradiction enters when the researcher is the one who creates, disseminates, and benefits from the product of that collaboration.

Ultimately, Stacey (1988) concluded that ethnographic methods expose research participants/subjects to a great deal of potential exploitation and danger, which works against feminist beliefs about research. While Stacey argued against the possibility of a fully feminist ethnography because of these contradictions, she did support the idea of a partially feminist ethnography. The ethnographic approach advocated for by Stacey is part feminist ethnography and part critical ethnography. Stacey encouraged ethnographers to use and apply feminist perspectives when representing cultures and to maintain the rigorous self-awareness and partiality of representation that stems from critical ethnography. Both ethnographers and feminist researchers have continued to grapple with Stacey's question, "can there be a feminist ethnography?"

Bhavnani and Talcott (2012) argued that feminist ethnography may help researchers remain attentive to difference and "offer the possibility of glimpsing where and how the continuities and discontinuities in women's lives might speak to each other" (p. 136). This is all done with a focus on the lived experiences of women and analyzing these lived experiences from both an individual and structural level. Feminist

ethnography has also helped expose some of the pitfalls of feminist research, as demonstrated by Stacey's (1988) essay. Since I am utilizing participant and non-participant observation to further contextualize the experiences of the participants, I believe that feminist ethnography has been productive in helping me make connections between the different data sources while keeping the focus on the voice of the participants, as I demonstrate in Chapters Four and Five.

Methods and Procedures

After discussing the research with the gatekeeper of the study, Akiiki (Head Coach of the UGWSNFT), I obtained a letter of support to conduct the research from the Federation for Uganda Football Association (FUFA; Appendix A). Akiiki served as the gatekeeper in the sense that she was my advocate to the FUFA executives who gave permission for the study. The executives granted permission based on Akiiki's support of and trust in me. I then received approval for this research from the University of Tennessee's Institutional Review Board (Appendix B) and the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST; Appendix C). Data collection occurred between November 25, 2015 and January 17, 2016 while I was in Uganda.

Data Sources

The data sources for this study include semi-structured interviews, participant and non-participant observation, and reflexivity.

Semi-structured interviews. Many feminist researchers favor open-ended, semi-structured interviews (DeVault & Gross, 2012). This is likely because of their focus on lived experiences and relationship building between the researcher and the subject.

However, DeVault and Gross (2012) noted “that interview researchers need to recognize that experience recounted is always emergent in the moment ... and is shaped by discursive histories” (p. 212). It was important for me to understand the histories in which the experiences of research subjects are situated prior to the start of the interviews, as best I could. DeVault and Gross (2012) indicated that engaging in the preparatory work of learning the available history of the context in which research subjects reside is a way to demonstrate respect for the willingness of the subjects to share their experiences with the researcher. My preparatory work included pilot research in 2012, a pilot interview specifically for this study, engagement in girls’ and women’s football clinics in 2012 and 2013 in the central, northern, and western regions of Uganda, a review of scholarly literature related to women’s sport, football, and general sport in Uganda, and maintenance of a strong relationship with the Head Coach and the Technical Advisor of the UGWSNFT. However, I recognize that there are limits to my understanding of these histories given my positionality, which I discuss further at the end of this chapter.

Due to concerns about undue influence from the University of Tennessee Institutional Review Board, the coaches were removed from the participant recruitment process and remains unaware of who participated in the study with the exception of one participant who self-disclosed her participation to the coaches. Participants were recruited with the assistance of one of the team captains and through Facebook. The Technical Advisor for the UGSWNFT, Briana, provided me with a list of Facebook names of potential participants but was not further involved in participant recruitment or the study. Prior to departure, I used Facebook to initiate conversation and obtain the mobile

numbers for potential participants. Upon arrival in Uganda, the team captain gathered the rest of the mobile numbers that I did not have for potential participants. I called each potential participant and invited her to participate in the research study (see Appendix D for my recruitment script). A total of 18 current or former UGSWNFT players who were listed on the official roster of at least one international competition for the UGSWNFT were invited to participate in the study. Ten of the Ugandan women contacted (56%) agreed to participate in the study. The participants will be described in greater detail in Chapter Four.

The interviews ranged from 54 minutes to two hours and 42 minutes with the average being one hour and 29 minutes. All of the interviews were conducted in English, which is the national language of Uganda and is the language used in the education system. However, there were a few issues due to linguistic comprehension, highlighting one of the limitations of this study. Participants signed an informed consent form prior to participating in the semi-structured interview (Appendix E). The informed consent forms were written in English. The interviews were audio-recorded and were conducted at the participants' choice of location. Three interviews were conducted in the participant's home and seven were conducted in a public-access facility of the participant's choosing.

During the interviews, I used a semi-structured interview guide (Appendix F) that was adapted from a previous study in Uganda where I was the Co-Principal Investigator (Johnson & Whitley, in press). Not all of the questions were asked in every interview as the interview guide was seen as a pool of questions. I also engaged in active listening during the interviews. DeVault and Gross (2012) defined active listening as a "fully

engaged practice that involves not only taking in information via speech, written words, or signs but also actively processing it” (p. 216). By not engaging in active listening, I would have run the risk of supporting dominant perspectives about the research subjects’ social identity groups (e.g., Third World women). Alternatively, by engaging in active listening, I gained the ability to work toward co-constructing knowledge that is *for* instead of *about* research subjects (DeVault & Gross, 2012). In Chapter Four I will highlight some interactions between participants and myself to demonstrate this co-construction of knowledge. At the end of the semi-structured interviews participants were asked what action they think should be taken to improve the experience of UGWSNFT players and to whom the subsequent report of results should be disseminated. Their responses will be included in Chapter Four.

All interviews were transcribed verbatim using InqScribe, a transcription software that slows voice speed and allows for the transcriber to insert time stamps. I originally intended to use Dragon Dictate; however, upon assessing the environment in which I would be transcribing, I opted to use InqScribe to protect confidentiality. The spaces where I transcribed typically had other people in them and I did not feel comfortable vocalizing the participants’ words before the participants had approved them. The transcripts were de-identified by replacing the participants’ real names with self-selected pseudonyms. I ensured that the pseudonyms selected by participants were not represented on UGWSNFT rosters. Four participants selected pseudonyms that were an adapted version of their name or the name they use on Facebook. After following up and asking them if they are comfortable with these names indicating that I perceived they could

subsequently be identifiable, all four participants believed that they would not be identifiable. However, with additional consideration about confidentiality after returning from Uganda, I selected new pseudonyms for these participants. I also de-identified the transcripts by removing the names of teammates, schools, non-national team coaches, and any other potentially identifying information.

After the interviews were transcribed and de-identified, I arranged a second meeting with participants as a form of a member-check (Creswell & Miller, 2000). The second meetings lasted approximately an hour as participants engaged in a careful reading of their transcript. I honored all changes requested by participants for their transcripts. Examples of requested changes include grammatical or spelling errors within the transcript and clarifications of words I was not able to understand while transcribing. One participant removed most of her critical comments about FUFA and perceptions of women footballers. During this second meeting the participants also approved the report that will be disseminated to the public (Appendix G).

Participant and non-participant observation. In addition to interviewing UGSWNFT players, I engaged in participant and non-participant observation. These observances “in the field” have helped me make connections between participants’ individual experiences and the larger structure (e.g., culture). Direct observation took place at a Women’s Elite League game, the Corporate League, and two Men’s Super League games. Both of these events were open to the public. Participant observation included my experiences interacting with participants, both in the interview setting and in

other settings (e.g., football games), and five girls' and women's football clinics or tournaments led by Akiiki and Briana as part of their football outreach program.

DeVault and Gross (2012) suggest that feminist researchers using interviews as a data collection tool should also engage in mapping, which moves beyond simply reporting out what research subjects said in the interview. When engaging in mapping, feminist researchers should locate research subjects' "responses in a particular historical context and to recognize each response as mediated by power relations" (DeVault & Gross, 2012, p. 229). Additionally, Lal (1996) noted that "if we are to be truly open to what our research subjects tell us, we must be willing to read against the grain and yet within the larger contexts that situate their responses" so that stereotypes about the research subjects are not perpetuated (p. 204). Using participant and non-participant observation has helped me engage in this process of mapping, especially considering the lack of literature on women's sport in Uganda available to guide this process. I have relied on guidance from feminist ethnography when using my observations to make connections between the research subjects' responses/individual experiences and the larger structure. I kept my observational notes and reflections in a fieldwork journal and did not include any identifying information. Additionally, I kept an electronic reflexivity journal throughout the research process and later added my observation notes to this journal. My reflexivity and observation journal totaled 36 single-spaced electronic pages in length. This data will be interwoven into Chapters Four and Five, as observations and reflexivity both helped me make greater sense of the participants' experiences they so openly shared with me.

Reflexivity. In my dissertation I aim to give more than “lip service” to my positionality (Lal, 1996). While I began reflecting on and writing out my positionality prior to entering the data collection phase, I remained reflexive about how this positionality developed and shifted throughout the research process (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2012). Through reflexivity, I sought to expose how I navigate the inherent power imbalances of the research process. This is especially true since this research is helping me earn a doctoral degree (Huisman, 2008). As Wolf (1996) said, I am “making a situation for myself based on the structures of poverty and gender inequality” (p. x).

Engaging in reflexivity also after I returned from data collection was important. Lal (1996) saw writing and the academy as the “field of representation” and argued, “it is in the academy that we feel the pressure to reproduce colonizing discourses on the Other most strenuously” (p. 192). Remaining reflexive through the writing process and even beyond helps ensure that I am publicizing “politically responsible representations” of research subjects (Lal, 1996, p. 200). While I was engaged in transcription and data analysis, I kept notes of reflections that would pop into my mind so I could come back to them when constructing the representation of participants’ voices in this research. In a subsequent section is the positionality statement I wrote prior to leaving for data collection. At the end of Chapter Four I will make connections between this positionality statement and how my positionality developed and shifted in the field and after returning to Knoxville.

Data Analysis

To analyze the data resulting from the semi-structured interviews, direct and indirect observation, and reflexivity, I followed an iterative process (Grbich, 2007) and interpretive analysis (Hatch, 2002). Following are the eight steps to interpretive analysis:

1. Read the data for a sense of the whole
2. Review impressions previously recorded in research journals and/or bracketed in protocols and record these in memos
3. Read the data, identify impressions, and record impressions in memos
4. Study memos for salient impressions
5. Reread data, coding places where interpretations are supported or challenged
6. Write a draft summary
7. Review interpretations with participants
8. Write a revised summary and identify excerpts that support interpretations

(Hatch, 2002, p. 181)

My advisor, Lars Dzikus, PhD, joined the data analysis process at step three, identifying impressions. After we had both read through the transcripts, we met on two occasions to discuss and share impressions of the data. He was able to ask me questions to help better understand some of the context that participants referred to during the interviews. Many of the impressions identified by Lars and myself were the same, with little disagreement. Rather than labeling it disagreement, there were points in the conversation where I provided Lars with some contextual information based on my knowledge of the setting. There were no disagreements that needed to be worked through as we quickly, and easily,

came to consensus. We agreed on the main impressions and then I continued with the data analysis process. I used the collaboratively identified impressions to code the data in NVivo, a computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS), to search for examples that support or work against our impressions (step five). See Appendix H for frequencies of each impression.

After completing step five, I delineated from Hatch's (2002) remaining steps. Since I had already returned and there were technological and time barriers to sharing the impressions with participants (step seven), I instead shared themed impressions with a qualitative researcher who is originally from Uganda (see Appendix I for Emma Ariyo's Curriculum Vitae), who had also reviewed the semi-structured interview guide for this study prior to my departure to Uganda. After she read through the transcripts and the themed impressions and interpretations (Chapter Four), we engaged in discussion to ensure that the impressions and interpretations were accurate and representative of the data and context. She noted, "Your description of the participants and representation of their stories is spot on. You are doing a good job of capturing the situation of women football and their lives." Emma further shared that she identified with some of their stories, even though she was involved in volleyball rather than football.

The process Emma and I engaged in is similar to that of a peer debriefer and increases the trustworthiness of the study (Creswell & Miller, 2000). I felt comfortable deviating from Hatch's (2002) procedure as I did check some of my initial interpretations of individual participant experiences during the second meeting with each participant.

The participants also reviewed and approved the report to be publicly disseminated (Appendix G), which highlights some of the initial impressions.

Participants

The participants ranged in age from 20 to 32 years, with an average of 23.7 years. Only two participants (20%) were from a region outside of the central region and only three (30%) had an ethnic identification other than Bagandan (I do not disclose the specific regions or ethnic groups in an effort to protect participant confidentiality). The participants were largely Christian with three identifying as Born-Again (30%), one as Anglican Protestant (10%), two as Protestant (20%), and one as Catholic (10%). The remaining three participants (30%) identified as Muslim. See Table 2 below for a visual representation of these participant demographics.

Participants were also asked about their family structures (Table 3). Seven participants' (70%) families were monogamous and three (30%) were polygamous. The number of children in the participants' families ranged from two to 17 with the average being nine children per family. Parental employment covered a wide range of disciplines including engineer, business owner, teacher, peasant, and doctor.

All of the participants finished primary and secondary school. They also discussed their post-secondary education, current employment, marital status, number of children, and playing status (Table 4). Only two of the participants (20%) had earned a university degree at the time of the study. Four participants were current students (40%) and the remaining four (40%) started at a university or enrolled in a certificate program but did not graduate due to lack of funding. There was only one participant (10%) who was

actively coaching within football while others were students, cashiers, court clerks, salespeople, cashiers, or had part-time jobs related to sport and health. Nine of the participants (90%) were single/unmarried but three participants (30%) had at least one child. Nearly all of the participants identified as active players (80%), with Nava and Cindy being the only two who identified as retired.

Positionality

In this section I share the beginning of my positionality statement. I revisit this statement in Chapter Five to highlight how I dug deeper into my positionality while in Uganda. This statement was written prior to data collection.

Being a female athlete. It may seem contradictory to some, but I became a feminist through dance and cheerleading. I was constantly told that neither were a sport and that upset me. At the same time, I was getting very clear messages about what my body should look like and that, in its current form, my body was not congruent with societal norms. In my 17 years of dance and cheerleading, I can only remember one instance where I felt good about my body and it was when my dance coach complimented me on the definition of my quadriceps in seventh grade. During my undergraduate studies I took a “Psycho-Social Aspects of Sport” class and wrote a paper about how the media perpetuates negative images and how this impacts the ways in which female athletes view their own body.

This paper then turned into two research projects about the media representation of female athletes, which solidified my commitment to feminist analyses of sport. During my master’s program I researched body image in cheerleading. This idea stemmed from

Table 2. Participant Demographics

<i>Length of Interview</i>	<i>Age Range</i>	<i>Home Region</i>	<i>Ethnic Identity</i>	<i>Religious Affiliation</i>
0:54:29	20-24	Central	Bagandan	Catholic
1:05:43	20-24	Central	Non-Bagandan	Muslim
1:06:24	20-24	Central	Bagandan	Born-Again
1:10:08	25-29	Central	Bagandan	Muslim
1:12:43	20-24	Central	Bagandan	Protestant
1:20:23	20-24	Not Central	Non-Bagandan	Muslim
1:23:47	25-29	Not Central	Non-Bagandan	Protestant
1:35:58	20-24	Central	Bagandan	Born-Again
2:23:05	30-35	Central	Bagandan	Born-Again
2:42:10	20-24	Central	Bagandan	Anglican Protestant

Table 3. Participant Family Structure

<i>Family Structure</i>	<i>Number of Children (Including Participant)</i>	<i>Parent Employment (Dad=D, Mom=M, Step-Mom=SM)</i>
Polygamous	17 (6 from mom, only girl)	Engineer (D), Retired secretary (SM)
Polygamous	17 (2 girls)	Engineer (D), Farmer (M), Salesperson (SM)
Monogamous	11 (9 girls)	Peasant (D and M)
Polygamous	10 (6 from mom, 4 girls)	No work due to injury (D), Businesswoman (M)
Polygamous	8 (4 from mom, only girl)	Deceased, was a doctor (D), Businesswoman (M)
Monogamous	8 (2 girls)	Businessman (D), Businesswoman (M)
Monogamous	7 (5 girls)	Doctor (D), Businesswoman (M)
Monogamous	7 (2 girls)	Works in market (D), Businesswoman (M)
Monogamous	3 (only girl)	Deceased, was a business owner (D), Business owner (M)
Monogamous	2 (only girl)	Retired teacher (D), Teacher (M)

Table 4. Participant Education, Employment, Marital Status, Playing Status

<i>Post-Secondary Education</i>	<i>Current Employment</i>	<i>Marital Status</i>	<i>Number of Children</i>	<i>Playing Status</i>
Obtained a certificate in technology	Coach	Single	1	Active
Almost completed university but doesn't enough money to finish	Two sport and health related part-time jobs	Single	0	Active
Started certificate but didn't have enough money to finish	Construction	Single	2 (1 deceased)	Active
Started university but didn't have enough money to finish	Cashier	Single	0	Retired
Current university student	Student	Single	0	Active
Current university student	Student/ Footballer	Single	0	Active
Current university student	Student	Single	0	Active
Holds Bachelor's degree	Clothes salesperson	Single	0	Active
Current university student	Student/mom	Married	1	Retired
Holds Bachelor's degree and pursuing additional certificate	Court clerk	Single	0	Active

*All participants finished primary and secondary school.

my own experiences in cheerleading. I felt that I was supposed to be hypersexual in sideline cheerleading but could harness the power of my muscles and competitiveness in competition cheerleading.

These differing experiences also led me to reflect on the ways in which women experience their bodies in various sports. Over time I have learned that the body pressures I had naively thought were unique to aesthetic sports such as dance and cheerleading, were also present in various forms in other sports. This has led me to be interested in how female athletes negotiate not only their body within sport, but also femininity. I can somewhat relate to this as I participated in volleyball, basketball, and softball in elementary/middle school and continued with softball through high school. I always felt like my interest in dance and cheerleading conflicted with my love for softball because of the different ways I had to negotiate femininity in the two settings. I have also learned that female athletes, including myself, have to negotiate much more than femininity or body image; they must also negotiate their identities related to race, class, sexuality, etc.

I expect that the participants in my dissertation will also likely be forced to negotiate multiple identities in order to compete in football (soccer). While I may relate to the participants as a female athlete, I am an outsider to their specific sport. Football was never an option in my primary and secondary school. We didn't have enough kids in our school to offer the sport. Thus, what I have learned about the sport is through peers, colleagues, literature, and observation. Based on past experiences, my lack of knowledge about soccer has actually helped me reduce power differentials. Participants are then the

expert on soccer and this may help them feel more in a position of power. However, I could also lose some rapport with them if I am perceived as being completely unaware of the sport.

Being a White, English-speaking, American. I grew up in a small town where the people, for the most part, were fairly racially homogenous. There were only two of 76 students in my graduating class who might not be socially classified White, and they were both adopted. Growing up in this environment never forced me to face my Whiteness and the privilege that accompanies it globally. Additionally, I grew up in a family where racial slurs were often used. During my undergraduate studies I became a little bit more aware of racial issues but still was never really forced to face my White privilege. I did date several men from racial minority backgrounds and felt the backlash for dating interracially. When my older brother first found out that I was dating a man who was not White, he left me an incredibly hateful voicemail and said that I was a disgrace to the family and that he did not consider me to be his sister anymore. I addressed this with my parents and they were upset with him but they were not willing to address their own racist beliefs. They simply said what I perceive they thought I wanted to hear so that the “issue” would go away. Since this time they have engaged a little bit more with their underlying racist beliefs, but, as we all do, they still have a ways to go. My grandfather is another family member who has made multiple racist remarks to me over the years. Most recently he told me that I had better not come back with one of “those” (Ugandan men) as my husband when I go to Uganda to collect data for my dissertation.

During my Master's program at Springfield College I began to develop the skills I needed to address my White privilege and my family's racism. I took a "Counseling Diverse Populations" course where the faculty and other students finally forced me to face my White privilege. This was quite an eye-opener for me and it took several very difficult conversations with a few close friends who were of a racial minority for me to begin to realize the amount of privilege I hold simply for being White. This was also a timely realization because I was serving with AmeriCorps in an underserved high school where most of the students were of a racial minority. I was often the only White person in the room. While this initially made me uncomfortable since I had never experienced being a racial minority before, I learned to embrace the feelings of discomfort and use them to become more empathic for what it feels like to be a racial minority. I fully recognize that when I left the high school I was able to return to multiple spaces of the privileged majority, just like I will after I leave Uganda.

It was also during my Master's program that I first had the opportunity to travel to Uganda. I initially had no interest in going on the program that was being offered. My advisor was collaborating with one of her former students to organize a trip to Uganda and build basketball courts through an organization called Courts for Kids. The courts were to be built at a school in northern Uganda. My advisor sent out a "final call" for people to sign up for the trip and on a whim I decided to take the chance. My original intentions were quite paternalistic and benevolent. I had internalized all of the stereotypical narratives about Africa and expected to see starving children, extreme poverty, and less urbanization. Once I got to Uganda, I did see poverty but I also saw so

much more. I deeply connected with the people I interacted with and admired their warm hospitality. This influenced me to return to the country two more times within the next year and a half. My dissertation trip will be my fourth visit to Uganda. Given this evolution, I am committed to working against the stereotypical/colonial/Oriental representations of Uganda as a country and Africa as a homogeneous whole. However, I recognize that through all of this, I hold a tremendous amount of White privilege.

Another aspect of privilege that I hold when traveling to Uganda is that I am a native English speaker. Most people who go through the education system in Uganda learn English, which is remnant of Uganda's history as a former British colony. However, many people who do not go to school and live in the rural areas do not speak English. There are over 60 languages spoken in Uganda so it is a privilege to speak English (for me and for Ugandans).

Lastly, as an American, I experience a large amount of privilege globally. With my American passport I can obtain a visa in almost any country in the world. However, I also must negotiate knowledge of the violence the United States has started and perpetuated throughout its history in other countries. This is something that I have become increasingly aware of after taking several cultural anthropology/human rights courses. Throughout my dissertation I will need to continue reflecting on my privilege as a White, English-speaking American and its impact on my research.

Belonging to a low social class. In the United States, I am part of the lower social class. I come from a blue-collar family. As a student with six-figures of student loan debt, I will not likely experience upward social mobility, in terms of the economic aspect of

social class, for a number of years after graduation, even with a doctoral degree. My class identity can be seen in some unique ways over the course of my life. In the fall of 2014, I decided to apply for Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) benefits, formerly called food stamps, through the state of Tennessee. I found it incredibly difficult to submit the application and have the initial interview. It was only after support and validation from my peer and roommate that I was willing to apply. I realized that I had been forced to buy groceries with the help of a credit card for the past few months and knew that I couldn't afford to pay the interest of the credit card while also knowing that the average interest of my student loans breaks down to \$23/day (nearly \$600/month). Even after receiving benefits for a year, I still find myself swiping my Electronic Benefit Transfer (EBT) card very quickly at the register fearing judgment from the cashier or people in line behind me. I purposefully shop at a grocery store where I have observed that many people use EBT cards but the social stigma is still incredibly strong. Yet, even though I face oppression due to my economic status in the United States, I must remember that I am privileged to live in a country where the government is able and willing to provide such support to citizens.

It is also important for me to recognize that while I may be part of a lower social class in the United States, I am still overall much wealthier than many people in other parts of the world, like Uganda. Similarly, I will also have a higher level of education than most of the participants. Universal primary and secondary education has not fully been realized in Uganda and school fees often leave families strapped and unable to pay university fees. Social class has been an interesting aspect of negotiation for me during

my time in Uganda. Due to my White skin, many Ugandan people assume that I have a lot of money, even after I share that I do not within my own context in the United States. Social class and education may be identities that impact the participants' experiences in professional football because there is currently an oversaturation of university degree-holders for jobs appropriate to that level of education.

Being straight. I experience a great deal of privilege in terms of my heterosexual identity both within and outside of the United States. I recognize that discourse, media, and literature are widely heteronormative. If I identified with a sexual identity other than heterosexuality, I would likely not feel as comfortable researching within Uganda given the government's highly homophobic rhetoric and attempts to pass legislation that would make "aggravated homosexuality" a crime punishable by life sentence (Houttuin, 2015). This homophobic environment has been difficult to navigate because it has more extreme consequences than the homophobic environment within the United States. I also am unable to be as openly accepting of people who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer within Uganda because there is punishment for supporting sexual minorities. It is difficult to know that I am continuing to silence this population but the cost of outing a person is too great within the Ugandan context. I anticipate this continuing to be a difficulty I face within my dissertation research.

Summary

In this chapter I outlined my epistemological orientation and selected methodology. I also described the methods for this study, which included semi-structured interviews, participant and non-participant observation, and reflexivity, and the

procedures followed to conduct this research. Lastly, I shared the beginning of my positionality statement, which I return to in Chapter Four.

Chapter Four: Results Part I

In this chapter I first share insights that I gained through observation and participant observation about the context of women's football in Uganda. I then share the thematized impressions garnered from the interpretive analysis of the semi-structured interviews, with added context from my reflexivity journal or fieldwork notes when appropriate. In the last part of this chapter I revisit my positionality.

Learning the Context of Women's Football in Uganda

Simply by spending extended time in Uganda, I observed that football plays a large role within Ugandan daily life. Ara, a participant in the current study, described football as a "first-class sport in Uganda," meaning that it is the most popular sport in Uganda (Chappell, 2008; Kasoma, 2013). When travelling around Kampala I would often see games happening on pitches. Many of the pitches seemed to host commonly organized matches (e.g., club or school teams) but there was also a good presence of recreational, pick-up games. I often passed by the pitches in a moving vehicle so deciphering the sex of the players was sometimes difficult; however, when I was able to observe a bit more carefully, the pitch was almost always filled with boys and/or men. Recreational and pick-up games, from my observation, were almost always exclusively male. I found it quite exciting when I did see a game of football and the athletes were girls and/or women. More often I would see one or two girls on the sideline of the men's games, sometimes dribbling a football or passing the football with a friend.

Another demonstration of the role of football in Ugandan society is the use of a football as a political party symbol (Figure 2). As a result of discussing this symbol with

several Ugandan friends, I learned that the football represents a politician who is running independent from any political party. Both male and females running for office used the symbol. Another interpretation of the football was that it was a way to recruit football fans to vote for the person using the football as a political symbol. In this conversation I recalled being at an Under 17 (U17) football tournament sponsored by Airtel (a mobile phone/Internet company) in 2012 and seeing the stage that was set up lined with political officials. The person who was interpreting the football as a way to solicit voters felt that politicians used football to get into office and then forgot their promises of supporting leagues or other competitions a couple months into their tenure (if they are elected).



Figure 2. Independent Politician with Football as Symbol on Campaign Flyer

Since 2012 I have increasingly plugged into the Ugandan women's football community. When I am in the United States, I keep up on events mainly through social media, although I have observed somewhat increased media attention to women's

football. This increased media attention largely seems to have resulted from the creation of the Women's Elite League in 2015, which is governed by FUFA.

The Women's Elite League was originally comprised of 12 teams. Its creation stemmed from two successful rounds of the Kampala Region Women's Football League (Muziransa, 2015). Currently, there are 16 teams in the league. Each team plays seven games over a period of eight weeks for each round; two rounds are held within the period of one year (FUFA Competitions, 2016). Most of the teams are from within the central region, though there are a few teams from other regions, and are supported through the local community or by corporations. The managers of the teams from outside the central region have talked about how difficult it is to maintain sustainable league play due to the high cost of traveling to the central region for games (Muziransa, 2015).

Similar to European football leagues, the Women's Elite League in Uganda follows relegation and promotion. Brenda, a participant in the current study, shared some information about how the league is run since the information is not available online:

The last two teams in the groups are relegated, there is a regional league for the teams from which they can be promoted. [There are] two groups [Victoria and Elizabeth] because [there] are no sponsors so teams don't spend much [money].

The best two in each group play and two qualify for the finals. (personal communication, March 14, 2016)

Interestingly, the two groups within the league represent colonial names (Victoria and Elizabeth). The regional leagues are in Kampala, Buganda (Central), Eastern and Western (Brenda, personal communication, March 14, 2016). The players do get allowances,

making the league professional, but there is very little money for all the leagues. The allowances are dispersed to players per game and each team has its own amount (Brenda, personal communication, March 14, 2016).

When I was in Uganda collecting data, the Women's Elite League was in its second round of eight-week play and I was able to observe one game before the league paused for holidays. The game that I observed was set to start at 4:00 PM and at 3:53 PM only one (male) referee had shown up. The second referee didn't show up until 4:30 PM and was also male. According to football rules there should be three on-field referees, yet this professional, "elite" women's game only had two. One of the teams had one female and one male coach and the other team had all male coaches, meaning that 75% of the coaches present were men. Most of the fans who were watching the game appeared to be men. A male colleague, who coaches women's football in Uganda, traveled to the game with me and said that one of the teams is funded and supported by a local community and that was likely the main audience at the game. There were about 20 spectators at the beginning of the game and closer to 50 at half time (almost exclusively male), none of which had to pay an entrance fee to the game. At the pitch there was not a place for spectators to sit. In fact, it looked like the pitch had been placed in the middle of an open field where cows graze. It is feasible that cows graze on the pitch; there were four cows lying just beyond one of the corners of the pitch. The other two corners of the pitch were guarded by armed police officers; there were two officers stationed at each corner.

It did not appear that the spectators were critical or skeptical of the women's ability to play. Many appeared to be engaged in the game, some even vocalized their

engagement by yelling about certain plays. Muziransa (2015) noted that support for the Women's Elite League has "remained fairly consistent but uniformly low." He further described, "The mood [at the games] isn't always the traditional football atmosphere, with groups chanting for their own team, but more of a party-feel as fans see what the girls have to offer" (Muziransa, 2015). During my observation, I did not hear the fans chanting or cheering in any organized manner for either team. There was also no announcer for the game.

The players in the game had a range of playing experience. One team had many senior players, some who are even more senior than Akiiki, while the other team was a secondary school. The team names were printed on the jerseys but there were no other logos or advertisements on the uniforms. One of my favorite moments from this observation was when a young boy who was watching the game imitated a header that one of the female footballers did in the previous play. It seemed like a moment where the skill of the game superseded the cultural barriers these women face simply to play the game they love. Unfortunately, since the time of my observation, one of the teams I observed has pulled out of the league, citing unfairness and poor communication [among administrators, officials, and team managers] as the reason for leaving the league (Brenda, personal communication, March 23, 2016).

In addition to the Women's Elite League, there is also a Corporate League that many of the participants play in. The Corporate League was described to me as a corporate social responsibility effort amongst multiple corporations in Uganda; however, it is common (underground) practice for corporations to pay talented footballers to play

on their corporate team, even if the footballer does not work for the company. Ara talked about being offered jobs at banks that compete in the Corporate League but not accepting them because she didn't want to conform to the expected professional attire for women (i.e., skirts and/or dresses). One of my male friends accompanied me to the Corporate League, which was held at Mandela National Stadium. This is the stadium where the men's senior national football teams, but the women's senior national team has never had the opportunity to play in the stadium. My friend who accompanied me used to play in the Corporate League and provided me with more insight from his experiences. In my observation notes, I wrote the following from my conversation with him:

The Corporate League started as a one-day football tournament but has now turned into a 3-6 month league. It has also expanded to include swimming and softball. Men and women play together on the same team and there has to be at least one female on a team of six players [for football]. Usually the goalkeeper is a lady instead of her being on the field. Teams play 30-minute halves; over 20-30 companies participate. People are expected to play for companies. Benefit of the tournament is to unite and serves as a form of networking and promotion for companies [e.g., he uses a bank from the league]. Companies market through tear drops (banners) that line the pitch. It's held every last Sunday of the month.

In later discussions Brenda shared that she perceived women are not kept in the goal (as the goalkeeper), as was believed by my male friend. This was after I asked her about my male friend's perspective because in the game I was watching, neither woman on either team played in the goal. She said instead the women are often kept at the back of the

pitch toward the goal and out of most of the action. It was interesting to hear the different views between my male friend and Brenda. My male friend perceived that women were put in the goal to keep them off the pitch and out of the action, even though goalies are regularly part of the game. His perception is likely reflective of his past experience in the league as a player and may demonstrate a shift in the movement of women from the goal to the pitch. However, Brenda did not perceive women being on the pitch as women being more integrated in the game. It was her perception that the women are kept to the back of the pitch and somewhat “out of the way” of play.

Entering Mandela National Stadium (nicknamed Namboole) for the Corporate League “felt like I was walking into a man’s/male space” [quotations represent excerpts from my reflexivity journal]. This was reinforced because as I walked up to the entrance gates, I couldn’t help but notice the “seven very large headshots of Cranes players.” When I got into the stadium and was watching one of the games with Brenda, I asked her if Namboole was her home pitch and “she excitedly said yes, even though she agreed when I suggested that the Crested Cranes should also be pictured as people walk into the stadium. She said that it would never happen.” Her perception that it never would or could happen made me sad, especially since it is coming from someone who is an active player on the UGSWNFT. Upon “leaving the stadium I noticed that one of the signs [by an entrance] said ‘Home of Ugandan Sport.’ If it’s the home of Ugandan sport, then are women not represented in Ugandan sport?” This observation was still early on in my fieldwork. By this point I was beginning to see that women are not represented in Ugandan sport and was feeling frustrated. This frustration has not been resolved,

especially upon hearing the participants' experiences and seeing the daily imagery (e.g., billboards, television commercials) only representing male athletes. One way that I have been able to work through some of this frustration is by traveling with Akiiki and Briana as part of their football outreach initiative and observing the free skills training they administer to girls' football teams in all regions of Uganda.

During my fieldwork, I observed three G3 skills training sessions. They were all in different regions; this provided me with a small glimpse into the differences in girls' football in the west, east, and north. Doing these observations helped me compare what I was seeing daily in the urban, central region versus the more rural areas. In the following paragraphs I will describe each observation individually and then will return to comparing the different regions.

The first skills training I observed was in the western region. It took us about 14 hours to travel there by bus. As we drove further and further away from Kampala, I began to only see boys/men on the pitch. This is something I have observed during my previous experiences in Uganda; girls in Kampala/the central region seem to have more access to sport. I will come back to this observation when sharing results of the current study in Chapters 4 and 5. Akiiki and Briana decided to host regional G3 tournaments instead of solely a skills session in an effort to provide girls' teams with more competition opportunities. The male games (physical education) teacher that was hosting the tournament initially told us that the girls participating in the tournament would be on the pitch by 8:00am; however, we didn't go to the pitch until around 10:30am after being given notice that the girls were there. In speaking with the male games teacher, he

indicated that the girls were delayed because many were traveling from far places and some had to do chores before they could come to the pitch (e.g., gather firewood). He later told us that some parents wanted the girls to stay home and do chores instead of go for football and that several of the girls likely got beaten for coming to the pitch and defying their parents.

It seemed that the girls and women weren't used to organized sports. Of the approximately 80 girls/women there (there were a few adult women mixed in with the younger – mostly secondary aged - girls), only three were wearing athletic clothes and sneakers. Everyone else was barefoot and wearing skirts or skirts with leggings underneath. There were about 10 boys that Akiiki and Briana involved in the training. The boys were given peripheral roles in the games (e.g., substitutes). All of us had to keep fighting with the boys who were playing and others who were watching because they kept taking the ball from the girls. In my journal I reflected on the frustration I felt in having to continuously protect the footballs from the boys and how it gave me direct insight to what the girls experience every time they want to play. The boys were very resistant and pouted when we told them the balls were only for the girls. It was clear that they were not used to playing a secondary role on the football pitch. During the training I scolded a few boys for laughing at and making fun of the girls playing. I reflected on this by saying, "I am not sure if I should have intervened but I couldn't watch/hear that without sticking up for the girls because they weren't doing it for themselves."

In addition to keeping an eye on the boys, the coaches also had to manage the cows and goats that were feeding on the pitch. They had to herd them to a different part

of the pitch so the games could go on multiple times throughout the tournament. There was also a walking path through the pitch so people didn't care that training was happening and just walked/biked/rode a boda (motorcycle) through the pitch.

The G3 football training and tournament started with a warm-up and some skills training. After completing the skills session, we went to sit in the shade while Briana talked about role models, promoting books (academics) and sports, learning leadership through sport, and making connections with people through football. This is a normal part of the G3 training and is how they pair sport with the opportunity to speak about life lessons. Briana invited me to speak and I shared a little about my research. This part ended with Akiiki sharing her journey from a young girl playing football in her village to the UGSWNFT Head Coach. Everyone appeared very happy to hear it; this seemed like an important opportunity for the girls to see a role model from their own country. The day then proceeded with an eight-versus-eight tournament. At first Briana thought the girls weren't very into it due to their lack of excitement, but by the end they were *very* into it, as demonstrated by their loud cheering. The final teams had to do several rounds of penalty kicks to break ties and the penalty kicks were taken very seriously.

When thinking about the conclusion of the tournament, in my reflexivity journal I wrote:

There was so much joy and pride when the trophy, balls, and bibs were handed over [to the male games teacher and female coaches]. It was raining a bit but the girls didn't care and didn't want to stop playing. Akiiki and Briana decided to only have the training/tournament for one day because they didn't feel it was fair

to ask the players to pay for travel and travel for so long two days in a row. The girls were sad to find out something was not planned for the next day but they were very proud of their region for being the first G3 tournament. It was a good feeling to see the community cohesion and pride being centered on girls' football.

The next observation experience was in the east and was quite different from the G3 tournament in the west. "As we crossed the Nile and drove into [eastern city] there was a big "welcome" billboard of a professional men's league team." I remember feeling like I was driving into a male space, even though I was attending a girls' football event. Yet, in what I consider to be a powerful demonstration of solidarity, two male coaches from the region were the ones to organize the event; both men currently coach in the top men's professional league. The G3 tournament was hosted on a pitch within soldiers' quarters, so there was a lot of security to get to the pitch. "They checked our car and trunk and made us all get out and wash our hands with sanitizer." Once "we drove up to the field, we saw that only a few of the girls were there. There were supposed to be six teams in the tournament ... one of the six teams who showed up to play was a team that plays in the professional women's league." This seemed to be frustrating for Akiiki and Briana because their goal is to develop those who do not have access to the more elite football experiences in Uganda. They decided to mix everyone up so they could play eight-versus-eight and limit the older ones, similar to how they incorporated boys in the western region.

In my reflexivity journal, I reflected that I did not experience the environment of the eastern region "as supportive or welcoming ... as the [western region]. I think the

expectations for competition were higher rather than grassroots as it was intended.” The training and tournament didn’t even start until around 11, yet we had arrived by 9:00am. The players did not appear to be motivated to play. Briana shared that, in her experience, the more developed areas in terms of women’s football have expectations of getting paid for playing. This could have potentially influenced the players’ lack of motivation since Akiiki and Briana were very honest that they would not be receiving an allowance for training that day. Then, traveling to the north was yet an entirely different experience from the other regions (central, eastern, western).

In the northern region, the G3 tournament was supposed to start around 11:00am. When we went to the mostly dirt pitch at noon, there were 13 girls and women there. The female coach hosting the training said it was difficult to get girls and women to come for training since people were still on holiday and many are expected to stay home and do housework. Of the 13 girls who had come for training, only three were wearing boots (cleats) and ten started the training in skirts but later changed into shorts. Since there were not enough participants for a full tournament, Akiiki and Briana decided to conduct a skills training for the 13 girls. People were again walking through the pitch, so it might not have been the most optimal space for a tournament anyway.

The majority of girls did not appear to know how to use the ball and demonstrated low skill development. For several girls, it seemed like it was their very first time kicking a ball. As the training began, there were several young boys and two men who had been drawn to watch the training. Some of the young boys ended up joining the training and were incorporated in, as had been done in the western region. One of the boys even ran

home to get his training shoes so he could join in and was very excited for the opportunity.

It was not only football skills that were taught at this training; Akiiki and Briana took the girls and women through strength and dynamic warm-up moves. The girls giggled and laughed during the strength moves, perhaps because they had never done such moves or because they were nervous to try them. After several skills training sessions, there was a four-versus-four round robin (everyone plays everyone) tournament; two games were held at a time. At the end of the four-versus-four tournament, I was speaking with Akiiki and Briana. They shared that they have observed a lot of talented footballers in the north but football development is concentrated in the central region. They indicated that there is “no structure for the talent to grow” in the northern region, meaning that there is not a strong system of training or competition for players to develop their skills.

Even though there seemed to be recognition that there are efforts to develop women’s football in Uganda in the central region, there was still an emphasis on “getting out” and playing in other countries. As is discussed in the next section, several participants in this study played in women’s professional leagues outside of Uganda. The countries they played in were still within East Africa but there were more opportunities to make money while playing football outside of Uganda. Yet, while participants recognized the greater number of opportunities outside of Uganda, all of them came back to Uganda and preferred to play within their own country if there were more sustainable opportunities for them.

Thematized Impressions and Interpretations

In this section I share the thematized impressions that resulted from the interpretive analysis (Hatch, 2002). These impressions include historical change in women's football, socialization, mixed experiences in terms of parental support, turning point created by football bursaries, impact of traveling through football, societal influences (family, male peers, FUFA, broader society), experiences with abuse, hanging on and dropping out, motherhood, younger versus older players, envisioned potential of the Crested Cranes, and waiting for change from the top. While I include some direct quotations from participants in this section, in Chapter Five, I more heavily highlight individual participant voices and perspectives.

Historical Change in Women's Football

In the early stages of women's football in Uganda in the 1990s, the game became known as one that attracts, as Brenda called them, "hooligans." By this she did not mean rowdy and violent fans, but coaches in charge of the game who had no formal coaching education and often mismanaged the players. During the early phase of women's football in Uganda, it appeared to not be taken seriously by the coaches, players, or federation, as perceived by the participants, who also recognized that it was not a career option so the competitiveness of the game did not grow to a level that the current players would have expected. Further, there was a perception that the participants were the only girls playing when they were young. Mia claimed that she had "no girls to play with." These experiences of being the only girl playing football in their immediate communities signals that the participants had a lack of formal or structured opportunities to play and

compete with one another when they were young. Most of the participants didn't start "serious football" until secondary school; some, such as Racheal, did not start until university.

When several of the participants were young, they dreamed of being on the national team. What is striking about these dreams is that the players didn't actually know that a women's national football team existed. So, when they found out that a women's national football team did, in fact, exist, it was a dream come true to see their name on the roster when it came time for the participants to join the team. For example, Apple said, "Actually it was my first dream, to be on the national team." When I followed up and commented that it was nice she knew the UGSWNFT existed during that time, she clarified and claimed she "never knew it was there." Apple had just dreamed and hoped that the women's national team would exist one day, not knowing it did already exist. The participants' lack of knowledge about the women's national football team when they were younger exemplifies the deficient attention given to women's football, especially in its earlier years of development.

Since this time, however, considerable progress has been made. The participants recognized that parents are beginning to support their daughters' interest in football, perhaps fueled by the possibility of them receiving a bursary (scholarship) for their football talents. Initially, it was secondary schools that were offering bursaries for athletes and now a few primary schools are reportedly doing so as well. Additionally, some universities also provide bursaries for athletes and several of the participants in this

study had their secondary school and university funded through bursaries based on athletic talent.

The participants felt that the resistance to women playing football has decreased since the days of their childhood and the increased acceptance is beginning to translate into growing support. In Racheal's home region, girls' football has only recently been integrated into secondary schools. She noted, "they think women are not supposed to play football, that it's for men, which is not the case ... but since they introduced this secondary schools football, at least they are now coming up." Participants recognized that women's football is beginning to become more accepted and grow and many expressed an interest in being part of that growth.

Kiya was also optimistic about recent changes in women's football. She cited the example of FUFA awarding a car to the players voted as best female and best male footballer of the year to demonstrate the progress. Yet, it is important to note that several participants did not believe there had been much historical change or progress for women's football. Apple was optimistic that the Women's Elite League could help develop the women's game; Brenda did not share this optimism. Rather, Brenda attributed growth of women's football to female players who "have achieved [success] so far [as a result of football]." For example, Brenda talked about how the visibility of the success of the UGSWNFT Head Coach has "woken up" former players "who had really given up on sports" and encouraged them to come back to the game (not in terms of playing but rather coaching and mentoring). Additionally, Cindy perceived that progress

in women's football cannot be claimed until girls in the village, or in rural areas of Uganda, are playing as frequently as the boys.

Ultimately, the participants wanted to have a louder voice and more input when it comes to decisions that impact the development of women's football. Ara advocated for the administration to “come down” to players and listen to what they want because they are the ones on the receiving end of any change.

Socialization

From their first experience touching a football, the women were socialized into football being equated with men. All of the participants were the “only girl” playing with the boys in their local communities, some even played competitively on boys' teams. Ara, in a whisper, shared that the opposing teams often did not know she was a girl. These experiences of being the only girl on the pitch seemed to give the participants the illusion that there were no other girls playing even though they were all playing at around the same time and most of them were in the same city.

Perhaps as a result of being socialized into this male space and male norms, the women didn't see themselves fitting in with the other girls in their local area or schools. It is also possible that the reverse is true. Brenda talked about not being “so into lady things” and others referred to themselves as “tomboys.” One of the most striking examples of the effect of being socialized into male norms in football is Ara. She prayed and engaged in traditional practices hoping to change herself into a boy. This was not because she questioned her gender identity—this was clarified in our second meeting—but because she had not seen any girls or women playing football. For Ara, the lack of

familiarity with women playing football paired with her love for the game meant that she was not supposed to be a girl. Yet, her desire to play football outweighed her identification with gendered cultural expectations. Fortunately, Ara's coach recognized this and introduced her to Oliver Mbekeka, one of the first and top female footballers in Uganda.

This isolation and perception of being the only girl often lasted up until secondary school, which was the first time many of the participants played with other girls. However, by this time many of the players were used to playing with boys and expected the game to be the same when playing with girls. Brenda and Mia talked about other female athletes being soft, lacking aggression, and not working as hard [as male athletes]. In their present day football experiences, this has led to the development of a dichotomy: women who train with men—“tomboys”—and those who only train with other women—“girly girls.” The latter are viewed as the less skilled athlete. Ara talked about this in terms of energy, stating that putting energy (or force) on the “girly girl” female athletes often lead them to complain about the “tomboy” female athletes use of excessive aggression.

Many of the players have also had mostly male coaches apart from the national team. These experiences also led to what seemed to be preference for male coaches because female coaches were described as being soft and not pushing players as hard (as male coaches). Mia described her preference for male coaches by saying:

Some coaches, lady coaches, they don't put so much physical to us. But men, we used to do hard. They were like "keep going, keep going" but ladies were like "ok, stop there, it's ok, continue from there." But men, we used to push hard. This may be problematic for the women who are trying to develop a career in coaching. For example, Brenda discussed how male coaches perceived her as less knowledgeable about the game because she is a woman, even though she has elite level playing experience and is well regarded by both the male and female athletes she coaches. The early socialization of the players into men's football norms may hinder the future growth of the women's game or at least impede the ability of the women's game to be evaluated on its own rather than be compared to men's football.

Another aspect of the players' socialization was prevalent in their discussions of image and role models, neither of which has always been at the forefront of national team players' minds. I base this claim on candid conversations with coaches actively involved in mentoring current players. It signifies a cultural shift among female footballers as a result of purposeful effort put forth by the head coach, Akiiki, and technical advisor, Briana, who have tried to "clean up" the reputation of women footballers in Uganda, as based on my observations and involvement in conversations. They have also shared with me that FUFA also has prioritized "cleaning up" the reputation of women footballers. Several of the players discussed how women footballers have historically been perceived as "losers" and as people who couldn't be successful within the education system. Brenda said, "everyone who was taken as a loser would be engaged in football ... whoever had nothing to do would go into football." In addition to socializing the players into

perceiving themselves as role models for the community and for younger generations, the coaches have put concerted effort into getting the current players to see how their present-day actions impact women's football in Uganda. Embracing the identity of a role model, in the eyes of the coaches, includes being mindful of public behavior (e.g., not engaging in excessive drinking, not getting in fights at bars). However, it is important to note that many of these behaviors are typically coded as "male," and the pressure to "clean up" the reputation of female footballers may be an effort to align them more strongly with societally-defined feminine behavior as opposed to masculine behavior. With the overarching goal of working for the future, many of the players have embraced the coaches' messages and frequently spoke of making decisions with the image and societal perception of women's football in mind.

Parental Support: Mixed Experiences

The participants shared a range of experiences with their parents. Brenda and Kiya both talked about how their fathers were explicitly opposed to their participation in football and even physically beat them for going to the pitch. Kiya said, "He [her father] was beating me. When he comes back and they [her family] tell him that Kiya was playing football with boys, [he would say] 'Uh! I don't want my daughter to play football.'" Nava's father also did not approve of her playing football. However, in all three cases the fathers ended up supporting them as footballers. The support from Brenda's father came at an earlier age after she played well in a boys' football tournament. Nava and Kiya's fathers came around after seeing the benefits they received from playing (i.e., secondary school bursaries, being on the national team, and getting a

professional contract in another East African country). Cindy's father also did not approve of her involvement in football but her response to his disapproval was that he "had no option because [she] liked it." She bluntly ignored his disapproval and did not share any experiences of punishment resulting from this attitude. Lani assumed her father never knew she played football because he always came home after she was back from the pitch and is now deceased. Both Sander and Racheal indicated that their fathers openly supported them as footballers and Ara and Mia did not mention their fathers; both of whom are also deceased.

While many of the participants talked about their fathers, their mothers appeared to be a little less present in their football story. Brenda, Ara, Nava, and Mia did not discuss mothers and/or stepmothers in relation to their football experiences. Kiya, Lani, and Cindy indicated that their mothers were supportive of them as footballers. For Sander, her mother seemed to flip flop. Early on Sander as a young girl came home from the pitch and told her mother about how boys had excluded her from playing with them. Her mother's advice was to take her ball and find another group of boys to play with, which she did. Yet Sander also talked about how her mother opposed her participation in football because she perceived being a "footballer" and being a "lady" as incompatible and she wanted her daughter to be a lady. Apple said that her mother did not support her but that her brother defended Apple to her mother so that Apple could go to the pitch with him.

Whether the players were supported by their parents or not, they all went to the pitch anyway. Particularly for those whose parents opposed their participation in football,

their unquestioned commitment to the game demonstrates how they exerted agency within a culture where women playing football was not the norm. When players such as Brenda, Kiya, and Cindy went to the pitch knowing that their fathers did not approve, they also were engaging in a form of resistance against the gendered cultural norms. This resistance might be celebrated and supported as an effort to change the system; however, I would caution against romanticizing their resistance. This is especially true considering that at least two of them were physically beaten by their fathers for engaging in resistance via their sport participation, as shown by Kiya's previous quote, and their other experiences demonstrate that there remain many structural limitations to the UGSWNFT receiving equitable opportunities and resources (e.g., lack of support from FUFA – see subsequent section as well).

Football Bursaries: A Turning Point

Most of the players interviewed received a bursary for playing football well during their secondary school years. Several even changed schools in order to obtain a bursary, which was a significant financial relief for many families. The financial benefits of bursaries for participation in football also seemed to be a turning point in parental support. As previously discussed, many of the parents initially resisted their daughter's involvement in football due to cultural beliefs that football should not be played by girls or women. Yet when there was opportunity to get free schooling, the parents became supportive, understandably so in a society where school fees are a challenge for many families since universal (free, government-funded) primary or secondary education has not been fully realized.

Beyond the family, bursaries also seemed to play a role in legitimizing women's football within society. This may be due to the increased connection with the education system, which could be a turning point for what seemed to be a dichotomy between sport and education. Brenda talked about how many girls used to stop going to school around Primary 5 (approximately equivalent to sixth grade in the US) if they wanted to be a footballer. In these cases the girls chose football over education. However, with the introduction of bursaries for football, girls no longer have to make that choice. Instead, now there seems to be a growing demand for girls to enter football in order to receive bursaries. There are some footballers, such as Cindy, who ultimately choose education over football when forced into the sport-education dichotomy, as discussed in the section about historical changes in women's football in Uganda.

Impact of Traveling through Football

All of the participants indicated interacting with a diverse range of people, whether within Uganda or beyond. In asking how they got the opportunity to meet different people they mostly indicated that it was through traveling for football competitions. Brenda, Nava, and Cindy noted that simply being in school also allowed them to interact with people from ethnic groups different from their own. Brenda shared that traveling for an international competition with the national team was her "first time to travel on the plane." Ara's experiences were a bit different; she identifies as "a person who travels a lot." She traveled around Uganda and helped facilitate programming for a religious-affiliated sports outreach program when she was younger. Nava discussed how

sports helped her get a passport, which is not something many Ugandans are able to obtain, or at least not very easily.

Compared to most of their peers, the players were privileged to have the opportunity to travel around their country and around the East African region. In comparison, I recall a conversation with a friend who traveled with me to the northern region. It was her first time to really travel outside of Kampala and she was about to be 22 years old. When she told her friends that she was going to the north, their reaction was along the lines of asking questions such as “Aren’t you afraid of the [Lord’s Resistance Army] rebels?” The rebels are no longer active in the northern region; yet, many people in Kampala or the central region continue to believe that the north is still a place of civil unrest. The opportunity to travel within Uganda may be a key factor in the players’ discussions about having friends from many different ethnic groups and regions, even though Sander did acknowledge that language barriers are often still an issue if people in other areas do not speak English or Luganda.

Societal Influences

The participants mentioned several groups within their football stories that reflect societal influences. These influences include non-parent family members, male peers, the Federation of Uganda Football Associations (FUFA), and members of broader society (i.e., neighbors and people in their local community).

Family. Lani perceived that family plays a large role in whether a girl plays football or not. For many of the participants it seemed that their brothers were the ones who truly granted them access to the pitch since they often brought the participant with

them to play. Mia talked about going to the pitch with her brothers, who were also talented footballers. She said, “I used to follow them everywhere they go ... I had no girls to play with. Every time they went to the field, I had to follow them.” Cindy recalled playing football with her brothers in their compound around home. Brenda had many brothers but there were two who were most influential in supporting and encouraging her as she developed her own football talent. Nava influenced her sister’s interest in football through her own participation, but, unfortunately, due to her sister witnessing Nava’s disappointment with unfulfilled promises within football, she also became discouraged and lost interest in football.

Male peers. In addition to brothers, male village-mates were also influential in the player’s early involvement in football. Racheal indicated that her brothers were “very old” and “had already started working” by the time she was born. It was the boys in her village who were welcoming of her involvement. While many of the participants who played with boys when they were young shared about feeling welcomed by the boys, perhaps indicating their talent as other girls might have been selected out and unwelcome, Sander did not have the same experience of initial acceptance.

Sander went to the pitch one day with her shoes and was refused by the boys who were organizing the game. They said she could not play because she was a girl. This made Sander upset. The boy told her to “go and sit down there.” She continued with the story:

I sat down; I started to cry. I said, “Why is it that I can't play with these people?”

... I spent that day without training and without playing football. I went home and

told my mom and you know what my mom told me? "Why do you go there? Let me buy for you a ball and you play from here." I told her, I can't enjoy one person, I can enjoy more than two people or three people. She told me ok, she bought a ball; I took the ball [and] the second day I went to another field. I went with my ball, I dressed, I removed the ball from the bag and started juggling from there. One man came and told me "Ah, you are a woman, it's good that you can do something. You come and play with us." We started playing, we started playing, when I was playing a man told me "Ah, are you a girl or are you a boy?" I told him I am a girl. "How do you know football more than me?" I said why do you say such a thing? "For me, even I can't juggle but for you, you can juggle." ... Now I went back [home and talked to] mom ... "Have you been on the field?" I said yes. "Where is the ball?" I said it's here, I played with all guys, she told me ok, don't go back to that [first] field but go back to that [second] field. That's what I know, some were chasing me and some were not chasing me.

Remarkably, she continues to play with that same group of (now) men to date. The boy that first refused Sander is now her friend. Sander shared:

So now that boy that first told me you should not play, one day I was here playing, he came and ... told us here, "Should I come and play?" Do you know what I told him? "Do you remember when I came to your field, you told me that you're a girl, you can't play, now why do you come here and play with us?" You know what he told me? "Ah, by that time we were young, now we are old, we can play together." It's just that he used that I am young, now I am older, I can play. I

told him it's ok. Now we have become friends, even I have the contact, he has my contact, we communicate to each other ... Now we have become friends.

Had Sander's mother not encouraged her to find another group to play with, she might have walked away from the game completely. This story signifies the importance of men as the gatekeepers of sporting space in Uganda.

FUFA. The federation was a source of great disappointment but also of great hope. The main source of disappointment stemmed from a lack of opportunity to compete as the national team and was associated with feelings of being forgotten. Lani said:

You can be on the national team ... those who have known you [say] this girl is playing on the national team. But when it takes like four years without calling for the national team, really someone can forget you.

The participants told stories about going for tournaments, such as the World Cup qualifying tournament, winning games in the first round, and then being told by FUFA that there was no money for them to continue advancing in the tournament. To exacerbate this disappointment, the players were often made promises that they would be able to advance in the tournament only to return from a successful competition, be told to continue training, and then never be called by FUFA for the next round of the tournament. Mia and I discussed some of her disappointment and associated emotions:

Mia: I remember some time back we played for women qualifiers that were going to be in [North American country]. We played and qualified but we didn't make it because of lack of support and money from the federation.

Alicia: What did that feel like to be told that there was no money for you to play?

Mia: Bad.

Alicia: So, obviously the federation plays an important role in supporting the national team, but maybe they don't support the women's team as much?

Mia: They don't, they support men but women, no, they don't support that much.

This seemed to be a common sentiment amongst participants.

In addition to the disappointment resulting from these unfulfilled promises, there appeared to be a lack of trust in FUFA. When asking the players who should see the results of the research, many skipped FUFA and said to go straight to FIFA. After my prompting what the rationale was for this, they often changed their answers by indicating that since their names are not associated with the results, FUFA can receive a copy. It seems that this lack of trust in FUFA may also signal the silencing that these players experience. Ara talked about her frustration with not having a voice, or even a representative voice, in administrative conversations. The longstanding Women's Representative had recently been replaced and some of the participants had ill feelings around her dismissal due to perceived unfairness of the dismissal/replacement. Unfortunately, Ara felt that women in Ugandan society are voiceless in general, "apart from churches."

According to the participants, extreme inequities existed between the men and women's senior national football teams. Most of the players laughed when even asked to consider how the two teams are similar. Nava came up with that they are both served the same food and both stay in hotels during training camps, although the men are in training

campus much more frequently than the women. The differences were much easier to identify for the participants. One difference between the teams is the allowances given to players. Ara indicated that the women players received between 100 and 200 USD for an entire tournament while the men receive around 500 USD per match, bringing in between 1,000 and 2,000 USD per tournament. Kiya also pointed out that men's national team players get paid monthly year-round whereas women players only get paid when (or, rather, if) they play. Ara recalled that the women were forced to wear the old jerseys of the men's team during competition, some of which had men's names on the back of the jersey. What was additionally embarrassing was that the jerseys were inappropriately sized for the women. This was not only unaesthetic but also impractical.

Racheal was the least critical of FUFA. She acknowledged the disappointment and the lack of money but indicated that FUFA is at least trying to support women's football. Based on the comments from other participants, they might have questioned or challenged Racheal on her perception that FUFA is trying to provide support to women's football. It is likely that Racheal was least critical because she has become a token representative of her home region, which is not the central region. There is a FUFA administrator from her region whom has worked closely with Racheal to help him develop football in their home region. It is thus understandable that Racheal is least critical because she also appears to have more involvement in FUFA efforts to develop women's football throughout Uganda.

Broader society. The broader society was split between community members who are fans of football and those who are not, as perceived by the participants. Brenda

perceived that football fans were appreciative and supportive of women playing football but those who were not football fans tended to believe that women should be in the home and not on the pitch. As she said, the supportive football fan base has even challenged FUFA when the administration maintains that there is no money to take women's teams beyond the first round of tournaments. Brenda shared about such a time:

So the public came in and was like "there is no way you can just always say there is no money when you did not tell anyone, you don't talk to anyone until you just drop our girls yet we put in a lot of effort to build them." Remember that it is not the federation that builds these girls, they are schools and everything, academies around, and people are doing it with their own what? own love for the game for the girls. So they almost put up a strike at the federation about women football.

Why are they always dropped?

So for the community members who invest in the development of girls' football, it's not enough when FUFA simply cites "no money" as the reason for dropping girls' teams from international tournaments.

Racheal talked about being the only girl playing and that the surrounding community in her rural village was surprised at first to see a girl on the pitch. Yet, when members of the community became used to her presence, they eventually accepted and celebrated her as a footballer. While women's sports are not often aired on television, Racheal did note that people were exposed to the Women's World Cup through television and came to the realization that women in other countries were also playing football and playing it quite well.

Many of the players proudly reflected on being perceived as celebrities within their communities. Ara, Racheal, Kiya, Mia, Cindy, and Apple all talked about walking down the street and having people say hi to them because they are national footballers. Mia specifically noted that it felt good to represent her country. They recognized that being under the watchful eyes of the community came with the responsibility to behave in a way that is positively reflecting women's football as a whole, as previously discussed in the socialization section. While Ara was happy to be a celebrity in the community, she also became frustrated with not having the opportunity to compete and therefore earn allowances (e.g., stipends, salaries). She indicated that people often assumed she has a lot of money because she is on the national team and would ask her to buy things for them. Yet when Ara corrected them, they often did not believe her and saw her as holding out on giving back to her community. These instances can strain relationships between the players and family or community members.

Experiences with Abuse

To reach the level of national team players, many participants had either experienced or witnessed various forms of abuse. The most commonly discussed form of abuse was physical abuse by the parents. The players recalled going to the pitch knowing that they would get beaten upon their return home for doing so, but the desire to play football outweighed the fear of getting beaten, as demonstrated by a quote from Kiya in a previous section.

Another form of abuse discussed was sexual abuse. There were times during the interviews where cases of sexual abuse were discussed. None of the participants claimed

they were victims of sexual abuse by a coach, but several discussed hearing that a former male coach forced other players to engage in sexual intercourse with him in order to play on his team. Another participant discussed sexual abuse in the workplace. Currently in Uganda, the job market is extremely competitive and this participant talked about her struggles to secure a job. When she got a call for a job, the manager indicated that he called her because he found her attractive in the photo she submitted with her application. She was able to get the job without engaging in sexual intercourse with the manager; however, she was forced to do so in order to get her sister a job at the same place. These experiences highlight the control that men continue to have over sport and work environments.

There was also discussion of sexual harassment. Ara talked about playing with men as an adult woman. She shared how the men would try to get her to play on the “skins” team so she would not have a shirt on. Additionally, she shared about practicing with male footballers and said:

they come train without underpants, and like their pants are really shaking, like all the way, and you be like, o guy, come on, get some pants, and they are like "No, I have to show my stuff." You know, they make jokes about it so you be like, fine, but again it's a contact game. Sometimes you end up making contact with those [male genitalia] and like "o my god," and they are like "fine, I love it, I love it when you touch." And I'm like really? Come on, get serious. This is eww, I shouldn't touch you. It's a men's game so it's ok.

She often tried to use humor to deflect the situation but it still seemed to be a source of discomfort.

Hanging On and Dropping Out

Transitioning out of football appeared to be on the minds of several participants largely as a result of frustration with the lack of competition and training opportunities. However, a number of the players were hanging on, with Ara almost taking offense at the idea of stopping or retiring. When asked how long she would like to keep playing, Ara responded with, “Me? Can you even ask that question?” She stated that she is “not planning on quitting football now or in the next five years” and supported her desire to continue playing by citing an example of a 30-year old female Brazilian player. Ara eventually disclosed her age; she is between 20 and 24. Lani said that she wishes she could play for another 30 years, but recognized that she will not be able to because she cannot make enough money in football to sustain her living expenses. Other players had a specific number of years for which they planned to hang on to football as active players. Racheal was willing to put in another three years, Kiya four years, and the youngest, Mia, seven years. Apple said she will play for another two or three years but added a qualifier: only if it was “serious football.”

Brenda has contemplated retiring but feels that she cannot yet retire due to the lack of a qualified replacement. She indicated that if the team does not become active in the next two years, she would be forced to retire. Sander was also actively contemplating retirement and gave a deadline of December 31, which from the date of her interview was only a few weeks away. She perceived that she was not gaining anything from football

any longer due to the inactivity of the team and that she would reap greater benefits from committing to building a business full time. In the second interview with Sander, I asked what her decision was about retirement. After reading and approving the report, she held it up and said, “This gives me hope. I think I will continue playing.”

Nava already identifies as retired but still dreams about getting a professional contract outside of Uganda even though she is not actively playing. She cited the inability to have a career in football that allows the player to pay her bills. At one point, Nava became emotional during her interview when talking about how much football let her down. She even referred to football as her past life and that she has started a new life completely separate from football. For her, it did not seem like retirement was a desirable choice. Alternatively, Cindy also identified as a retired player but seemed to be more content with her choice. Early on in secondary school it seemed that Cindy made a choice to be dedicated to both academics and football but kept academics as a higher priority. This might have made her decision to leave football after her first year in university to focus on earning high marks so she could go on to professional school a bit easier; although she might not have made the same choice if her experience in university football was more structured and a more positive experience.

While I mostly recognized the players as either “in” or “out” of football, Lars Dzikus, who also engaged in interpretive analysis, felt:

there is also an element of being in limbo. When some of the players discuss retiring from the team, it seems almost odd, because they are de-facto talking about retiring from a team that doesn’t even exist currently. In some ways, your

study momentarily resurrected the team, of sorts. It created an identity of being a team member of a team that otherwise does not exist. It is a pretty bizarre situation. Sander's decision to further postpone her retirement due to your study further supports the notion that the research itself reinforced the identity of being a national team member, even though the team has not played in years, has not practiced together in years, and has no evident prospects of practicing or playing in the near future.

After further reflection, I would agree with this perception of participants also being in limbo and that the study may have awoken participants' dormant identities of being a UGSWNFT member. I indicate that they are dormant because participants discussed football much more broadly than merely limiting their discussion to the UGSWNFT.

Motherhood

Several of the players were mothers and talked proudly of their children. Brenda has a daughter that she sees as a talented footballer, and who is being recruited by schools for their girls' football teams in exchange for a bursary, but the daughter has expressed her preference for being a serious student rather than a serious footballer. Brenda seemed to be content with supporting her daughter's desires and indicated that while football means a lot to her, her daughter means more. Kiya is also a mother. She gave birth to twin boys but one has, sadly, passed away. Both Brenda and Kiya noted that the lack of financial sustainability in football strains their ability to provide for their children.

Racheal is not yet a mother but desires to become one in the near future. She talked about how her children, male or female, will have to play football even if they are

not talented. She ascribed to the “they can learn to be talented” mentality. Mia and Apple both responded with “of course” when asked if they want their future children to be footballers. It seemed that Racheal, Mia, and Apple couldn’t fathom having children who were not footballers. Alternatively, Cindy, who is already a mother, talked about wanting her daughter to be a “focused girl” in terms of academics but also wanting her daughter to participate in games as long as Cindy and her husband could financially support both school and games.

While many of the players either talked proudly of their current children or envisioned their future children, Nava cited getting pregnant as one of her fears. This was mostly connected with not wanting to disappoint her parents since she is not currently in a relationship. Additionally, Nava desires to provide a life for her children out of poverty; she recognized that her current financial situation would only perpetuate her lived experiences with the cycle of poverty (e.g., not having enough money for school fees).

Younger Versus Older Players

When talking about the frustrations of not having the opportunity to actively compete, many players referenced a belief that younger female players were getting opportunities to compete instead of them. Apple perceived that focus was specifically on secondary school-aged girls and in terms of the national team, that the Under 20 team received more support than the senior team. Sander recognized that when they (the senior or mature players) were on the Under 20 team, they were the focus but that they have been forgotten since being on the senior team. Interestingly, even though Brenda also discusses perceiving that there is more support for younger players, she also shared

stories about beating out the senior players when she was younger in order to take a spot on the senior team. It seems possible that the current senior players are experiencing the same, or similar, feelings that the then-senior players felt when their spots were taken. This resentment could result from the players' frustration about not getting ample competition opportunities on the senior team. Conceivably, the current senior team players might anticipate these younger players as the ones who could beat them out of their spot the next time the senior team is called for competition, if that day comes.

Envisioned Potential of the Crested Cranes

Making the national team was seen as a great honor and as an avenue for upward social mobility. Many of the participants recognized that there is no money to be made from being on the national team as it currently stands, nor do they anticipate adequate income being available in the near future through Ugandan women's football (i.e., throughout their remaining career). However, they saw being on the national team as a potential way to be exposed to and picked up by a professional team in another country where professional sport is more lucrative. Several players had previously played professionally in other East African countries and earned a significant amount of money, as will be discussed in Chapter Five. These players returned to be part of their own country's national team.

Another aspect of the envisioned future for the team is in terms of future performance goals. Participants had dreams of seeing the Crested Cranes reach a level where they would be playing in various international tournaments such as the African

Cup and Women's World Cup. Cindy said, "I want to find a national team that can compete up to the World Cup level because that's the dream of everyone."

In addition to sharing the hopes for the performance of the future Crested Cranes, the participants also had ideas of how to achieve their dreams. In this respect, it seemed that the national team gave the players a potential platform for visibility and being heard. One strategy for getting the Crested Cranes to the international tournaments was to increase competition opportunities so several players could get picked up for professional contracts in other countries. Brenda recognized that "most of the girls' vision is not to play here [in Uganda] because there is no competition here." Yet, instead of developing competition within the country through grassroots training programs, the participants thought it would be best for players to go out and come back, which would subsequently increase the profile of the Crested Cranes. Another strategy identified by Brenda was for the senior team to be provided with the opportunity to mentor younger players and share some of the challenges they have gone through. If the senior team was allowed to play against the younger teams (e.g., U20), they could then challenge the younger players' skill and increase their overall performance.

Several of the players recognized that the Women's Elite League that was started mid-2015 was a good way to increasing the competitiveness of the women's game, but only if support would be increased. This also connects to players' ideas for increasing the consistency of training for national team players. As it stands currently, players find it difficult to remain committed to staying in elite shape when they also have to balance careers that can financially support them. When there is a competition for the Crested

Cranes, they are only provided with two weeks of training prior to the competition. So, without the league, there would be very little incentive for players on the Crested Cranes to stay in shape since the team has been inactive for nearly five years. Racheal proposed that FUFA should provide the opportunity for the Crested Cranes to train at minimum once a month as a team.

An additional strategy was about diversifying the geographic or regional representation of the Crested Cranes, which I will discuss further in the next section. Racheal, who was not originally from the central region, suggested for FUFA and the coaches to “go deeper and deeper when they are selecting players instead of concentrating around central ... there are very many there [outside of central] but they don’t know.”

Many participants also recognized that there was a shortage of financial resources in general and particularly for women’s football in Uganda. They thought it would be helpful for FUFA to recruit external partners or sponsors to help bridge the gap in funding. For example, I saw a billboard for a laundry detergent company advertising themselves as the official laundry partner for the Cranes. MTN (a mobile phone/Internet service provider) heralds themselves as the “biggest supporter of the Uganda Cranes” and often provide discounted Cranes tickets to customers. Partnerships such as these can help alleviate the financial stress on FUFA while providing additional funding for women’s football competitions. Lani suggested that FUFA should also find sponsors to support the Women’s Elite League. She said that she “beg[s] the FUFA so that they put there supporters for each and every club which has come for participation in the league.”

Waiting for Change from the Top

As discussed in the last section, the players were able to identify ways in which their envisioned future could be realized. However, many of the strategies identified relied on change coming from the top down. Most of the participants defaulted the responsibility to FUFA, largely due to the fact that FUFA manages the budget. Nava believed that:

it's the federation to put in because I think everything needs to be done with money. So the federation has to use that money so well for the part of the girls. It's all about getting that money and maybe still look for some investors if money here is not enough ... it's their role to look for investors, maybe to invest in women football here in Uganda.

So while Nava and other participants spoke about FUFA in general, Ara specified the person within FUFA who is ultimately responsible, the FUFA President. She claimed:

We have a long way to go but all that can be cleared if we have a president who loves women's soccer. That person who is focused on developing it, that person who can stand and speak and defend women, the kind of person who can even go and put in a little from his pocket, like from his pockets to make sure that girls are working out, girls are in good shape, girls are playing a league, and girls are standing and people are listening to them.

Ara felt the FUFA President needs to display commitment to the development of women's football for change to happen.

Yet it is also interesting to contemplate this “waiting for change from the top” in terms of power. Perhaps the players see FUFA as the only actor with the power to make change. Yet they have demonstrated agency multiple times throughout their lives to get to their current position on the national team. Some examples of the participants exerting agency include playing with boys when there were no girls playing and resisting parents’ refusal of girls’ football. Other aspects of power to be contemplated relate to my own positionality as a researcher in this study, to which I now return.

Revisiting Positionality

In this section, I revisit and add to my positionality outlined in Chapter Three. These insights stemmed from being immersed in the field in addition to being reflexive. The quotes are excerpts from my reflexivity journal. I discuss being an outsider, checking assumptions, negotiating my social identities, negotiating mental health, and questioning for whom am I “working.”

Being an Outsider

While, overall, I felt very welcome into the space of women’s football in Uganda and into participants’ lives, there were times when I struggled with my outsider status. Not only was I an outsider in terms of race and nationality, I was also an outsider in terms of sport. I had never played football, and, reflecting back I think there were many times when this was more of a barrier than my race or nationality. Prior to beginning the initial interviews, I was nervous and reflected on this nervousness:

Last night I had trouble sleeping. I laid awake thinking about my dissertation. I am nervous for the interviews. I have interviewed Ugandan women before so why

am I nervous? Yesterday when I was meeting some of the potential participants I felt intimidated. I think it's because I feel like an outsider. Maybe that is facilitated by the absence of Akiiki and Briana? Will it be different when they come back to Uganda? The beginning of this trip is different because I am here on my own.

It ended up that during the interviews I felt very comfortable and didn't feel like my outsider status was a major barrier (at least on the surface). The participants did still police themselves in terms of age (likely due to the football culture of age cheating), and likely other topics, but many shared some very personal stories and reflections on the state of women's football in Uganda. I don't know if they would be 100% open with anybody but my close association with Akiiki and Briana could have been a limitation. While I made the speech about confidentiality, they didn't have much to base their trust in me other than that speech and the word of the captain. I will come back to reflecting on my association with Akiiki and Briana in a later section.

Where I felt my outsider status most strongly was out in the public at football games or related events. For example, when I introduced myself to a group of former women's football players and disclosed that I was not a footballer:

I got a few raised eyebrows; that made me want to retreat even more [I was already feeling like an outsider]. It's not like it was a 'you don't belong here' but rather like a 'we still need to scope you out to see what you want and what your motive is.' And I think that's fair.

Yet this feeling of belonging or not was different dependent upon Briana's presence or absence. In my reflexivity journal I noted:

It's interesting to reflect on how much more comfortable I am in Uganda when Briana is here, at least in football spaces. I have felt very comfortable at home with [my roommates] but when it's just me in football spaces I am uncomfortable. Maybe it's because I still feel like I don't belong? It might also be that Briana is so integrated into the football world in Uganda and I just don't see myself being on the same level and that's ok. I am still searching for my purpose in Uganda. Briana and I have talked about this. Is it good for us to be here? What purpose is my presence serving other than research, which may or may not be useful for Uganda? These are questions I continue to struggle with and anticipate I will continue to struggle with for years to come (maybe forever).

As this reflection demonstrates, I felt more comfortable when Briana was present but Briana did not share the same feelings:

At a retreat with former women's football players she shared with me that she feels less integrated with the group when I am around. Is it my outsider status or is it that now there is more than one mzungu [White person] and that is threatening (not sure that's the right word)? Either way I feel bad that my presence has changed the dynamic. I might bow out from the activities - be around but not as around. She said she didn't want that to happen but I think it's in the best interest for everyone, especially for the future of Akiiki and her programming efforts.

I did end up sitting out some of the activities the next day and used the time to work on transcribing the interviews for the current study.

I feel that most of the conversations in the literature around being an insider or outsider have been about race, nationality, gender, or other social identities. Yet in my experience, my outsider status as a non-footballer seemed to be the most limiting. This is not to say that my race and nationality were not a limitation, but rather that relation to the sport being studied is also important.

Checking Assumptions

Coming into this research I was really excited. However, I also knew that I had already formed opinions about the status of women's sports in Uganda based on my previous in-country experiences and research. I had this grand idea that reflexivity and observations would help me limit my biases and assumptions. However, I quickly realized that my reflections and observations were skewed based on my previously formed hypothesis about which I had not necessarily developed an adequate amount of awareness.

One example of needing to check my biases and previously formed opinions comes from an experience attending the Corporate League hosted at Mandela National Stadium. The outside of the stadium was lined with images of various athletes. When we were walking into the stadium I had made a note of these images and, at first glance, observed that all of the images were of male athletes. My friends and I decided to walk home from the stadium; this gave me a chance to look at the signs more closely. After doing so, I observed that the represented sports were field hockey, racquetball, football,

tennis, athletics, volleyball, and boxing – all pictured as men. I was actually surprised that field hockey was represented with a male athlete because in most of the world field hockey is marked as a woman's sport. I started venting my frustration that there were no female athletes represented when one of my friends challenged me. She showed me that:

one of the images was a female netballer. She identified her as female because of the skirt, and, if you look closely, you can see an underline of her breasts. This was a good opportunity for me to check my assumptions because I had written the signage off as only picturing men. I was glad she pointed out the female netballer when I made that comment. I need to remember to keep an awareness of my biases so I don't miss such things. I am happy there was at least one female athlete represented, even if the representation does align with the "feminine-appropriate" sport of netball for Ugandans.

This experience served as sort of a "wake up" call for me. I realized I was not thoroughly examining the assumptions I was making and that it was important for me to do so going forward. I was very thankful that my friend was comfortable enough to call me out on my assumption, which has helped me further appreciate the need for in-country critical friends while doing research.

Negotiating Social Identities

During my time in Uganda, I felt that the social identities I negotiated most were related to my body size, race, nationality, and social class. Interestingly, I did not feel I negotiated my gender as much, but my gender could be a factor that impacted these other negotiations.

Body size. Since my first time in Uganda in 2012, body size has been one of the most difficult things for me to negotiate while I am there. People frequently comment on my larger body size. While I try not to take it personally, especially since most of the time it doesn't necessarily feel like the intent is to insult me, it is still difficult for me to negotiate. It feels like a microaggression, especially since some of my most difficult memories throughout my life are related to being made fun of for being fat or larger than the norm. During my time collecting data for this study, I reflected on multiple incidents related to my body size in my reflexivity journal. For example, when meeting up with a participant who had to meet with someone before we could conduct the interview, she asked if I had taken lunch. "When I said no, she said that maybe I am trying to cut weight." I reflected on this exchange by noting, "Sometimes I feel like I shouldn't eat or eat little so that people don't think I eat a lot (associating with my fatness)." Another example is when I was walking up to another participant, she exclaimed, "Alicia, you are big!" In both of these cases the comments were made before the interview. I had to work hard to put these comments aside and not let my emotions interfere with the interview, although I wanted to put up a wall and shut out the participants in response to their comments. Yet I had to remind myself that the comments weren't likely meant to be insults. While this reminder helps, I think it still limited my connection with the participants who commented on my body size.

These constant comments about my body size also impact my motivation to work out or be physically active while in Uganda. Regardless of place, I do not like to work out where people can observe me as I become very self-conscious. In the places where I stay

in Uganda, working out is not a common activity. One day when I was doing a circuit workout on the front porch of the place where I was staying, the security guard and the neighbor's domestic workers all came outside to watch me. This made me feel really uncomfortable and I was only able to tolerate it through two rounds of the circuit I had created. If I stayed in the wealthier areas, I am told it would be different as many "working women" (i.e., businesswomen) regularly jog or engage in physical activity in the early mornings or evenings. During one of the training sessions I attended with Briana, I thought that I could have possibly brought my workout gear and worked out while the women were training, since the training was so long (three to four hours). I then further reflected by remembering:

how uncomfortable I am working out in front of other people and how often people comment on my body here. Would they just laugh at me like others have? Do men face this? Yet I know I could challenge their conception of who can and cannot be athletes by being active but it's hard to incur the personal cost of doing so. How do I overcome this?

I still do not know how to answer that last question.

I often felt emotionally exhausted as a result of this constant negotiation related to my body size. I remember sharing with Briana that I wanted just one day where nobody commented on my body size. She thought that the next day would be the day but it ended up not being so. We went to pick up Akiiki from the airport and ended up giving another coach a ride to Entebbe so he could pick up a taxi to Kampala from there. But:

when we got to the car and we were figuring out where to sit, we told the coach he could have the front ... and that Akiiki, [another adult female], and I would sit in the back with the two kids. The coach told Briana [who was driving] no and that he could sit in the back. He didn't think we would all fit in the back because I am "so" big ... To the coach's surprise we all fit just fine.

I did have several days where I got a break from comments about my body size, but these were the days I spent inside all day transcribing interviews. These recovery days were quite important to my emotional health.

While I know that most of the references to my body size are not meant to be a personal attack, as has been described to me by several Ugandan friends, there was one incident where a comment did feel personal. This is the only time I have cried as a result of a body-related remark and it was when I was talking to a top coach of a men's super league football team. The first time I met him he seemed dismissive of me because I was researching women's football, as if women's football was so far below him that I was wasting his time by speaking with him. The second time I went to the building where his office was, it was Briana who was speaking with him. I remained in the hallway while they were talking. After she:

was done talking with the coach she came to stand in the hall with us. The coach then came up to us, pointed at me while saying to Briana, "This one has too much fat. Don't you think she should exercise more?" I was absolutely mortified.

Briana just said no and that I do work out then changed the topic. I turned around and pretended I was reading the schedule on the wall but I could feel the tears

coming. Thankfully we started walking away from the coach and [two of my friends] came to comfort me because they saw I was not so successfully fighting the tears. They kept telling me to calm down and I felt so silly for crying. I've been called fat a lot in Uganda but this was the first time that it felt personal. I was able to eventually calm down but had to do so by laughing at myself about how I felt while washing clothes the day before. In all honesty this incident made me question why I keep coming back to Uganda because it brings back everything I have worked so hard to fight my whole life (e.g., disordered eating and eating disorders). My friends here said things like, "He didn't mean for it to be personal" or, "He was just trying to make conversation and didn't know what to say."

Neither of which are helpful in negotiating 27 years of being socialized to think that pretty = skinny and that fat = lazy. One of my female friends in Uganda told me to not be so sensitive but it's something I have fought with my whole life and I am just tired.

This exchange continues to stand out in my memory and is still something that I am trying to work through. One hypothesis I have for why people comment on my body so frequently is that my body does not match the White American female bodies that Ugandans see in the media. This might be something to explore in the future or dig more deeply into.

Race. It is common to walk down the street in Uganda and have people yell, "Mzungu! Mzungu!" if you are a White person. While I have become accustomed to this over the years, one of my Ugandan friends reflected on this and how uncomfortable she

would feel if she came to America and had people yell “Black person! Black person!” at her. I had many conversations with her about the reasons why the context is different and highlighted the historical impact of colonialism and imperialism. Previously I shared about how I felt like an outsider throughout this research experience, but I also had specific negotiations in terms of race beyond the daily calls of “Mzungu!”

One example of a time when I negotiated race was at the end of the interviews with participants. When I asked participants what it was like to be interviewed, Ara said, “It’s nice, getting an interview from a White.” Additionally, Kiya responded with:

It’s like I was dreaming ... I was telling my friends ... I will have an interview ... they said, “Wow ... How can you be connected with a White? How do you get it?” It’s a pleasure to me to be interviewed by you.

In these instances, I simply tried to redirect the power to them by thanking them for allowing me to hear and become part of their story. It made me think about what impact my interest in Ugandan women’s football had on their stories, if any. While I find it even difficult to contemplate this, perhaps my interest served as a form of validation for the participants, especially considering the power I hold as a White American working toward a doctoral degree. I don’t believe that my presence or interest should be needed for the participants to feel that their experiences are valid and valuable, and I don’t want to assume that it did; I just can’t shake the feeling that is what my interest did for their stories and I am not sure if that is good or bad. Either way, I feel a great responsibility as a “keeper” of their stories.

After both interviews with Kiya, she walked me back to the main road from her house. While I initially thought she just wanted to make sure I was safe, I remembered that I had walked to her house on my own. In my reflexivity journal, I noted after the second meeting, “I again felt like she was putting me on display. Sort of like, ‘Hey, look, I have a White friend.’ But I also know the negative consequences of that so it makes me concerned.” The negative consequences I was referring to were in terms of a friend who lives in the northern region of Uganda and has hosted a lot of *mzungus*, including myself. The community perceived that she was getting a lot of money from us, which she was not, and that she was being selfish by not sharing the “*mzungu* wealth” with the community. This is even though she opened up the sport facilities of her school, including a pool, for community use. She reported several break-ins at the school and general hostility toward her and the school from community members. I would not want my visible presence in or around the participants to create a similar situation for them. This is why I felt uncomfortable being on display.

Nationality. There were a few points during the research where I felt resistant to participants when they were talking about the United States (US) as if they knew and understood all the complexities of the US. They also seemed to only have a positive view rather than a critical view. For example, Ara commented, “First of all, this is Uganda, not USA. In the States, you can do anything and no one is really, really bothering you or talking, ok they can talk but again they have limits to what they talk.” In this statement Ara was assuming that all groups of people in the US are equal and nobody is experiencing silencing, which is not true. In these moments I felt myself get defensive

and was tempted to go on an educational rant but refrained. It's not that I blamed Ara for her only positive view of the US, it's that I was frustrated with the image that the US puts out through media and diplomacy efforts that is only partially true. It might seem weird that I didn't want the participants to assume everything was perfect in my own country, but I see first-hand the negative impacts of such beliefs. This limited perception of the US is one of the ways I believe the US is able to hold its hegemonic global position. Once the illusion is broken down and people around the world see the US for its successes *and* flaws, then we might lose some of our global power, which is not what the status quo would want to happen.

At the same time, my resistance to participants speaking with authority about the US made me think about how I need to caution myself to not speak with authority about Uganda. The reality is that no matter how much I read about or how much time I spend in Uganda, I will never have a true understanding of what it is like to grow up in Ugandan society with the respective socialization processes. This is a good reminder for me to keep an awareness of my own frame as I gain confidence in my understanding of Ugandan society.

Language. As a native English speaker, I carry a lot of privilege globally. English has become nearly a necessity for international business and development. In Uganda, English is the national language and this is residual from its history of being a British colony. Several participants discussed that Luganda, the language of the Baganda ethnic group, is the second most widely spoken language in Uganda. I had originally been informed that the participants from the potential sample would not have a problem being

interviewed in English. I trusted this and then found out differently once I was in the field. After the Women's Elite League game that I observed, I spoke with three potential participants. After doing so, I noted:

one [potential participant] was clearly not comfortable with English. When I said she might not be able to participate, Brenda had a visible reaction (along with the two people I came to the game with) and I quickly realized that would not be acceptable. We came up with the idea of Brenda translating. I will have to talk with Lars and maybe the UT IRB.

I did end up submitting a revision to the IRB that proposed Brenda serve as a translator. I had invited the participant anyway and she said she would send me a text message with her decision. I did not receive IRB approval for the revision until my last week in Uganda and I had not heard back from the participant. Maybe I came off as unapproachable or untrustworthy because I clearly did not speak Luganda? Or maybe she was intimidated to do the interview because of the need for a translator? Either way this barrier helped me reflect on the privilege I hold as a native English speaker and how I often take that for granted. It also connects me to the colonial heritage of Uganda. If Uganda had never been colonized and forced to speak English, I might not have been able to conduct this study. Or I at least would not have been able to conduct the study without a translator or spending considerable time and resources learning Luganda.

Social class. When I am in the US one of the social identities I notice the most is my social class. Yet my identity as being from a low socioeconomic status is challenged when I am in Uganda. Like I stated in my initial positionality statement, I feel fortunate

to live in a country that has systems in place to support people like me. Even though I have been forced to accept government assistance in the US, I still hold a significant amount of wealth (beyond money) compared to most of the participants and many of my friends in Uganda. I came to better understand the privilege that accompanies having access to a car full-time and how that translates to daily stress and time. Commuting took a significant amount of time and energy. There were several occasions where it took me three hours to travel to a participant by public transportation and 20 minutes by private car. This means that I was traveling for six hours total and interviewing for one or two hours, which is a full day. By the time I got home I was exhausted. For many of the participants, that is their daily reality and it can be quite stressful at times.

Another aspect of social class where I hold privilege is my education. I already hold a Master's degree and am in the process of earning a doctoral degree, with the assistance and support of the participants. After hearing about how many of the participants had to drop out of university due to finances, it made me reflect again on my positionality. I have a tremendous amount of student loans and it will take me quite a long time to pay them off. However, without my government providing access to that support, I would not have been able to pursue higher education, just like the participants. While I at times feel that my student loans are more of a curse than a blessing, in the end I would not have my degrees without them.

The last piece I want to reflect on related to my social class when participants asked me for money. As previously discussed, the participants expressed frustration in terms of their family and friends assuming they had money because they were on the

national team; yet the participants made the same assumption about me, perhaps because I am White, American, and/or about to have a doctoral degree. Upon returning to the US from Uganda, I had two participants reach out to me. One asked for advice about spending money on a visa for a country Uganda was no longer allowing their citizens to travel to in response to human trafficking being uncovered. She didn't ask me explicitly for money but it felt like she was hoping I would reimburse her for the visa fees. Another participant sent me a message on Facebook and asked me to send her a small amount of money (10 USD). I simply told her that I was not able to send her money at this time and she responded with "no problem." These incidences are awkward and it makes me wonder if the participants actually believed that I do not have money to give them. Or, at least I hope they understand that it would not be fair to all of the participants for me to only give extra money to a few. This assumption that I have money because of my race (or other factors) is something that I continue to struggle with.

For Whom Am I "Working"?

As I felt more and more integrated into the participants' lives and stories, I felt tension rising in me. This tension was sort of an internal "tug-of-war" that made me question for whom am I "working" [present tense is purposeful as I do not see my "work" as done once I am out of the field]? I was granted permission to do the study as a result of my relationship with the coaches, who have been very straightforward about the approach to change they want to take (slow and strategic). However, due to my role as the researcher, I began to feel like I was becoming a voice for the participants, especially since they were very open about the importance of their identity being protected. Further,

one of the participants shared with me that the players had been trying to think of a way to make their voices heard but were nervous about being pushed off the team for criticizing FUFA. She then indicated that perhaps the interviews and research were the solution. While I will admit that I felt excited that the research I was involved in could actually make an impact, I also got scared and nervous because that is quite a large responsibility! Yet it's one that I came in preparing to accept. In my journal I reflected on whom the participants wanted the report of the results to go to:

I find it interesting that participants are telling me to go straight to FIFA because they perceive FUFA as so corrupt. That will be an interesting negotiation because [coaches] don't think exposing and cleaning house is the solution. And me doing so could have negative implications, as there are already many people who are not fond of [coach]. But then how does change get made?

I still am negotiating how to best balance the wants and needs of the coaches and the participants so as to satisfy both enough where positive change can be made collectively, rather than dividing the coaches and players.

As demonstrated in this revisit to my positionality, the current study has helped me explore my positionality more deeply and has given me additional aspects to consider. Throughout the current study I reflected on being an outsider, the need for checking my assumptions, how I negotiated my social identities and mental health, and questioning for whom am I "working." My reflexivity will continue to be an ongoing process.

Summary

In this chapter, I shared insights garnered about women's football in Uganda from participant and non-participant observations. I then discussed the thematized impressions that resulted from the interpretive data analysis. In the last section, I revisited my positionality. In Chapter Five, I organize the participants' experiences by the three research questions.

Chapter Five: Results Part II

In this chapter, I build from Chapter Four to discuss the participants' experiences in relation to the three research questions for this study: (a) How do Ugandan women experience football (soccer) in terms of a variety of social identities?; (b) How do Ugandan women experience being a player on the senior women's national football team?; and (c) How does colonialism and/or neocolonialism shape the experiences of the Ugandan women football players? By organizing participants' experiences like this, I demonstrate how the participants themselves answered the research questions posed for this study.

Research Question One: Experiencing Football in Terms of Social Identities

The social identities that were present in the participants' stories included, in alphabetic order: African, age, athlete or "baller," East African, ethnicity, gender, nationality, regionality, religion, and social class. In this section, I will share the ways in which these identities were present as well as highlight times when two or more identities intersected.

African

One of the goals of postcolonial feminist theory is to recognize the heterogeneity of diverse regions and continents that often get homogenized as a single whole, such as the continent of Africa; yet two participants, Ara and Cindy, mentioned being African.

Ara expressed that she loves being an "African lady." When prompted to elaborate, she said, "I like my color, though I like Whites, they look good ... but again

being a Black makes you feel special ... it makes you feel like you are different.” Yet she also acknowledged some of the stereotypes that exist about Africans. Ara went on to say:

People will always talk about you, Africans are this, they are not civilized, you know? They are so backwards, they are so this, and you feel like it’s hurting you and they shouldn’t talk about you like that. But all in all Africa is the best thing ... we have local foods, you know we have everything so nice, things are so natural ... the tribes are so fun ... you just experience things that people like out, like Whites, really don’t have, you know? Traditions, like traditional dances ... it’s basically ... more cultural stuff that makes the African part be like huge and exciting.

While Ara talked about being African with a smile on her face, it was also clear that she was negotiating some of the stereotypes that have been forced on Africans, perhaps connected to the colonial history. Cindy upheld such stereotypes by saying, “Africans are very lazy ... we sleep a lot and waste a lot of time on unnecessary things.” When I asked Cindy about ethnic and clan traditions, she responded with indicating that she and her family lean “more to the Western way of living.”

This referencing of being African demonstrates the impact colonial discourse has had on Ara and Cindy, as will be delved further into in Chapter Six. Whereas Ara somewhat embraced the stereotypes because she saw it as freedom to “be crazy” (not further described), Cindy distanced herself from the stereotypes by identifying more with a Western approach to living that did not allow space for traditional practices to be maintained.

Age

I previously discussed how participants referenced age in terms of younger versus older players. Ara resisted sharing her age and said that people “are so reserved when it comes to age.” She did eventually disclose how old she was but only after elaborating on this statement. One reason why she thought people are reserved about sharing their age is because it is common for them to not know their true birthdate. Ara’s parents did not tell her what her birthdate was before they passed away but she has found some papers that give two different dates of her birth. The papers have the same year but different months.

Resistance to sharing age also comes from the desire to conceal the real age of a woman and/or footballer. Ara said, “you can grow up and you feel like you look young and people know your age yet you are telling them something else.” While Ara did not provide any context for this statement, it is reasonable that it is reflective of her experience in football. The head coach of the UGSWNFT is attempting to change cultural acceptance of age cheating (i.e., pretending that a player is younger to increase skill represented on the team). None of the participants admitted to age cheating but it was clear that they continued to police themselves even in the interviews. For example, several of the players indicated that they played against current Head Coach Akiiki when she was still an active player. She retired from playing in 2007, which is now nearly 10 years ago. Some of these players indicated that they are 23 years old, which means they would have been competing as a 14-year old on elite club teams. While it is not completely unfeasible for a 14-year old to play on such teams, the policing of age to remain eligible for younger tournaments is part of a broader discourse about age cheating

in football across Africa. As previously discussed, the participants perceived that younger players were getting more opportunities to compete. The continuation of this perception may also encourage some of the participants to lie about their age and present themselves as younger than they are so they can have more opportunities for competition.

Athlete or “Baller”

Even though the UGSWNFT has not actively competed in five years, many of the participants were hanging on to their football career, as previously discussed. One of the factors that seemed to be facilitating this was their identity as an athlete, or what some referred to as being a “baller.”

I asked the participants what football means to them and why they play football. I believe their responses are reflective of their identity as a “baller.” Brenda said, “football means everything to me ... it really means a lot because most of my achievements now are because of football itself.” Similarly, Racheal said that “as far as” she is “concerned it means everything.” When asked why she plays football, Lani responded with saying, “because it’s my favorite game and it’s the game which I really feel that’s the game I have to play.”

Other participants shared a similar sentiment in that football was just a part of them and their lives. Many also envisioned remaining involved with football after retiring from playing. Brenda was already coaching and Lani also talked about coaching in the future. She said, “I don’t think I will leave football. I will leave football when playing it but at least I will still be around some form of football.” Many seemed to be unable to

envision their lives without football, which indicates that their identity as an athlete is very prevalent in their lives. Mia summed it simply, “I can’t live without football.”

However, it is also important to note that this identity wasn’t always a source of positivity for everyone. It was clear that Nava had a strong identity as a “baller” but she felt very let down by the unfulfilled promises that were made to her through football. She talked about how she has started a “new” life after football. She emotionally described the contradiction she felt, “I hate it, I hate it ... I even don’t want to talk about it because I really feel bad. I feel tears, so it really hurt me and I hate it.” At this point of the interview I could see that tears were welling up in her eyes. She continued with:

But deep in my heart I like football and I like my [position] so much but not here in Uganda. I can’t still serve here in Uganda for football so I began my new life. I said let me forget about this football stuff. I just remain with my photos ... I began a new life.

Nava’s experience provides an alternative perspective to the experiences of other players that had only positive emotions and feelings associated with their identity as a “baller.”

East African

As discussed in Chapter Two, there have been governmental efforts to promote a regional East African identity. I asked participants about what it means to them to be East African and most participants had little to no associated meaning. Cindy felt like the promotion of an East African identity didn’t make sense to her and “creates no difference” in her life. However, several participants were able to see some benefit to an East African regional identity.

Racheal and Ara cited one of the benefits as being able to have a regional passport because then they do not have to obtain a visa to travel to other East African countries. Another identified benefit was to have a uniform language to promote trade and exchange between the nations. In talking about being an “East African community,” Sander noted that the language for this community would be Swahili and English, even though she recognized that Rwandans were colonized by Belgium and resultantly speak French. The benefit of everyone speaking the same language was seen as the ability to be mobile and work across nation-state borders.

Other participants differentiated Uganda from the rest of East Africa and East Africa from other countries or regions of the world. For example, in discussing East African countries, Brenda said, “it’s like we are all the same but when it comes to hospitality I think Uganda is great.” Additionally, Ara noted:

they always talk about Kenya a lot so it can be representing East Africa but ... Uganda ... is so huge you know? It’s not a big country but there are things about Uganda, the Pearl of Africa, you know Uganda because of the Nile [River] source, you know Uganda because of the Uganda martyrs ... we have that history and also the bombings of Al-Shabab [a Somali Islamic militant group– see Al Jazeera (2010) for information about the bombings].

While Ara positioned Uganda in relation to Kenya, Lani differentiated East Africa from European countries and the United States. She said:

It means a lot to me because if I am really living in East African countries of course I have to be proud of it. I can’t change my mind that I want to be an

American because I won't [be able to] support [myself] there and it really takes me a lot of time to be there ... so many cases can make me want to go there, which at the end, I really have to stay in Uganda, in East Africa.

So Lani reconnected to the benefit of an East African community existing for the purpose of travel and mobility across national borders.

Ethnicity

Only three of the participants were not from the Buganda Kingdom, meaning that 70% of the participants were Bagandan. Due to so few being non-Bagandan, listing the other ethnic groups represented would make those participants identifiable. Describing this in terms of a binary is reflective of the life experiences of the participants who were not Bagandan. It was very clear that Bagandans have hegemonic influence within Uganda, which connects back to the colonial history described in Chapters One and Two.

Many of the Bagandan participants openly acknowledged the elevated status of Bagandans in Uganda. Brenda stated, "When you talk about being ... a Bagandan in Uganda ... it's like pride because it's like Uganda came from Buganda and it's now that Ugandans are proud and everything in Uganda is from Buganda." Ara and Kiya mentioned that they only speak Luganda, the language of the Bugandan Kingdom, and English while Apple and Racheal, the only participants from outside the central region, had to speak three languages: their local language, Luganda, and English. On a related note, Nava stated, "I just love my tribe. I am proud of it because any other tribe ... would always wish to learn Luganda, to be in Buganda." Lani connected this to respect. She said, "if someone says you are a Muganda ... they just respect you somehow ... they

know this is Buganda Kingdom, it has done a lot.” Similarly, Mia declared, “you know, here in Uganda, Muganda is the most likeable ethnicity so people respect it.” The statements made by Nava, Lani, and Mia demonstrate the hegemonic influence and elevated status of Bagandans within the central region and Uganda at large.

I will return to making the connection between ethnicity/ethnic identity and football when discussing regionality. However, it is important to note that Cindy said that it’s nice to be part of her tribe and she is proud of her tribe but she “never attribute[s] anything to ethnicity.” She “believe[s] in the individual, me that’s me, the individual part of people.” Her perspective may be reflective of her position described earlier in that her family ascribes to a Western style of living (e.g., individualistic versus collectivist culture).

Gender

Participants discussed how gender impacts their lives in and out of sport. In both settings, based on their experiences, participants indicated that women are seen as “below the men” (Ara). Apple described women’s position in society by saying:

Life, to women, life is not so, so easy in Uganda because most of things women are first put behind. Like for example, in jobs they are not looked at first. Yea, they first look at men and then [a] woman comes in or they might not bring them in. And so, actually they take women to be like housewives.

All participants responded with a similar sentiment yet were also optimistic that the gender dynamic were beginning to shift. Brenda indicated:

life for women in Uganda ... today ... it's a bit different from the past days because in the past days a lady would not say anything if a man is speaking ... So the guys would decide on everything ... You would never stand with a man and people respect you and take you someone who can make it better than this man. Kiya had a different perspective on women today and suggested that in her historically male-dominated workplace women were being accepted. She went so far as to say there was no longer a division of labor: "there is no more work [just] for men and no work [just] for ladies." Brenda made a similar comment, her father challenged the gendered division of labor. He used to cook for himself, which was not viewed as typical behavior of men in the home, and her brothers adopted this approach. Brenda then talked about how her daughter and her brother's children have now also grown up in homes without a gendered division of labor. For Brenda, the gender dynamics were beginning to shift due to challenges of gender roles at home and for Kiya, she attributed the shift to education and women working hard.

Kiya perhaps feels like she is accepted in her male-dominated profession but Brenda did not feel the same in regards to her chosen profession of coaching, which is also male-dominated. Brenda expressed frustration resulting from being perceived as unable to coach men simply because she is a woman. She said:

I have the knowledge itself and the experience in the game, but the challenges I am facing right now are the male teams not having confidence [in me] ... they never believe that you [a woman] can handle a man's team or take it any further ... but it's just that belief from the top, top teams because I have coached the

lower teams for men. But the top, the super league teams have always called me up and after some time you will sign with someone and then the head coach results to failing to bring you in sometimes.

Based on Brenda's experience, it's not that all men believe she is not competent enough to coach men, her frustration appears to be focused the coaches of the top men's league teams, which would likely be the men with whom she would coach. Additionally, she has experienced resistance to her presence as a female coach of a men's team from fans.

Brenda shared:

I remember when I was coaching ... a first division team, we went to play against another team. So one fan comes out and is like, "I pity this team, if a lady can understand for all of you, you stand there listening to her, how do you expect to win the game?" And we gave them 5 - 0 [won the game]. I gave him 5 nil and he disappeared so he started blaming their coach, "How can a female coach give you 5 goals?"

However, Brenda did acknowledge that she had an advantage over male peers when it came to FIFA-sponsored coaching courses due to tokenism. FIFA and CAF have policies that require at least one woman to be involved in any coaching course or educational opportunity offered. Racheal and Kiya had similar thoughts in terms of player experiences. She reflected on the boys that she grew up playing with in her village and said, "at least me I have got more experience than them because most of them, even some of them who were trying to teach me, they are still there playing this local football, some are the same where we started." When asked how gender has impacted her

experiences in football, Kiya responded, “being a woman has helped me in football because you find a boy ... we are the same age playing football but the boy cannot be given the opportunities which I have got. Yea, ladies, we have many chances.” Since this seemed contradictory to what had been argued by other participants and especially Kiya, I asked her if she meant that ladies have many chances to play. Kiya did believe that ladies have more chances to play and to play professionally when compared with boys, not because there are fewer girls and women playing football but rather “there are few ... ladies who know much ... and [are] meaning business.” Both Brenda and Racheal are actively engaged in efforts to develop women’s football and, along with Kiya, recognized that they have benefitted by being talented footballers in an environment where women’s football skills are perceived as lower as they have gained access to playing and coaching development opportunities.

While there was recognition about having a higher probability of getting to a more elite level in football due to their gender, the participants also talked extensively about how the gender disparity between men’s and women’s football in Uganda is quite extreme. Ara, who was an animated speaker, described this disparity:

when we come to sports again, men, o, Lord Jesus, men are treated like heroes ... I will give you an example, we have the women league, it just came up like a year back. Second edition but we don’t have a sponsor. This is a national league. Like, national. It’s not a tournament, national league ... we have to be having sponsors ... check this out, the boys, they just have a tournament, a 2 day tournament and ... they are having sponsors, like 5 of them are always there, they are just fighting

to sponsor them ... to be the leading sponsor and the national league [for] women, they don't even have anyone coming up or volunteering or, ok, cracking a joke like "ok, I will sponsor the girls." No one is coming up. So you end up having those question marks. Why are they more on the sides, on the boys' side than the girls' side?

It was not only in terms of sponsorship that participants noticed the difference. There was a lot of frustration communicated by the participants about not being supported in advancing in the few tournaments they were competed in. This particularly came out in conversations when participants were asked to compare the men and women's national teams. For example, Kiya said:

The Cranes are supported too much. Even [year] we qualified to play [African country], we played with [East African Country], we won them, and we qualified to play in [African country] and they told us "no tickets for both teams, we are taking the Cranes to Kenya to play CECAFA." And we were left out so they said "We are not going to take you, we are only taking boys to Kenya, you are not going to [African country]." And we are left out. They are supporting so much [the] Cranes and they have left [the] Crested Cranes out.

Lani was also frustrated with not being supported in advancing in tournaments. She argued:

Those national players for the men are more favored than we. You get that? Because for them, every match in which they are supposed to go, there haven't been any games that they were supposed to go and they said no money is there.

However much money is not enough for them at least they have fought to see that they have gone. Yet we, if the money is not enough, or it's not there, they can't even fight for that so that we go. We end up staying; we don't go anytime.

Several of the participants just laughed or shook their head no in response to being asked about similarities between the Cranes and Crested Cranes. Sander claimed, "they [the Cranes] are the ones hanging the flag for Uganda, for us we are not there."

Intersection of Ethnicity and Gender

Ethnicity and gender intersected when it came to ethnic-specific expectations of gender roles and expectations. Nava talked about fearing being in a relationship and her partner not wanting to engage in traditional engagement practices such as introduction ceremonies. She described:

what's vital most is the introduction at ... the wife's home so I am also scared of the disappointment that I may go with a man who will fail to come home for the introduction ceremony ... we Bugandans we call that, the parents call that disappointment.

So for Nava, her gender and ethnic identities intersected in terms of upholding the marriage traditions of her ethnic group. These two identities also intersected participants' identities as ballers when it came to selection of clothing. Kiya explained:

My tribe would not play football, being a Muganda, you go in the village and they see you in a trouser, eyy, you cannot even greet your what? your jaja [grandma] in ... your what? in trousers in Buganda.

I then asked her what women are expected to wear instead of trousers. Kiya responded, “We are to be in skirts, plus the other what? Gomesi ... right now ... my aunties ... don’t want me because I am putting on trousers.” I probed Kiya again, asking her how that made her feel. She indicated, “I was enduring them when I was still young, I was putting on a skirt but right now I am working, I am mature, even if you don’t like me, I go with what I want. I am mature.” Brenda also talked about the expected dress of Bagandan women and claimed that when they “play football” their “body shape changes” and therefore “don’t look smart [nice/attractive] in dresses and skirts.” She also said that members of her ethnic group believe that she as a footballer is “really unsuitable as a woman. She can’t be a perfect woman for anyone anymore.” And, as discussed by Nava, marriage is a very important tradition that local communities and families expect to be upheld.

Nationality

Participants exhibited a great sense of national pride in Uganda, which made the opportunity to represent their nation as part of the UGSWNFT an even greater honor for them. Brenda talked about how this representation did not stop when the players walked off the pitch. She stated, “if you happen to hold a flag for the nation you are not holding it only for that day but you will always be a face to the what? To the rest.”

Many of the participants talked about loving their country because of the freedoms they are given. To describe these freedoms, many referenced what Nava called “freedom of worship.” Participants also loved their country for the climate and talked about how other people travel to Uganda to see the beauty of the “Pearl of Africa.”

While the participants reinforced that they love their country, they also expressed some desire to have been born in another country. Ara described this wish:

I will always be a Ugandan but again sometimes you feel like you shouldn't be a Ugandan. So when it ... comes to sports again, I just feel like I should not be part of my country somehow because you know people are really working hard to get that talent to, at the next level, and the other side people are really fighting you to be down so you feel like you just wish you can be an American or English or something else, like you have a right to speak and people listen to you. In Uganda you can speak and people will be like uh huh, so what? Nothing, we can't do nothing. Yea, we hear you, we hear you speak but there is nothing we can do, so you don't have anyone to help you. Most of the times you have that question mark. Why am I a Ugandan? Why do I even have to be one?

For both nationality and gender Ara expressed that she felt silenced and "down." While she had "question marks" related to being born a woman and a Ugandan, she also felt strongly that she had to remain in Uganda to help girls' football develop so younger generations will have a better experience. Ara stated:

I grew up in this country and ... I want to develop something in this country, like my future dreams are to see women play football in this country ... I have to stay in Uganda for this coming to see girls play soccer, and sports, being around sports and they are respected and they are loved and when they talk they can be listened to and they can be paid like good money and they can take it to be, I don't know, to be a career or something like that. So I love my country and I want to see it

somewhere. Those are the things I used to... dream about ... but you don't know ... how to do that and you feel like you regret yourself being a Ugandan but again I will just, just see myself building a future for someone. So that's why I want to stick around.

So while participants loved their country, they also recognized that their nationality is, at times, limiting, especially concerning their gender.

Regionality

While I have previously discussed participants' identity related to being East African, regionality in the current section refers to the different regions in Uganda (i.e., central, western, northern, eastern). These regional divisions also align with rural and urban divisions, with the urban capital of Kampala lying within the central region. Most of the participants were born and grew up in Kampala; although there were a couple participants who were from the central region but grew up in towns outside of Kampala. [I cannot disclose where or who to protect their confidentiality]. Further, the regions also roughly, albeit not exactly, align with ethnic groups so there were times when participants conflated the two identities.

Mia and Brenda both talked about how women residing in rural villages are often mistreated and abused. Further, Mia said, "some are not given freedom to their interests, some are denied chances of pursuing their talents." Brenda described this in terms of violations (e.g., domestic violence). She explained, "There is a lot of violation. Ladies are really treated badly when it comes to the village side of the country. They don't know where they are supposed to reach out to for help." When asked why there is a difference

between women who live in villages versus those who live in urban areas, Brenda responded by indicating that she perceived “women in the city” as “educated women who are really working for themselves.” While Brenda indicated that she is well traveled within Uganda, it is unclear if she was making statements about these urban and rural differences based on experience or based purely on perception (and maybe stereotype).

Lani also talked about the differences in opportunity for girls to play football in terms of the village and urban Kampala. She talked about how girls in the village “can’t get time ... to play football.” Further, she claimed that “you” (girls in the village):

can even be knowing that there are girls playing football this side but you cannot be in the village and you translate that as you are the only girl who is playing football in the whole country. And you end up leaving it, yet it will be your future. And you didn’t know.

This is an interesting perception because Lani and the other participants who grew up in the city also claimed that they were unaware of other girls playing football when they were young, yet it didn’t deter them from continuing to play. Perhaps Lani’s perception connects to Brenda’s perception that women in the city are more educated and aware of where they can get assistance if needed.

Cindy believed that girls playing football was more accepted in urban Kampala than in rural villages, but noted that she does not believe girl footballers are widely accepted within Kampala either. She strongly believed that FUFA and other football programs should be purposefully dispersed outside the city limits into rural villages. Apple and Racheal were the only two participants who grew up outside of the central

region. Racheal's experiences may provide additional support for Cindy's idea of making football more accessible beyond the central region.

Ara previously described feeling silenced due to her gender and nationality, but for Racheal she seemed to feel most silenced in terms of regionality. She said that she "could even spend a day minus talking because [she] was the only one there from that [region]." It wasn't until she made friends with Apple that she began to perceive the "situation" as "normal." Having someone else on the team who did not grow up in the central region appeared to make a great impact on Racheal's comfort level within the team.

Racheal also talked about working with FUFA to teach football in her home region because there are still few girls training there. Her goal in doing so was to bring up talent from outside the central region. She perceived that when players are being picked for the national team, the coaches "concentrate in central." Yet one of the issues she faces is that few schools in her home region are providing girls with bursaries for playing football. This drives many of the talented players, like herself, to the central region. When asked if those players eventually return to their home region, she said that they do not go back.

Further, when there are elite football opportunities, such as league play, players from outside the central region face additional challenges because most teams are from the central region. One of these challenges is the greater time spent traveling. Racheal said, "you board the bus at around four at night, you want to play here at two or one, you get out of the bus, you are going to the pitch, you are tired, people are sleepy, so you find

you don't compete well." Another additional challenge for players from outside the region is funding travel for league play. Racheal indicated that players can use 60,000 Ugandan shillings of their own money for transport but then only get compensated 30,000 Ugandan shillings after the game. She noted, "it happened to me one time, they give according to where you come from, when you are coming you use your own money, when you are going back they compensate."

It seemed that the greatest opportunities for football existed in the central region. When I asked Racheal if she believed she would have made the national team if she had not moved to Kampala for university, she responded with, "I doubt it." The differences between the regions are easily observed. I remember riding the bus to a remote village in the far western part of Uganda for an observation and noting that there were fewer and fewer girls playing as we rode further and further away from Kampala.

Religion

For many of the participants, religion was ingrained in their lives and sport experiences (see Table 2 for participants' religious identifications). Cindy's first opportunity to compete in football was through a church sport program. Ara talked about how she received many of her football competition opportunities through church and Kiya believed that she would not have made the top club team if she had not been in the "Born-Again system [network]." For Apple, she saw the opportunities she has received as a result of her commitment to her religion. She said, "Being a Muslim ... I am always at the mosque, every Friday I pray. Actually, if it wasn't praying too hard to God, I would have not reached the level of playing for the national team." Whether it was through

activities or prayer, Cindy, Ara, and Apple attributed their football opportunities to their religious commitment.

However, football and religion did conflict at times. For example, Apple talked about not being supported in football by her religious community. When asked how religion has impacted her sport experience, she said, “Muslims and seeing a girl playing football is not good to them. So there is no impact I have got from that, apart from praying to God and his answers.” Apple saw the connection between religion and football on an individual, personal level but not in terms of a structural or community level. She went on to reflect about the intersection of religion and regionality. When I asked her about Kawempe Muslim Secondary School, arguably the top girls’ football team in Uganda, and how they are so successful, she said:

Those Muslims who used not to like football, they were there in my village ...

Maybe those ones in Kampala for them it’s ok and they support their girls but there in [town] the Muslims do not support girls to play football.

Yet she felt that she has challenged the belief that the Muslim community in her village held about girls playing football by example. Apple went on further:

Actually those Muslims ... are not refusing their girls to play ball now, they got an example from me. Because they used to refuse me but after hearing that I have joined the national team, I’m at campus because of football, so others are like “ah, let our girls do what? Play ball like that.”

She did recognize that not all Muslims had changed their beliefs. She shared a story about how her team wanted to use a pitch at a Muslim secondary school and were told they

could not use the pitch unless they wore hijabs. Apple indicated that she has never seen any Muslim woman in Uganda wear a hijab while playing. From my observances, it appeared that many Muslim women wore a stocking hat instead. Apple and her teammates ended up finding a different pitch to practice on because “there is no way you can train while wearing a hijab.”

One of the impressions previously discussed was “waiting for change from the top.” While the “top” was previously discussed in terms of FUFA, it also referred to religion for some participants. In sharing about their dreams and visions for the future, several participants indicated that they were praying for their dreams to happen. Kiya is hoping to get a professional contract and she said, “I am praying, I am praying very hard to only get one chance, I go for professional, I get money, I do my own things.” To do so she recognized that the Crested Cranes would need to compete in order for her to gain exposure to foreign professional football clubs. She noted, “I am praying to God to bring any match so that we can what? We can gather together and play Crested Cranes versus any, friendly match or what.” Apple responded similarly with:

For competition, you just have to pray to God and become more serious with training because nothing is impossible when you are training harder and God is there. Everything is possible when God is there. Me, I trust in God so, so, so much that whenever there is something challenging me, I just pray to God and finally I make it.

Intersection of Religion and Ethnicity

Apple shared about how sometimes religious beliefs conflicted with community support of girls' football. Alternatively, Ara indicated that she saw religion, specifically Christianity, as conflicting with ethnic traditions. When asked to further describe the conflict between religion and ethnic traditions, Ara said:

[For] the traditions you have to be like believing in more of spirits and what, the dead ... Most of the times, it's more like ancestral beliefs. They follow the line of the ancestors but Christianity, no; Christianity is way too big and different from this.

So she said that many Ugandans have left "those things [traditions] that side [in the village or in the past]."

Intersection of Religion and Gender

There was also a relationship between religion and gender. When discussing how life is hard for women in Uganda, Cindy attributed the difficulty to religion. She elaborated, "even if a certain person tries to accept women, to empower women, you can never empower them because God made them when they are not equal to men." For Cindy, it didn't matter what the efforts were, she believed that women would never be viewed as equals because God did not intend for men and women to be equal.

Social Class

Social class encompasses three types of capital: economic, cultural, and social (Bourdieu, 1987). Cindy felt that Ugandan society was quite divided by social class, mostly focusing on economic capital. However, the participants discussed multiple ways

in which all three forms of capital impacted their sport experience or vice versa, although I, as the researcher, situated their experiences into the three forms of capital.

Economic capital. Brenda talked about getting daily allowances for being in training camp for the national team and that the players “had not touched allowances” before; this seemed to be a memorable moment for her. Kiya talked about how she was able to earn money through a professional contract in another East African country. She was paid monthly while playing in that country, something she wishes would be a reality for playing in Uganda, and overall earned a significant amount of money. She said:

The day that I got that 7 million [between 2,300 and 2,800 USD depending on exchange rate], I said wow, that’s enough. And I sent that money, I sent it to Ugandans and I told my brother, the one who passed away, to start building right away. After building now I am calm. Looking just for money for eating and other few things.

The seven million shillings she earned while playing professionally abroad helped Kiya build a home where her family can live and is currently renting out some of the rooms for additional income. However, she still expressed frustration by the lack of economic opportunity through football in Uganda.

While Kiya indicated that there was no money to be made in Ugandan women’s football, Apple believed, “football can change someone’s life. Like for example, if you join the national team or get clubs from outside countries like, it can really change your life in terms of finance. I think you can get some money.” When asked if a lot of money can be made, she responded with, “nooooo” and laughed. Racheal felt that, “if you like

football, even if there is no money, you play. Me even I used to put in my own money to go and play.” This might help explain why so many of the participants remained committed to playing without economic opportunity, their love for the game was greater than frustration with financial struggles.

None of the participants indicated that there was significant money to be made playing women’s football in Uganda, as discussed in Chapter Four. Yet this did not stop their families and peers from perceiving that they did have money simply because they are on the national team. Ara said, “People think you have money and can even be like, ‘I need a soda. You are my friend and you play on the national team, I need a soda. I need this, help me out, get me some money.’” This often created tension because when they respond by letting the person know they in fact do not make money, it can be interpreted as the person not sharing their wealth. It is common for people in Uganda to act as a collective and support each other, including financially. For example, Cindy talked about how young players whose parents cannot afford boots [cleats] might borrow money from a friend to pay for them.

Lani talked about how the lack of economic opportunity stunted the development of women’s football. She talked about the Women’s Elite League and that players are always looking to switch teams based on which ones are offering allowances, or in some cases, jobs. Sander identified one of the biggest sources of tension in deciding whether to remain an active player or not was about the ability to earn money. She felt that those who are poor and have to work should maybe focus on working since they are not earning an income through football currently. Sander asked, “When you are poor, you

don't have a single coin, why do you be on the national team?" She felt that it would be "better [for that person to] leave the national team and work for [themselves]." From this she determined that a player has to already have money in order to be on the national team because a player who is poor cannot afford to train instead of work since there is little economic opportunity in women's football.

Social capital. Brenda recognized that being on the national team and having access to the associated network can help a player when they are searching for jobs or schools for their children. This network was also seen as a clear disadvantage, if a person doesn't have access to that network. In describing her long search for a job, Nava said, "It's all about who knows you. You are a child of who? Who is your friend in that company?" When asked if sports operated in the same manner, she responded with:

Ahhhh, with sports, even with sports, in sports it's also there ... They look for this one, this one is a child of this, and so this one is like this and this but among there you know what? We have to be having A on our team because A is the minister's daughter or something like that. So sometimes they fail to look at the skills and they fail to provide the best for the team. And others if at all they look at the skills they fail to present the best, maybe from the government, so it really confuses here in Uganda, it really confuses.

So while Brenda seemed to perceive that football was a way to access such networks, Nava recognized the difficulty in understanding and tapping into the networks in order to gain the associated benefits.

Cultural capital. One common form of cultural capital is education and the knowledge, skills, and competencies that result from education (Coakley, 2009). As previously discussed, nearly all of the participants earned bursaries through football to pay for secondary school and some for university. Lani, who is currently enrolled in university, perceived that she would not have reached the level of education she has without football. Brenda talked about having the opportunity to be part of coaching education courses. For her, such opportunities translated to cultural capital by making connections because the “more you sit with people with different ideas, you happen to achieve ... the ideas or strengthen your brain to other things you didn’t know.”

Research Question Two: Experiencing Being a Player on the UGSWNFT

In Chapter Four and in the previous section of the current chapter, I have discussed how participants’ experiences as players on the UGSWNFT. The participants’ recognized that their experiences have been different than the women who came before them. Even factoring for their many frustrations with the lack of support for the UGSWNFT, they recognized that the situation has slightly improved. At least now, with the introduction of football bursaries for secondary schools and universities, there is less of a perception that women footballers are “losers” and do not finish school.

It also seemed that the support players received from their family evolved over the course of their life, as discussed in Chapter Four. Initially, many reported that their parents disapproved of their participation in football when they were young. But now most of those parents have changed their minds and take pride in their daughter being a

footballer on the UGSWNFT. The participants also noticed a shift in more positive community support, making for a (slightly) better experience as a UGSWNFT player.

While the participants' experiences demonstrate a positive shift in familial and community support, that same shift is not apparent in terms of FUFA support. In fact, since the team has gone five years without competing, many of the participants felt that FUFA has forgotten them. From the descriptions the participants gave, it seemed that this neglect has fostered animosity towards the younger female footballers. It was perceived that these younger players receive more attention and support from FUFA.

Regardless of these many frustrations (e.g., lack of competition opportunities), the participants held onto fond memories of playing on the UGSWNFT. One memorable experience for Mia was receiving her first allowance as a national team member. She said, "I got paid in [US] dollars. So I got my \$200 in my pocket, I had to swagger around because I had [US] dollars." While Mia swaggered around with US dollars in her pocket, Brenda recalled being told by the coaches that she could not drink soda. She said:

we were in camp and we had this soda thing. We used to take sodas, sodas, every lunch, when you are free to take sodas and everything until [coach] came up and was like, "No more sodas!" We almost striked, we almost striked. And the bad thing was she was telling us no sodas and she wasn't telling us why we don't need to take the sodas. And we were used to sodas. We knew when we go to camp it's party time. We have to enjoy everything you haven't enjoyed at home.

Mia and Brenda's stories provide a glimpse into the joys that the participants have experienced as players on the UGSWNFT. It is likely that these fond memories, and the

accompanying recognition of being on the national team, are reasons to “hold on” to their football careers.

Research Question Three: Colonialist and Neocolonialist Influences on Football

Without explicitly asking about colonialism or neocolonialism, I was able to identify several ways in which the football experiences of participants have been shaped by colonialism, neocolonialism, or imperialism (see Chapter One for definitions). These connections were also informed by literature discussed in Chapters One and Two. The colonialist, neocolonialist, and/or imperialist influences on participants’ football experiences included Baganda hegemony, ethnic and clan practices being viewed as uncivilized, football being used as a tool for religious outreach, learning and performing traditions for outsiders, and “modern” football. I acknowledge that it is not only European and North American countries that are engaged in neocolonialist or imperialist activities in Uganda. However, much of the neocolonialist and imperialist influence that I observed stemmed from European or North American roots.

Baganda and Central Region Hegemony

As discussed in the section on social identities, Bagandans, who largely reside in the central region, hold a hegemonic position within general Ugandan society and women’s football. This connects back to colonialism as the British aligned with the Baganda ethnic group and utilized Bagandans to enforce colonialism through indirect rule, as discussed in Chapter One. Throughout the colonial period, Bagandans had access to educational and leadership opportunities, which positioned them to maintain decision-

making roles in the post-colonial era. Baganda hegemony had a silencing effect on at least one of the participants.

To demonstrate this, Racheal stated, “When you are in Kampala you change into, you become a Muganda. You can't speak your local language while in Kampala. So it's like you are hiding so that they don't know you are from that place.” By pretending to be Baganda, Racheal was consenting to Buganda being the ruling kingdom, resulting in the Buganda Kingdom maintaining hegemonic power. Alternatively, the participants who were Bagandan were aware of their elevated status within Uganda, as noted in the section on ethnic group identities. Yet they were not aware of how this impacted their football experience, likely due to their privileged position in Ugandan society at large and in Ugandan football. The lack of non-Bagandan representation within football and the perceived lack of effort to make the national team more widely representative was a source of frustration for Racheal and Cindy, among others.

Religious Outreach through Football

Religion and colonialism were intimately connected. As described in Chapter Two, it was the King of Buganda who wrote to Queen Elizabeth and asked her to send Christian missionaries to Uganda, which led to Uganda becoming a British colony. When I arrived at the Entebbe airport, I noticed there was higher security than what I had experienced in the past. I then realized that the pope was set to arrive in Uganda the next day. I was watching one of the pope's ceremonies on TV and the person leading a prayer started with saying, “Though she remains a symbol of colonialists, let us pray for the

church.” This is but just one example of recognition of how the church and colonialism are interconnected.

Several of the participants got their start in football through church. The connection between colonialism, church, and football that I saw within the participants’ experiences was when football was used for the purposes of religious outreach. Brenda said, “when it comes to the religious part of it, I also use it as a way of reaching out to other people ... we make tournaments and we preach through it.” Ara also discussed her involvement with a program that used sport to engage in religious (Christian) outreach around Uganda. The use of football to facilitate proselytization is not a new concept. As reviewed in Chapter One, football was used by colonial missionaries as a form of social control so as to create and maintain “socio-cultural conditions that were favorable for continued European economic penetration” (Darby, 2002, p. 22). While, in the context of this study, religious outreach was described as Ugandans preaching to other Ugandans, rather than colonizer or imperialist to Ugandans, this use of sport could be part of the “colonial residue” of imported models of sport (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011, p. 185).

Rejecting and Performing Ethnic and Clan Traditions

The participants were able to talk about traditions of their ethnic group more strongly than their clan. The Buganda ethnic group can be further broken down into clans, although participants from other ethnic groups also talked about belonging to a clan. The participants were able to talk trivially about clan traditions and sayings (cannot disclose them in an effort to protect confidentiality), but all of the participants claimed

that they do not have a strong association with their clan. Ara described this waning clan identity by saying:

It's not that big because Uganda, ... it's a developing country and it's more moving to civilization so it's most of the times we tend to forget about the traditions and the tribes and everything. So I know they are there and everything is so special and we have to respect them, by the way we do when it comes to tradition, we have to respect most of the rituals, but no. I'm not part of them, I'm just not a part of them but we do have them ... but again, that side is more like, most people believe in ... spiritual things but again for us we just came into this side of, of Christianity and leave those things that side.

Mia shared that her family did not teach her about ethnic and clan traditions; rather, she learned them in school. It seemed that participants viewed ethnic and clan traditions as incompatible with Uganda being a civilized, developed country (Ara's words). Religion also influenced this, as noted by Ara, in that Christian practices were also incompatible with "traditional" ethnic and clan customs. While participants were able to provide a few examples of how their ethnic identity has shaped their experiences in football, as discussed in Chapter Four, none of the participants were able to make connections between football and their clan identity.

It seemed that many participants were rejecting their clan identity and although they acknowledged the importance of respecting tradition, they did not feel the need to actively participate in traditional practices. However, Nava shared about being selected to travel to a European country to participate in a football tournament. The catch was that

the players were to be taken as orphans, even if they were not truly orphans, and had to maintain this lie when interacting with the sponsors from the European country. She said:

you have to show those Whites that you are really an orphan ... it's for them to care about you, they buy you clothes, everything. They offer you tuition, everything, ... And those guys [school administrators who are connected with the European organization] receive I think, every month or every year, they receive money to cater for so and so, you get it? You get sponsors, they take you there, like if you reach there, they say, you, you are so and so, you are meeting Alicia, you are family, so I become your family member, you greet me, you give me pics, ... for all that long like you, you are my family, I've met you for the first time and you have always been sending things to me, clothes, money to cater for me, for my studies, anything I feel like you're my sponsor. But we as players, they just use us.

Nava shared about how hurtful this practice was because she never truly was able to make connections with her host family. She said she felt closely monitored and that it was “as if you are in prison.” The school administrators who were the in-country contacts for the organization were deceiving the European organization so that they could keep the donated money for themselves, rather than giving it to students who need the funds for school fees. So, the school administrators closely monitored the players chosen so as to not “spoil their thing.”

In addition to this problematic deception, Nava discussed how everyone who was selected to go to the European country was instructed to maintain an image of Uganda

that was congruent with what the Europeans might expect, perhaps based on colonial texts (similar to Orientalism). She said:

They even train you songs, some drama, to entertain when you go there ... When we were there, at times we used to be free, maybe night, because we used to take supper with those sponsors. We used to entertain them, dance for them, sing for them, some English songs, Luganda songs, we used to entertain them like orphans ... It really sucks.

I clarified with Nava through the following exchange:

Alicia: And it seems like they're, they are putting on a show, like you have to be what they want you to be.

Nava: Uh huh! [as in yes]

Alicia: You have to be an orphan, you have to be a Ugandan according to what maybe [European country] people think of Ugandans.

Nava: Mhmmm, that's it. That's it.

This exchange between Nava and myself is an example of how we were co-constructing knowledge together. She was drawing on her experiences and I was building from my reading of postcolonial theory. This co-construction also served as a way for me to check my connection of her experiences to postcolonial thought.

Football turned out to be a great opportunity for participants to travel within and beyond Uganda. However, as described by Nava, when traveling to European countries, they were expected to perform a certain (traditional) version of Uganda that was congruent with colonialist representations of Uganda.

“Modern” Football and Hegemony of US Women’s Football

Another imperialist influence was the notion of women’s football in Uganda becoming “modern” football. Brenda described this shift when talking about the historical change of women’s football by noting, “the soccer had changed, the game had changed. It wasn't like before. It's now modern football ... The running, the tactics, everything was different.” She went on to describe that this shift happened when Briana, an American, began coaching, as if she had brought “modern” football with her to Uganda. This perception could be influenced by the elevated position that the participants saw US women’s football holding.

When discussing ways to make women’s football more competitive in Uganda, Apple proposed that more female footballers from Uganda should go and play for foreign countries, specifically the US. In the following exchange, Apple expands on this proposal:

Apple: Of course the team becomes so strong [by Ugandan footballers playing in the US]. Because me what I understand is football in US is better than football in Uganda. So if we get some girls playing for clubs in US and when it is now an issue for Uganda to play, and they are back, the team is strong.

Alicia: Could the training here become stronger [in Uganda] and then they wouldn't have to go to the US?

Apple: How is the training in US? How is it?

Alicia: I am not a footballer but we have strong sports programs in general. But I'm saying, like, does someone have to leave Uganda to become a good player?

Apple: Exactly.

Alicia: You think they do?

Apple: Yea, to me that's what I think.

Alicia: So you think you became a better player when you went to play for [East African Country]?

Apple: Not so much because, me, the country I played in, where I lived in, there is serious football and where can become a better player is US. Not because I am talking to one, a person from US, no.

This exchange between Apple and myself demonstrates that it's not just Ugandan women footballers playing in any foreign country that would help increase the competitiveness of Ugandan women's football, but specifically the US. It's also clear that Apple was not aware of the type of training programs, or even professional opportunities for women footballers, in the US. This leads me to hypothesize that US women's football obtained a hegemonic position through Briana's presence and, potentially, the US Women's National Team winning the FIFA Women's World Cup in June 2015. Yet the participants did not have historical contextualization of why women's football seen successful growth in the US, like the influence of federal legislation such as the Civil Rights Act and Title IX. Further, while the participants were accurate in their perception that women may have greater access to participation in football in the US, they overlooked the fact that

there are fewer men's collegiate football (soccer) teams in the US but that the men's teams still draw larger crowds than the women's football teams (Markovits & Hellerman, 2003).

However, not all participants perceived that the US approach to women's sports would be able to be replicated or directly influence women's sports in Uganda. Cindy thought that the US was engaged in efforts to promote female coaches, perhaps again influenced by Briana's presence. When making suggestions about how to improve women's football in Uganda, Cindy said, "They shouldn't focus on just making female coaches. It can work because it has worked in [the] US but it might not work even here." Here it seems that Cindy may be critiquing Briana and Akiiki's efforts to promote female coaches within women's football in Uganda due to her belief that they may simply doing so because that is what has ostensibly worked in the US.

Summary

In this chapter I discussed the three research questions with support from the participants' experiences and the thematized impressions that resulted from the interpretive analysis (Hatch, 2002). I explored how multiple social identities shaped the football experiences of participants and how these social identities intersected. I then provided a brief summary of how participants experience playing on the UGSWNFT, considering that their experiences have been discussed at length in other sections. Lastly, I shared the ways in which I saw colonialism, neocolonialism, and imperialism shaping the participants' football experiences.

Chapter Six: Discussion

In this study, I have explored the experiences of the UGSWNFT with guidance from postcolonial feminism and feminist ethnography. To do so, I interviewed 10 Ugandan women who have competed as part of the official UGSWNFT roster in at least one international competition. In this chapter, I examine how I see these results as supporting and/or advancing knowledge about women's football and competitive sport in Uganda, as well as constituting contributions to postcolonial feminism and social identity research.

Women's Football in Africa

To date, the research on competitive women's football in Africa has been focused on South Africa (Pelak, 2005, 2006, 2010; Saavedra, 2003), and, to a lesser extent, Nigeria and Senegal (Saavedra, 2003) and Kenya (Tranfaglia, 2014). In the current study, the participants and I contribute to a greater understanding of competitive women's football in East Africa and enter Uganda into the regional, continental and global discourse on women's football. Until now, the UGSWNFT has not been mentioned in any literature, nor had there been any scholarship on competitive women's football in Uganda, even when the Ugandan Senior Men's National Football Team, the Cranes, was included (Chappell, 2008; Kasoma, 2013).

To evaluate the status of women's football in Africa, I have largely relied on the *2014 Women's Football Survey* (FIFA, 2014). This survey provided the greatest insight into the women's national teams sponsored by FIFA Member Associations (MAs) such as FUFA. One of the recommendations made by FIFA, based on the results of the survey,

was for MAs to organize more competitions so that more female players are registered, which would subsequently increase the representation of the MA globally. In addition to increasing the global representation of FUFA, increasing competition opportunities for the UGSWNFT would also reduce some of the frustration expressed by the participants of the current study due to the lack of competition opportunities, as discussed in Chapter Four. Simply increasing competition opportunities, even if they were “friendlies” rather than official competitions, could be a win-win for both FUFA and the players, as indicated by participants. When participants shared what they envisioned for the future of the UGSWNFT (Chapter Four), much of their vision for the future prioritized increased competition opportunities.

In the US and Canada, there are a greater number of young players (under 17 years) in comparison to the senior players; yet outside of the US and Canada, the reverse is often true (FIFA, 2014). The participants of this study talked about younger versus older players as a dichotomy and felt that the younger players were receiving more opportunities and support than the older players (see Chapter Four – Younger Versus Older Players). Perhaps there were fewer younger players, as revealed by FIFA (2014), then there would be more competition among the senior players to not only beat out each other for a spot on the UGSWNFT team, but also to out-perform the younger players who are perceivably receiving more competition and training opportunities. This may be one rationale for the participants creating a dichotomy between younger and older players.

One of the recently passed FIFA reforms aims to enhance the control of money flow (FIFA, 2016). This seems to be an even more important reform considering that the

participants believed money sent to FUFA from FIFA was benefitting male football players and not the women. Upon her visit to FUFA in 2014, FIFA instructor Emy Casaletti revealed to the media that all 209 MAs are provided 250,000 USD annually as part of the Financial Assistance Program (Vision Reporter, 2014). She also noted that this money should be an adequate amount to support women's competitions and the overall development of women's football. But even if FUFA is using the money to support women's football, the senior players are not feeling supported or that they are benefitting from the FIFA money.

Nonetheless, FIFA is not the only source of funding for MAs. In 2014, 20% of CAF-affiliated MAs had sponsors for women's football, 24% received government support, and 9% had additional funding from both sponsors and the government (FIFA, 2014). The participants in this study did not suggest the government as an additional source of funding; however, many did propose that FUFA executives seek out external sponsors for the UGSWNFT (see Chapter Four - Waiting for Change from the Top), such as is done for the men's teams. It seemed that the participants were empathic to FUFA's claims to not have enough funding for women's international competitions, yet they were also not satisfied with FUFA's lack of effort to then find other sources of funding that would allow the UGSWNFT to compete on a more regular basis. The participants noted that the UGSWNFT currently does not have any external sponsors.

Beyond funding and competition opportunities, the participants also discussed negotiating the cultural perceptions of women playing football in Uganda and how they gained access to the pitch. Across the continent of Africa, 88% of MAs reported that

football is accepted as a sport for women but also acknowledged that women face cultural barriers as footballers (FIFA, 2014). The participants of the current study gained access to the pitch through boys when they were young girls; most of the time the boys were their brothers. While a few participants experienced some cultural resistance to their participation in football (e.g., some boys refusing to let the participants play), most boys accepted them onto the pitch. Even Sander, who was refused by one group of boys, was able to find another group that accepted her in their game, as shared in Chapter Four. This could be attributed to the participants being very talented footballers, presumably even at a young age. Perhaps their talent and skill trumped the fact that they were girls in that particular moment.

For the participants of this study, their experiences in and perceptions of football seemed to reflect the results of the *2014 Women's Football Survey* (FIFA, 2014). This is an exciting reflection because it demonstrates that the recommendations put forth by FIFA seem to be appropriate for improving women's experiences in football. The participants' lived experiences, as discussed in Chapters Four and Five, were also consistent with Saavedra's (2003) critique that women's football in Africa receives little structural support. Most of the participants reported feeling no support from FUFA and did not mention other structural supports such as FIFA, CAF, or Uganda's Ministry of Education and Sport or National Council for Sports. The only times these governing bodies were mentioned was when the participants suggested that I give a copy of the public report to them. So while participants recognize these governing bodies as able to impact structural change, they did not cite the organizations as a source of support.

The results of this study contribute to a greater understanding of women's football in Africa by broadening the discussion beyond South Africa, West Africa, and Kenya as the representative nation for East Africa. As discussed in this section, the participant's experiences and ideas for the improvement of women's football in Uganda were largely consistent with the *2014 Women's Football Survey* (FIFA, 2014). Further, the results also contribute to a greater understanding of women's competitive sport in Uganda.

Women's Competitive Sport in Uganda

Little is known about women's competitive sport in Uganda. Girls in northern Uganda identified that sport can benefit them in terms of health, social life and engagement, creation of opportunities, socio-emotional development, and competition opportunities (Johnson & Whitley, in press). The northern Ugandan girls wanted more than mere participation opportunities; they wanted to compete, similar to the participants in the current study. Kateshumbwa (2011) found through a quantitative study that there were trends towards gender equity in competitive sport at the national level (see Chapter One for statistical results demonstrating these trends). In this section, I discuss the results of Kateshumbwa's (2011) study in relation to the results of the current study.

Kateshumbwa (2011) cited several causes of gender disparity in competitive sport at the national level. One of these causes was that there were more opportunities, support, and resources allocated to men's sports. This is congruent with the experiences of the participants in the current study, though it should be recognized that the participants perceived younger female footballers as receiving more opportunities and support (see

Chapter Four). Therefore, the participants perceived that they were passed by for the benefit of two groups, the men and the younger players.

Other suggested causes of gender disparity in national level competitive sport in Uganda included cultural, economic, and political factors. In terms of cultural causes, Kateshumbwa (2011) found that there were perceptions of sports in general being for men and that men should be in leadership positions. The gendered experiences of participants highlighted in Chapters Four and Five reflect that there is still some cultural perception that sport and football should be reserved for men, even though some of their experiences may signal a shift in that cultural resistance. The participants also recognized that there were little to no leadership opportunities within FUFA, and this made them feel that they did not have a voice or even a person advocating for them in decision-making directly impacting them. The participants' perceptions of receiving less funding than the men's national football team support Kateshumbwa's (2011) finding that an economic cause of gender disparity is the inequitable distribution of funding. Further, Kateshumbwa (2011) found that a political cause of gender disparity was the lack of policies in sport that mandate gender equity. The participants did not discuss whether such policies exist within FUFA or not but Brenda did note that FIFA has a gender quota that must be filled for coaching courses. The existence of such gender policies in FUFA may help in terms of accountability for promoting equitable opportunities for women and men throughout all aspects of football, from participation to administration and leadership.

Kateshumbwa (2011) also found that men coached 100% of men's national teams and 80% of women's teams across all sports. One of the participants has her eyes set on breaking into coaching men's top teams, mostly within the top men's football league, which may position her to challenge the 100% male coach representation for men's national teams. Many of the participants talked about transitioning to coaching after they retire. Apple and Racheal both perceived that it was important for them to coach in an effort to provide young female players with a female coaching role model. If the participants do in fact make the transition to coaching, they could reduce the 80% representation of men coaching women's teams. This would be a great step toward gender equity in Ugandan competitive sport.

Lastly, Kateshumbwa (2011) put forward suggestions to increase gender equity for Ugandan national level competitive sport. Her suggestions included increasing media coverage, ensuring equal funding, and forming gender equity committees and policies. Ara specifically talked about the gender disparity in the media coverage of men's and women's football and felt that increased media coverage would decrease the gender disparity. As previously discussed, both FIFA (2014) and the participants of this study recognized the importance of equal funding. Given the perception that the UGSWNFT currently receives no funding, any improvement would be an important step towards reducing funding inequality. The formation of gender equity committees would potentially provide players with the opportunity to have their voice heard within FUFA, if they were selected to be on the committee. If the participants were able to be on a gender equity committee within FUFA and help create gender equity policies, they might begin

to view FUFA more favorably, as opposed to their current views shared in Chapter Four. Through the results of the current study, the participants and I have demonstrated that participants' experiences in football would be enhanced if FUFA considered the recommendations put forth by FIFA (2014) and Kateshumbwa (2011).

Postcolonial and Postcolonial Feminist Theory

Colonizers created a "Self" (read: superior) and "Other" (read: inferior) binary to legitimize colonialism (Fanon, 1952/2008; Loomba, 2015; Said, 1978/1994); this binary continues in the post-colonial era. In the current study, it seemed that the "Self" was women's football in the US and the "Other" was women's football in Uganda. US women's football was sustained as the "Self" through ideas about Ugandan women's players needing to train in the US to improve (Apple) and that the US had superior training tactics, as discussed by participants in relation to how the American coach ran trainings versus previous Ugandan coaches. It was as if the participants had come to view the US football training methods as superior.

Another consideration is that the participants in this study had begun to distance themselves from their clan identity and traditions. In fact, many of them had difficulty coming up with any of the traditions or sayings associated with their clan. Fanon (1952/2008) argued that the more a person adopts the colonizer's culture, the more they will be elevated in the eyes of the colonizer. Perhaps the weaning clan identity is an effort to be viewed as "civilized" or "modern," which are two words that were used by participants. In seeking to implement "modern" football, as Brenda described it (see Chapter Five), the participants might have been looking to be elevated in the imperialists'

eyes (e.g., US, Canada, Europe). This could have also been impacted by my positionality; perhaps the participants were performing a certain version of themselves so as to be seen as “civilized” and “modern” by me.

In making suggestions to improve women’s football in Uganda, I need to be aware of my own frame so as to not turn the development of women’s football in Uganda into a civilizing mission. This awareness highlights the need for co-construction of knowledge with the participants in an effort to reduce my authority or colonialist position. Asking the participants directly about what they want for the future and what action they think needs to be taken to get to that future is one of the ways I was able to co-construct knowledge. It’s a co-construction because while the participants shared their ideas with me, I am re-presenting them in the format of a report and the dissemination of the results of this study. I take this as a great responsibility. Said (1978/1994) noted that to have such knowledge is to dominate, subsequently reducing the autonomy of the people who shared the knowledge in the first place, along with the Ugandan women footballers who did not or could not participate in the study. If I were to position myself as “the” expert on women’s football in Uganda based on this study and the lack of other scholarship on the topic, then I would restrict the autonomy of the participants and silence their voices, which they already experience in their daily lives. Postcolonial theory has helped me to be critical of my position in relation to the results of this study and the ways in which I could perpetuate “epistemic violence” (Spivak, 1988).

In addition to benefitting from postcolonial theory, the results of this study are also influenced by postcolonial feminist theory. Rajan and Park (2004) described one

aspect of postcolonial feminism as the exploration of the intersection of colonialism and/or neocolonialism and social identities. In the current study, participant experiences are gendered considering Ugandan women are culturally seen as “thinking below” (Brenda) men. This could connect back to the way colonialism reshaped gender relations into a hierarchy, in which women are situated lower than the men (Tamale, 1999). Further, by examining social identities beyond gender, through the results of the current study, the participants have identified how women who are not Bagandan and who grew up or reside outside the central region are “triply in the shadow.” Spivak (1988) argued women in post-colonial nations are “doubly in the shadow” due to colonialist economic exploitation and gender discrimination. If ethnic considerations from within the country are considered, then non-Bagandan women are “triply in the shadow.”

One goal of postcolonial feminism, put forth by Mohanty (1988), is to challenge monolithic narratives of women in post-colonial nations. Through the current study, I sought to prevent a monolithic narrative about Ugandan women footballers from emerging through the consideration of their heterogeneity represented in their multiple, intersecting social identities. While many of the participants have similar experiences in football, the examination of these experiences in relation to participants’ multiple social identities (e.g., ethnic identity, home region, social class, and religion) has exposed how these multiple social identities have shaped the ways in which the participants experience football differently. If I presented the participants as a homogenous group with a monolithic narrative, I would have overlooked the ways their experiences have differed dependent on social identities beyond gender.

I also want the current study to not be read as promoting “third-world difference” (Mohanty, 1988). The re/presentation of the participants’ experiences in this dissertation should not be taken as stable, ahistorical, or universal. Rather, I have included consideration of the historical context of Uganda and the historical changes in women’s football, as well as a look into the future, so that the participants’ experiences are not taken as ahistorical or stable. Further, through the inclusion of multiple, intersecting social identities, I have put forth that the participants’ experiences are not universal. There are unique differences dependent upon the composition of social identities that should be considered when seeking to understand the experiences of the participants.

In this section, I highlighted connections between postcolonial and postcolonial feminist theory and the results of the current study. Many times, I have alluded to the intersection of multiple social identities. In the next section, I will discuss how the results of the study relate to literature specific to social identities.

Social Identities

As highlighted in Chapter Five, a variety of social identities were present in the discussions with the participants about their experiences in football. To review, the social identities highlighted included African, age, athlete or “baller,” East African, ethnicity, gender, nationality, regionality, religion, and social class. In this section, I revisit the social identity literature discussed in Chapter Two in relation to the results presented in Chapter Five. I use the language of social identity theory rather than including the language for both social identity theory and identity theory for readability purposes since the two are complementary (Stets & Burke, 2000).

Social Identity Theory

Participants engaged in self-categorization (Stets & Burke, 2000) within their identity as “ballers.” It seemed that the in-group within the “baller” identity were the participants who referred to themselves as “tomboys” and prided themselves on training with men, resultantly perceiving themselves as the more skilled athletes. Cindy described feeling like she did not belong and seemed to self-categorize as part of the out-group. She talked about being more into books than football and perceiving her teammates as being the opposite. Cindy also discussed being part of the out-group in terms of clothing choice. She enjoyed wearing dresses and being a “girly girl” whereas the other participants talked about rejecting the cultural expectation for women to wear dresses and preferred wearing trousers.

While many of the participants experienced depersonalization by internalizing the idea that they should wear dresses due to their ascribed gender, it seems that their identity as a “baller” allowed them to reject that belief. Further, it seemed that dresses were not congruent with the “baller” dress code or image; perhaps this is why Cindy felt like she was part of the out-group. However, Stets and Burke (2000) argued that belonging to the out-group would decrease a person’s self-esteem once they reflexively examine their position. This did not seem to be the case for Cindy and could also potentially be a reason why she did not have difficulty giving up football to focus on her studies. For participants who might be considered part of the in-group, their self-esteem may have increased since the “baller” identity gave them a group to belong in when they might be considered part of the out-group elsewhere in Ugandan society.

Stets and Burke (2000) also argued that the level to which a person adheres to group expectations and behavior is related to the strength of the identification a person has with the group. For example, Cindy did not categorize herself the same as the “ballers” (see Chapter Five) and talked about rejecting the pressure to stop wearing dresses or to stop being a “girly-girl” in order to fit in with the rest of the team. On the other hand, if Cindy desired to be part of the “baller” in-group, then she might have been more motivated to adhere to the “baller” dress code (e.g., wear trousers rather than dresses).

In this section on social identity theory, I have provided an example of how the results of this study demonstrate some of the key aspects of the theory, including self-categorization, depersonalization, motivation, and connections to self-esteem. The purpose of including the connection to this literature is to examine the participants’ experiences from both a micro and macrosociology perspective. Instead of simply focusing on the structural barriers and facilitators that impact their experiences (e.g., support or lack of support from FUFA, parents, and communities), applying social identity theory allows more of an individual perspective to emerge to see how participants enact agency within social structures. While the “ballers” rejected the limiting structure of gendered expectations to wear dresses, they also created a group that excluded one participant who accepted and enjoyed fulfilling those gendered expectations.

Intersectionality

Through the various chapters in this dissertation I have evoked the concept of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989). This is a central concept in postcolonial feminism, the theoretical framework of the current study, as only examining the experiences of the UGSWNFT in terms of their gender would overlook the ways their other social identities may privilege them or further contribute to oppression they may experience.

In the discussion about social identities in Chapter Five, I highlighted how several participants' social identities intersected. I provided specific examples of the intersections of ethnicity and gender, religion and ethnicity, and religion and gender. However, the intersections could be analyzed more deeply. For example, when Apple was discussing the lack of support from her religious community due to the perception that women should not participate in sport (see Chapter Five), we could consider how her other social identities may have also impacted this resistance. For example, her identity as a "baller" motivated her to reject the cultural resistance to her participation in football. Further, she discussed how her rural, non-central region location during her youth may also have influenced her religious community to be unsupportive of her as a "baller." Thus, while I highlighted some of the social identity intersections within the participants' experiences, Chapter Five does not exhaust the numerous other intersections, or interconnections (Bhavnani & Talcott, 2012), that may have influenced or shaped the participants' experiences in football.

Identity Negotiation/Work

Identity negotiation or work, how one person evaluates social identities in changing contexts, might be demonstrative of a person's ability to remain reflexive of their position in different environments throughout their lifetime (Deaux, 2001). Moreover, identity negotiation or work may also explain how a person actively navigates, as opposed to passively accepts, social identities ascribed to them through cultural or societal expectations of that identity. Highlighting this active negotiation is also important to work against the representation of women from post-colonial countries as passive victims of structural oppression (Mohanty, 1988, 2003).

The respective governments have attempted numerous times to ascribe an East African identity to Ugandans and other people living in the region through a top-down approach (Ochwada, 2013). As discussed in Chapter Five, participants of the current study have seemed to not accept this East African identity beyond acknowledging the associated privileges related to traveling throughout the region. Ochwada (2013) argued that a bottom-up, rather than a top-down, approach to developing an East African Community could encourage regional social integration, and, therefore, support collective efforts in the promotion of human rights such as gender equality. It seems that the approach would need to shift to bottom-up in order for the participants to accept an East African identity.

Previous studies have identified how female athletes engage in identity negotiation or work within other sports. Ezzell (2009) examined how women's rugby players negotiated gender and sexuality. Sexuality is not discussed in the current study; nevertheless, some

of the resulting concepts from Ezzell's study are relevant. For example, both Ezzell's participants and the participants in the current study engaged in defensive othering/resistance strategies (see Chapter Two). Doing so actually reinforces the power of stigmatizing labels (e.g., women are inferior athletes); rejecting the labels in relation to themselves but acknowledging the existence of the stigmatizing labels for other people still supports the stigma.

One defensive othering strategy is the identification with the dominant group, male footballers for the current study. As discussed in Chapter Four, many of the participants, especially those who identified as "ballers," talked about preferring to play with and for men due to their higher levels of competitiveness and ability to leave issues in "real" life off the pitch, as discussed in the Socialization section in Chapter Four. Just as in Ezzell's (2009) study, the participants saw themselves as below the men but above the female footballers who only trained with other women. Yet, as Ezzell (2009) also argued, the participants were seeking to reject notions of femininity by ascribing to the toughness associated with the men's game, but they were actually reinforcing the lesser status of women's football through this association with male footballers. Participants in the current study also propped up the dominants (male footballers), which is another defensive othering strategy (Ezzell, 2009). They did this by re-asserting that the men were superior footballers through discussing their preference for playing with men and being coached by men (for some participants), because of the perceived higher level of aggression and toughness on a male-dominated pitch.

Other scholars have examined identity negotiation or work within football (Meân & Kassing, 2008; Pelak, 2005). Meân and Kassing (2008) looked at the connection between identity negotiation and group emancipation among professional women's footballers in the US. The participants in Meân and Kassing's (2008) study relied on masculine descriptions of being an athlete but also reiterated their femininity as women. I did not feel as though the participants in the current study felt the need to reinforce femininity. Rather, it seemed as if their identity as a "baller" almost relieved them of the need to conform to feminine ideals ascribed by their social and cultural environments. This is not to say that they did not experience resistance for rejecting feminine ideals, such as wearing trousers instead of dresses, but that their identification with "baller" was stronger than their identification as female. I believe this departure from Meân and Kassing's (2008) findings should be addressed further in future studies.

Pelak (2005) explored how female footballers in South Africa engaged in identity negotiation related to gender, race, and social (economic) class. In Pelak's (2005) study, participants indicated that boys maintained the gendered boundaries of the pitch and refused girls' entrance into their games. The participants in the current study revealed very few instances of such refusal or gendered boundary maintenance. They recognized that they were often the "only girl" playing and that there were not opportunities to compete with other girls when they were young, but, perhaps surprisingly, were largely welcomed onto the pitch (see Chapter Four). What was not made clear was if other girls were refused from the pitch and if the participants of this study were accepted due to their exceptional football talent. Regardless, it appears that many of the participants in the

current study are committed to working across differences (e.g., ethnic, religious, social class) and to increase opportunities for all girls in the next generation by becoming role models, mentors, and even coaches.

Summary

Through the results of this study, the participants and I have provided a qualitative perspective to better understand the quantitative results of the *2014 Women's Football Survey* (FIFA, 2014). The participants' experiences also further advance postcolonial and postcolonial feminist theory. Lastly, through the results of this study, we have contributed to further understanding of social identity literature, particularly in terms of identity work and negotiation. In the next chapter, I will suggest implications of the current study, future areas of research, and make final conclusions.

Chapter Seven: Moving Forward and Concluding

In this chapter, I identify how the results of the research (implications) can be used to move forward in an effort to make football more equitable for Ugandan women. I then make final conclusions for this study.

Moving Forward: Implications and Suggestions for the Future

This section encompasses implications and suggestions for the future specific to academic scholars, the women's football community locally (in Uganda) and globally, and sport for development and peace professionals.

Academic Scholars

Through the current study, the participants and I have provided a starting point to understanding women's football in Uganda. FIFA may report an estimate of the number of girls and women playing competitive football in Africa (FIFA, 2014), but there is less known about the lived experiences of these girls and women. By using qualitative methods, I have been privileged to know and share the lived experiences of ten current or past members of the UGSWNFT. In addition to gaining a better understanding of the lived experiences of female footballers in Uganda, this study and discussion also sheds light on female football in East Africa, rather than merely South Africa, as is reflected in the published literature to date.

In the future, I plan to continue this line of research by replicating the study with other generations and levels of the Ugandan Women's National Football Teams (e.g., U17, U20, former or retired players). It would also be beneficial to conduct research about community members' (e.g., family members, peers, non-footballers, male

footballers) perceptions of women footballers, particularly given participants in the current study discussed how they believe they are perceived as women footballers by such community members. The results of the research have also made me curious to further understand urban Ugandan women's perceptions and knowledge of Ugandan women living in rural areas, especially since the regions within Uganda are roughly, but not perfectly, divided among ethnic lines.

Women's Competitive Football – Local and Global

By sharing the results globally, I am helping the participants' experiences reach beyond their own communities and country. Considering that the results of this study complement recommendations put forth by FIFA (2014) to improve women's football globally, the experiences of the participants in the current study help bring the policy recommendation to life. When FIFA makes recommendations about increasing competition opportunities or ensuring more equitable funding, the experiences of the participants provide further rationale for FIFA to follow such recommendations

One of the interpretive themes was “hanging on or dropping out,” I believe that members of the UGSWNFT would benefit from educational programming that would help them transition out of football and/or transfer their football skills to life skills. This could be a great opportunity for practitioners and/or scholars from sport for development or sport psychology.

In all of the participants' stories, their male peers, including brothers, were instrumental in helping the participants gain access to playing on the pitch. Since this was a successful strategy to increase the participation of girls and women as players within

football, perhaps a similar strategy could be employed to get more women into coaching. Or, given boys and men perceivably receive a greater amount of competition opportunities, there should be more equitable opportunities for women to coach boys and/or men. Brenda's frustration as a female who is already coaching men demonstrates the need for structural support of women coaching any teams, regardless of the gender of the players.

Many of the participants seemed socialized into being a role model for the next generations of female footballers. Through this research, the stories and experiences of current and former UGSWNFT players have become more visible, and will hopefully inspire the next generation to carry the torch in the fight toward gender equity. There was a young girl named Mary at one of the trainings I observed. She was three years old. Mary arrived at the pitch with her brother but was delighted to see women training in football. In fact, she copied their training moves on the sideline. The more visible the players and their stories are, then the more chances girls like Mary have to select role models who look like her and are from within her own community.

Sport for Development and Peace

In this study, I have focused on competitive women's football; however, I still see implications for professionals working within sport for development and peace, which largely utilizes participatory sport. For example, the participants shared how traveling for football within and outside of Uganda helped them appreciate people who were different from them. At the same time, there was a divide and a hierarchy amongst the various regions within Uganda. Girls and women in the central region, which is dominated by

Bagandans, were identified as having the greatest opportunity to play football. If sport for development and peace professionals became aware of this finding, then they could advocate for the use of sport to break down these ethnic and regional differences, and, therefore, work against the “colonial residue” (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011, p. 185) present within the divisions. But this should be done with an awareness of postcoloniality and the colonial uses of sport.

Conclusions

As demonstrated by the participants of this study, multiple social identities impact the experiences of sport participants. Considering that Uganda is a patriarchal society (Otiso, 2006), an outsider might be able to guess, or assume, that women footballers experience gender inequity. However, through the results of this study, the participants and I have shown that there are many social identities that shape their experiences in football. Perhaps one of the most significant social identities, other than gender, that shaped the experiences of participants, was their ethnic or ethnic affiliation, which also roughly corresponded with their home region. The women from the central region acknowledged that girls and women in other regions receive less opportunity to play football. Yet, through the experiences of Racheal and Apple, we have been able to further understand the marginalization experienced within football by women from outside the central region. This may be a key insight to creating unity and cohesion within the UGSWNFT and Uganda as a country.

The overall football experiences of the participants demonstrated that the path to equity is not finished, nor is it smooth. The participants experienced resistance to them

becoming “ballers” (if they so desired), endured physical and sexual abuse or harassment, and remain frustrated by the lack of support from FUFA. There appears a lot of work left to be done before gender equity is realized for the UGSWNFT.

Through research, programming, and advocacy, I hope to continue playing a role in increasing gender equity in sport for female athletes in Uganda. To do so, I need to heed Mohanty (2003b) and “be attentive to the micropolitics of context, subjectivity, and struggle, as well as to the macropolitics of global economic and political systems and processes” (p. 501). I can do this by continuously seeking a deeper understanding of the broader structures and history that influences women’s competitive sport in Uganda while also actively listening to the lived experiences of Ugandan female athletes, although I do recognize that gender equity in Ugandan sport will not likely be realized unless there is collective mobilization (Jenkins, 2014).

It is possible that a collective effort (e.g., social movement) is needed to improve the structures that shape women’s football experiences in Uganda, and sport more broadly. Layton (1998) argues that social movements provide visibility and social sanction for non-dominant groups. If more female athletes were publicly visible, perhaps through the advocacy involved in a social movement, more girls and women might be inclined to get involved with sport and bring attention to disparities based on their gender identity. However, I think it is also important to consider the call made by Meân and Kassing (2008) to do more than simply increase the participation of girls and women in sport. They urge that the entire sport structure and male model of sport be challenged and dismantled so as to stop the re/production of male dominance in and through sport.

While I do think it is important for individuals to get involved and become advocates for desired social change (e.g., gender equity in Ugandan sport), I also know that it is important to have policies in place that shape the structures and governance of sport. In Kateshumbwa (2011), only half of the 74 participating board or executive members in elite sport believed that legislative policies that support gender equity in sport were in existence. Contrarily, coaches and athletes surveyed did not believe that these policies were in place. Additionally, sport administrators/executives, coaches, and athletes all acknowledged a lack of gender equity committees in national sport organizations (Kateshumbwa, 2011). Often times such committees are the ones that are in a position to be a voice for female athletes and challenge gender inequality, thus changing or adapting the (male) structure of sport.

What could be more impactful at this point in time is for the female footballers to organize collectively, rather than accommodate themselves within the existing structure, such as past female athletes have done (Ezzell, 2009; Meân & Kassing, 2008). Hopefully, the participants in the current study will want to utilize their participation in the research as a launching point for collective mobilization to increase the awareness about gender inequity in Ugandan football and sport. Apple shared that members of the UGSWNFT had been looking for a way to vocalize their frustrations, hoping to contribute toward gender equity. She indicated that perhaps the results of the research could be the way. This research may be a starting point, but mobilization efforts should also be connected to local and global efforts (e.g., Ugandan women's movement, international women's sports organizations, CAF, FIFA). It should also be recognized that change often takes a

significant amount of time. To example this long-term commitment, I end with an African proverb that is often shared within the Ugandan women's football community.

One generation plants the seed, and the next enjoys the fruit.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Letter of Support from FUFA



Appendix B: UTK IRB Approval Letter

July 20, 2015

Alicia Johnson
UTK - Kinesiology Recreation & Sport Studies

Re: UTK IRB-15-02233-FB

Study Title: The Crested Cranes: An exploration of the Ugandan Women's Senior National Football Team

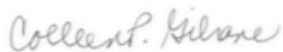
Dear Ms. Johnson:

The IRB has received your written response to the provisos outlined in our previous letter concerning the application for the above referenced project. The IRB has reviewed these materials and determined that they comply with proper consideration for the rights and welfare of human subjects and the regulatory requirements for the protection of human subjects. Therefore, this letter constitutes full approval by the IRB of your application version 1.2, and the accompanying Participant Recruitment Revised 7.2, Informed Consent-Focus Group 1.3, and Informed Consent Semi-Structured Interview 1.3 (stamped IRB approved). Approval of this study will be valid from July 20, 2015 to May 20, 2016.

In the event that subjects are to be recruited using solicitation materials, such as brochures, posters, web-based advertisements, etc., these materials must receive prior approval of the IRB. Any revisions in the approved application must also be submitted to and approved by the IRB prior to implementation. In addition, you are responsible for reporting any unanticipated serious adverse events or other problems involving risks to subjects or others in the manner required by the local IRB policy.

Finally, **re-approval** of your project is required by the IRB in accord with the conditions specified above. You may not continue the research study beyond the time or other limits specified unless you obtain prior written approval of the IRB.

Sincerely,



Colleen P. Gilrane, PhD
Chair
UTK Institutional Review Board

Appendix C: UNCST Approval

Re: Notice of UNCST Approval: The crested cranes: An exploration of the Ugandan women's senior national football team (SS 3902)

1 message

Hellen Opolot <hellen.opolot@gmail.com>
To: ajohn158@vols.utk.edu, natandajidah@yahoo.com
Cc: f.nakabanda@uncst.go.ug

Wed, Aug 26, 2015 at 10:31 AM

This is to notify you that the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) approved the above protocol on 24/08/2015.

The approval is subject to the following condition:

1. Payment of the research administration and clearance fee of **300 US Dollar**. Payment is made to Standard Chartered Bank Speke Road Branch (or any other branch); the account title is UNCST and the **account number is 8705611811400**. If however you wish to pay in Uganda shillings, the account **number is 0105610632101**. If you intend to wire the research fees, the swift code is SCBLUGKA. Note that bank charges will entirely be the researcher's responsibility. After payments, please bring the bank pay slip or transaction sheet to UNCST accounts office upon which a receipt will be issued to you. Please quote **YOUR NAME** and **THE ABOVE** reference number on your pay slip
2. Obtaining of clearance to the study districts from the Research Secretariat, Office of the President; The process of obtaining clearance from the Research Secretariat, Office of the President is handled by UNCST on behalf of the researcher. Once approval has been secured, you will be notified.

Yours sincerely,
Hellen .N.Opolot
For: Executive Secretary

UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Hellen Opolot
Tel: **+256-772-620279**
+256-702-620279
Email: **nhellen22@yahoo.com**

Appendix D: Participant Recruitment

Participant Recruitment by PI – Contact Information (Facebook messaging)

Hello,

My name is Alicia Johnson and I am a PhD student at the University of Tennessee in the United States. I will be coming to Uganda in November to do a research study and learn more about the experiences of women footballers on the Ugandan Senior Women's National Football Team. Could you help me gather the mobile numbers of team members so that I may call and ask them to participate in the study once I arrive in Uganda?

Thank you,
Alicia

Participant Recruitment by PI (Verbal – Phone)

Kale,

My name is Alicia Johnson and I am a PhD student at the University of Tennessee in the United States. I am doing a research study to learn more about the experiences of women footballers on the Ugandan Senior Women's National Football Team. I would like to invite you to participate in this study since you competed on the national team in 2011. Is it ok for me to tell you about the study?

If yes:

If you agree to participate in the study, I will ask that you meet with me at two different times in the near future. The first time we would meet just us two for 30-90 minutes and I would ask you some questions about your experiences as a woman footballer in Uganda. The second time we meet would be for 90-120 minutes and it would be with other members from your team. During this second meeting I will ask you to reflect on results from the first meetings through written or oral reflection and we will also talk about the results as a group. This will help ensure that the research findings accurately reflect the experiences of women footballers in Uganda. We will also use these meetings to discuss which results should be shared with FUFA in order to help improve the women's experiences on the national team. These meetings will take place at my house, your home, or in a public-access facility, whichever is most comfortable for you. Both meetings will be audio-recorded to help with data analysis; however, I will take measures to protect these recordings and your privacy.

Your participation is completely voluntary. You can choose to be in the study or not.

There will be no penalty regarding your status on the national team if you do not wish to or cannot participate.

If you'd like to learn more about participating in this study, we can schedule a time for our first meeting before we hang up today. Before I begin asking you questions at this meeting, I will provide you with further details about the study, how I will protect your confidentiality, and the risks and benefits of participating in the study so that you can give informed consent if you wish to participate.

Do you have any questions or concerns so far?

I received a scholarship to conduct this research and I am able to reimburse you 5 USD for each meeting to offset the expense of traveling to meet with me. If you decide you would like to meet with me but then decide you no longer wish to participate, you will still be reimbursed for travel on that day.

If you need more time to decide if you would like to participate, you may call me at this number with your decision.

Do you have any questions or concerns?

Thank you for considering participating in the study. Would you like to schedule the first meeting now?

[Schedule meeting now or at a later date].

Thank you for speaking with me today. Good-bye.

If no:

Are you interested in learning more about the study at a different time?

[If yes, schedule the time to call back. If no, continue script.]

Thank you for your time. If you change your mind and wish to learn more about participating in the study, please call me at this number.

Good-bye.

Appendix E: Informed Consent Statement - Interview

The Crested Cranes: An Exploration of the Ugandan Women's Senior National Football Team

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Alicia Johnson, PhD Student
1914 Andy Holt Avenue
322 HPER Building
Knoxville, TN 37996

ADVISOR: Lars Dzikus, PhD

INTRODUCTION

You are invited to participate in a research study about women's experiences in competitive football in Uganda. The purpose of this consent form is to help you decide if you want to be a participant in the first part of the research study. This consent form may contain words that you do not understand. Please ask the investigator (Alicia) to explain any words or information that you do not clearly understand.

The purpose of this study is to explore the experiences of members of the Ugandan Women's Senior National Football Team (UGWSNFT). To date, there has been no research specifically on the UGWSNFT. Approximately 12-17 subjects will participate in this study. The study will take place at the house of the principal investigator, your home, or in a public-access facility, whichever you are most comfortable with. Your participation in this study requires an in-person interview that will last between 30 and 180 minutes. Additionally, Alicia will follow up with you for a second meeting to review the information you shared in the interview, which is expected to last between 30 and 60 minutes.

Results of this study will be disseminated to the public through written publications and oral presentations. Sharing the results through these formats will reach scholars, coaches, and sport administrators both within and beyond Uganda (e.g., FUFA, FIFA). During the second meeting, you will have the chance to review and approve a draft of a report that will be used to communicate the results of the study with FUFA administrators and coaching staff. The goal of this is to help improve the experience of participating on the Ugandan Senior Women's National Football Team. As a reminder, confidentiality will be maintained when sharing results, which means that results will not include any names or comments that may identify you.

INFORMATION ABOUT YOUR INVOLVEMENT IN THE STUDY: INTERVIEW

If you decide to give your informed consent to participate in the interview after reviewing and signing this form, we will begin the interview. You will be asked to choose a pseudonym in place of your real name. Please select a name that is not represented on your team roster. This pseudonym will be used in transcripts and publications. For the purpose of analyzing the interview, our conversation will be audio recorded and the recording will later be transcribed verbatim (i.e., word for word).

The interview will be audio-recorded on the investigator's password-protected iPhone or another recording device. The files of the recorded interviews will be transferred to the investigator's password-protected computer and deleted from the recording device. The recording of the interviews will be deleted after all participants have approved their transcripts. Any additional information that could reveal your identity will be taken out of or substituted in the transcripts. For example, pseudonyms will be used if names of colleagues, supervisors, schools, or other teams were mentioned in the interview.

If you wish to not respond to any of the questions or to stop the interview at any point, you may do so without punishment by notifying the interviewer. You are welcome to ask questions at any point during your participation in the research study.

RISKS

If you decide to participate in this research study, there are some minimal risks involved. While discussing your experiences as a member of the Ugandan Women's Senior National Football Team, you may experience some discomfort. For example, you might think about and share negative experiences. You might also become aware of potentially discriminatory practices related to participating on the national team. Please remember that you can choose to not respond to any question you are not comfortable answering. You may also request to take a break or to move on from any subject that causes you discomfort. Doing so will not negatively affect your participation in the study.

There is the potential risk of loss of confidentiality. Every effort will be made to keep your identity confidential; however, this cannot be guaranteed. Given the steps in place to protect your identity (e.g., pseudonyms, storing files on password-protected electronics), this risk is minimized.

The research may involve risks to you, which are currently unforeseeable. You will be told about any new information that might change your decision to be in this research study. You may be

asked to sign a new consent form if this occurs.

BENEFITS

It is recognized that you may not have had previous opportunities to express your experiences or concerns/frustrations about the challenges you face as a member of the Ugandan Women's Senior National Football Team. By being a participant in this study, you may be able to make further meaning of your own experiences as a female competitive athlete. Additionally, your participation may allow for a better understanding of women's competitive sport experiences in Uganda. This may lead to stronger support by coaches, administrators, and policy makers for all Ugandan female competitive sport participants, which may contribute toward the realization of gender equity in Ugandan sport.

CONFIDENTIALITY

All study records will be kept confidential. Data will be stored securely and will be made available only to persons conducting the study unless you specifically give permission in writing to do otherwise. Electronic data will be stored on a password-protect computer and data on paper (e.g., consent forms) will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in a locked office (335 HPER Building, University of Tennessee campus). No reference will be made in oral or written reports that could link participants to the study.

COMPENSATION

You will be reimbursed for travel expenses related to your participation in this study at a rate of 5 USD for each day you participate in the study.

CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures, (or you experience adverse effects as a result of participating in this study,) you may contact the researcher, Alicia Johnson while she is in Uganda at [insert Ugandan phone number]. You may contact Alicia upon her return to the United States at 1914 Andy Holt Avenue, 322 HPER Building, Knoxville, TN 37996 and 507-456-1408. If you have questions about your rights as a participant, contact the Office of Research Compliance Officer at (865) 974-7697.

PARTICIPATION

Your participation in this study is voluntary; you may decline to participate without penalty. If you decide to participate, you may withdraw from the study at anytime without penalty and

without loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is completed your data will be returned to you or destroyed.

CONSENT

I have read the above information. I have received a copy of this form. I agree to participate in this study.

Signature of Research Subject (18 years +)

Date

Printed Name of Adult Research Subject

In my judgment, the participant has voluntarily and knowingly given informed consent and possesses the legal capacity to give informed consent to participate in this research study.

Signature of Investigator

Date

Appendix F: Semi-Structured Interview Guide

Introduction: Hello, my name is Alicia Johnson and I am a doctoral student from the United States. The purpose of this research is to better understand the sport experiences of athletes on Uganda's Senior Women's National Football Team.

What I will be doing is asking you about your experiences in sport and on the national team. All information discussed today will remain confidential. That means that I will keep your answers private. If you do not want to stay, it is OK for you to leave at any time or to not answer a particular question.

Before we begin, I would like to say that there is no right or wrong answer to any of the questions. I am simply trying to understand your experiences. If there are any questions at any time, please let me know. Let's begin!

Demographics/Background

1. How old are you?
2. Where were you born (city and/or region)?
3. What tribe are you from?
4. Can you describe your family?
 - Are you married? Do you have children?
 - Can you describe your parents? Or guardians?
 - i. Do/did they have jobs? If so, what are/were they?
 - Siblings
 - i. How many are you? (number of siblings)
 - ii. What is the order?
 - iii. How old are your siblings?
 - iv. Do they go to school (or did they go to school)? If so, what level are they (or what level did they stop at)?
 - v. Do they have jobs? If so, what are they?
5. How did you find your childhood? Can you share some stories from when you were growing up?
 - Did you play football or other sports during this time? If so, how did you find these experiences?
6. Did you finish secondary school? If so, can you share a story from this time?
 - Did you play football or other sports during this time? If so, how did you find these experiences?
7. Did/do you attend university? If so, what did/is your major?
 - Did/do you play football or other sports during this time separate from the national team? If so, how did you find these experiences?
8. Do you have a job? If so, what do you do?
 - What has been positive for you in your job?

- What challenges have you faced?
- 9. What are your goals in life?
 - What are your goals right now?
- 10. What are your fears in life?
 - What are your fears right now?
- 11. Who is your role model? Why?
- 12. What is life like for women in Uganda today?
 - How are they supported?
 - What challenges do they face?

Sport Background

1. What does sport mean to you?
2. Have you learned anything from sport that can help you in life? If so, what?
3. Has sport helped you in life? If so, how?
4. What challenges have you faced in sport separate from the national team?
5. How have you found your experiences with coaches separate from the national team?
6. Football
 - How did you start playing football?
 - Why do you play football?
7. How is sport for ladies and women today in Uganda?
 - Has this changed since the time you were growing up? If so, how?
 - Has this changed since the time when your mom/guardian was growing up? If so, how?

Senior National Team Experiences

1. When did you begin playing on the national team (year or age)?
2. How did you find yourself on the team?
3. Can you share some stories about your experiences on the team?
4. What are some positive aspects of being on the national team?
5. What challenges have you faced while being on the national team?
6. How have you found your experiences with national team coaches?
7. Do you feel supported as a member of the national team? If so, how? If not, why?
 - a. Team, coaches, federation, community
8. How are the Cranes and Crested Cranes similar? How are they different?
9. What could be done to help you have a better experience as a member of the national team?
10. What do you want for the future of the Crested Cranes?
11. How can this future be realized? What needs to be done and how?

Future

1. How long do you plan on playing for the Crested Cranes?
 - Will you play sport even after you retire from the Crested Cranes?
2. What do you plan on doing in the future after football?

End

1. Is there anything else I should know about your sport experiences?
2. Is there anything else I should know about the Crested Cranes?
3. Is there anything else you would like to add?
4. Do you have any questions for me about this experience?

Appendix G: Crested Cranes Report

Voices of the Crested Cranes

Summary of preliminary results from interviews with members of Uganda's Senior Women's National Football Team

Research conducted by:

Alicia Johnson, PhD Candidate

University of Tennessee, Knoxville

ajohn158@vols.utk.edu / aliciajohnson13@gmail.com

**Research approved by:**

University of Tennessee, Knoxville Institutional Review Board;

Federation of Uganda Football Associations

Uganda National Council of Science and Technology; and

**Research funded by:**

W.K. McClure Scholarship for the Study of World Affairs

Center for International Education

University of Tennessee, Knoxville

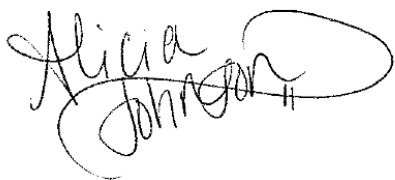


About the Report

**Alicia Johnson, PhD Candidate,
University of Tennessee, Knoxville (USA)**

I take it as a great responsibility to write the Voices of the Crested Cranes. Through this report, I am sharing partial results from more than 15 hours of interviews with 10 current or retired players from Uganda's Senior Women's National Football Team (UGSWNFT) who have competed in at least one international competition for the team. Some of the participants self-identify as retired (N=2) but most consider themselves still active players (N=8). In this report, you will learn what the players perceive as the positive aspects of being on the national team as well as the barriers and challenges that these players face. Lastly, you will read about what they want for the future of the team and how these inspirational women believe the national team can achieve that future. If you have any questions, feel free to contact me at ajohn158@vols.utk.edu or aliciajohnson13@gmail.com.

In solidarity,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Alicia Johnson". The signature is stylized with a large, looping flourish at the end.

Alicia Johnson

Positive Aspects of Being a Crested Crane

- ▶ Many received bursaries for school (secondary and university)
- ▶ Perception that the support for and development of women's football is trending in a positive direction and that it has improved from the past
- ▶ Fame (recognition within the community)
- ▶ Pride (national, self, family, community)
- ▶ Opportunities to play and travel outside of Uganda
- ▶ Being a role model for younger generations
- ▶ Chance to get small monies
- ▶ Gaining respect due to being named to the national team

Barriers and Challenges Experienced by National Team Players

- ▶ No (to minimal) competition opportunities
 - ▶ The last time the Crested Cranes competed was 2011. This long absence from international competition has led to the inability of the team to be ranked globally by FIFA.
 - ▶ This lack of consistent competition stunts the development of women's football. There is a perception that the level of competition is low in Uganda, which impacts the ability of Uganda to compete on a global stage.
- ▶ Claims by FUFA that there is no funding available for the Crested Cranes to compete.
 - ▶ There have been multiple times where women's national teams have qualified for the next round of World Cup Qualifiers but were told that there was no funding available to take them.
 - ▶ Additionally, there was at least one occasion where players were promised money if they won an international game and the money was not awarded to them when they won.
 - ▶ Many players perceive that the money dedicated for the women's national teams is lost to corruption within FUFA or that the money is given to the men's national teams.
- ▶ Due to inconsistent training and competition opportunities, there is a lack of team cohesion. This could also impact the team's ability to perform successfully together on the field.

- There also appears to be a division between younger and older players. Senior players may not want to retire as they may not feel as if they have received a fair amount of opportunities to compete as part of the senior women's national team. This impacts the younger generation as they then have limited opportunities to participate as part of the senior women's national team.
- Many of the players expressed that they feel as if the senior women's team has been forgotten by FUFA. There is a perception that the focus is on younger players (e.g., U20) and that the senior women's players have been forgotten while not being given a fair amount of competition opportunities.
- This has led many senior women's players to contemplate giving up, retiring, and leaving the game completely. This would lead to a loss of expertise and experience from these senior players, which should be seen as a valuable asset to the development of women's football in Uganda.
- Women footballers still face stigma and a lack of cultural acceptance from the community and society.
 - They are often perceived as "losers" or as men.
- Some perceived a lack of support from the community while others did feel support from the community. Yet, there was unison in the feeling of a gross lack of support from FUFA.
- Allowances given often do not cover the cost of training and do not cover living expenses. This forces many players to pursue other occupations while still trying to play football. However, it becomes difficult to maintain training when working a full-time job to support the cost of living.

- The women's teams are often given the men's old jerseys to wear for competition. This is inappropriate due to the size difference (the men's jerseys are often far too big for the women) and to the consideration that some of the jerseys have male player's names on them. The lack of uniforms specific to women demonstrates a lack of commitment from FUFA.
- There are perceptions of extreme inequalities between the women's and men's senior national teams. The inequalities exist in all facets: allowances, competition opportunities, jerseys, general funding, media attention, etc.
- Players reported a lack of media inclusion and support due to a lack of awareness or promotion of women's games that are held.
- When players transition to coaching, there is a perception that they do not have the knowledge or competency to coach men.
- There are no chances to serve as top administrators within FUFA or within roles where players could make the change they desire.
- Overall it appears that the senior players have lost faith and trust in FUFA to support and develop women's football at the top level.

What do Players Want for the Future of the Crested Cranes?

- ▶ Play in an African Cup
- ▶ Qualify for the Women's World Cup
- ▶ Increased competition opportunities (at least two times per year)
- ▶ Continued growth of the Women's Elite League to feed talent for the national team
- ▶ More national team players getting picked up by clubs outside of Uganda, even outside of Africa
- ▶ Mentoring opportunities between the senior women's national team and younger national teams (e.g., U17, U20)
- ▶ Is there a future? This question lingered for several participants and reflects the feeling of the senior women's national football team being forgotten.

What Needs to be Done for the Future to be Realized?

- ▶ Increased effort, support, and commitment from FUFA
 - ▶ In terms of finances and more open/transparent communication between FUFA and the players, especially with the representative for women's football.
- ▶ More competition opportunities
 - ▶ This would allow increased exposure for players to get picked up from clubs outside of Uganda and would boost the morale and motivation of players.
- ▶ Continue increasing financial, media, and general support for the Women's Elite League
- ▶ Recruit corporate sponsors or other investors for the Crested Cranes and Women's Elite League
- ▶ Follow FIFA and CAF recommendations for including women in all professional development opportunities (e.g., coaching courses, leadership programs)
- ▶ Give equal opportunity to quality pitches and fair scheduling for Women's Elite League games (i.e., do not give priority to men)
- ▶ Provide opportunities for the voices of female players to be heard by FUFA and the community

- More opportunities for the team to train together and build team cohesion (e.g., train more consistently than simply two weeks before a competition)
- Improve access to information about schools providing bursaries for women's football
- Have distinct and designated jerseys for all levels of the women's national teams (U17, U20, senior)
- FUFA and team administrators should create and maintain communication with media so women's football is becoming increasingly visible. Media should be called and told when the Crested Cranes and Women's Elite League games will be held.
- Plan ahead and post a calendar of games so players can appropriately train and assist in the promotion of the games
- There is a need to build the audience for women's football by hosting and advertising women's games. This could also sensitize society to women's football and could increase cultural acceptance of women's football. The FUFA Marketing Department should assist with these efforts.
- The FUFA President needs to be an advocate for women's football and demonstrate a commitment to the growth of the women's game.
- FUFA should host coaching courses in all regions of Uganda so that talent can be fostered outside the central region and help the national team be more representative of the entire nation.

Appendix H: Impression Code Frequencies

Table 5. Impression Code Frequencies

<i>Impression</i>	<i>Number of Sources</i>	<i>Number of References</i>
Coaches	9	29
Community Influences – Family	8	13
Community Influence – FUFA	10	100
Community Influences – Male Peers	4	8
Community Influences – Other	9	29
Envisioned Potential of the Crested Cranes	9	29
Experiences or Awareness of Abuse	5	8
Experiences with Parents	8	19
Fears	5	5
Football as a Career	4	6
Football/Sport Bursaries	8	18
Goals	9	16
Hanging On and Dropping Out	10	16
Historical Changes of Women’s Football	9	17
Image and Dress Code	3	11
Impact of Traveling through Football	10	22
Interview Experience	10	16
Leadership	2	12
Motherhood	7	11
National Team Training and Competition Experiences	9	29
Neocolonialism or Colonial Residue	8	23
Only Girl	8	11
Role Model	10	40
Social Identity - African	2	2
Social Identity – Age	2	6
Social Identity – Athlete or Baller	9	31
Social Identity – East African	6	6
Social Identity – Ethnicity or Ethnic	9	26
Social Identity – Gender	10	118

Social Identity – National	10	20
Social Identity – Regionality	6	34
Social Identity – Religion	9	41
Social Identity – Social Class	10	48
Socialization	10	53
Sport – Education Dichotomy	4	19
Waiting for Change From the Top	8	19
Younger vs. Older Players	5	14

Appendix I: Peer Debriefing Curriculum Vitae

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name: Ariyo, Emma S.

Date: March 12, 2016

Contact Information:

University of Georgia
 Ramsey Student Recreation Center
 330 River Road
 Office # 346
 (203)- 545- 7777
 eariyo@uga.edu

Education

Ph.D. Sport Management and Policy (2018)
 GPA: 3.92
 Doctoral Minors: Interdisciplinary Qualitative Studies
 Women Studies
 University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia
 Advisor: Dr. Rose Chepyator-Thomson
 Area of Study: Women and Sport: Focusing on female Athletes from East Africa
 – how physical activity and sport influence gender relations and
 identities in a society that is deep rooted in patriarchal ideology and
 traditional cultural norms.

MS Kinesiology – Sport Management and Policy (2015)
 GPA: 3.55
 University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia
 Advisor: Dr. Rose Chepyator-Thomson

Master of Business Administration - Marketing (2010)
 GPA: 3.56
 Minor: Management
 University of Bridgeport, Bridgeport, Connecticut
 Advisor: Dr. Ward Thrasher

Diploma in Sport Education and Coaching (2006)
 Leipzig University, Leipzig, Germany

B. A. Industrial and Fine Arts (2005)
 Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda
 Advisor: Mr. Godfrey Banadda

Professional Experience and Higher Education Teaching

August 2013-Present

University of Georgia- Athens, Georgia
Graduate Teaching Assistant
Department of Kinesiology

Responsibilities:

Curriculum development (syllabi, quizzes, and evaluation)

Courses Taught as Instructor of Record:

PEDB 1270 Soccer
PEDB 1380 Beginning Volleyball
PEDB 1390 Intermediate Volleyball
PEDB 1930 Jogging
PEDB 1950 Walking

Sport Coaching Related Experience

University of Georgia Women's Volleyball Team (*Team Manager*)
(2014)

Makerere University, Uganda (*Assistant coach Women's Volleyball Team*)
(2002 – 2005)

Physical Education Instructor
(2005 – 2007)

Kampala International School, Uganda
Ambrosoli International School, Uganda

Youth Sports Development

Soccer in the Streets Organization (Consultant) (2014 – present)

Olympus Volleyball Club, Atlanta Georgia (2014 – present)

University of Georgia Women Volleyball Club team (2013 – present)

Athens Academy, Summer Camp Physical Activity Leader (2015)

St. Joseph Catholic Parish School, Athens Georgia (volunteer) (2014 – 2015)

Georgia Juniors Volleyball Club (2013 – 2014)

Fusion Sports Clinics & Academy (Soccer), NJ (2011 – 2013)

Connecticut Juniors Volleyball Club (2009 – 2010)

Academic Service

Conference Host/Organizer: Global Education Forum, UGA
(2014 - present)

Mentor: Physical Education Basic program, UGA, Department of Kinesiology
(2014 - present)

Session Chair: International Conference on African and its Diaspora, UGA (2015)

Volunteer:

2015 Sport Marketing Association Conference, Atlanta GA
 2015 Atlanta Hawks-University of Georgia Sales Workshop, Athens GA
 2015 NCAA Men's and Women's Tennis Championship Tournament, Athens GA
 2014 University of Georgia Volleyball clinics for community, Athens GA

Publications/ Scholarly Activity in Progress

Ariyo, E. S., Chepyator-Thomson, J. (2015). Sport Policy in Uganda. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*. (Submitted)

Chepyator-Thomson, J., Ariyo, E. S. (2016). (Manuscript in-progress). Out of East Africa: Examination of Sport Labor Migration and Impact of Global Politics in the Post-independent Era. *International Journal of the History of Sport*.

Ariyo, E. S., Chepyator-Thomson, J. (Manuscript in-progress). The Changing Faces of Physical Education and Sport in Uganda: Indigenous, Colonial and Post-Colonial Eras. Intended for *International Society for the History of Physical Education and Sport*.

Turcott, R. J., Chepyator-Thomson, J. & Ariyo, E. S. (Manuscript in-progress). Exclusionary tactics and obstacles of entry for NCAA international student athletes. Intended for *Journal of Issues in Intercollegiate Athletics*.

Refereed Abstracts/Conference Presentations

Ariyo, E. S., Chepyator-Thomson, J. (2016). *Examination of Post-Independent Africa through Political and Sport Lenses: Historical Perspectives*. Presented at Forty-Fourth Annual Convention of the North American Society for Sport History, May 28-30, 2016, the Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, Georgia, United States. (Abstract Accepted)

Turcott, R. J., Chepyator-Thomson, J. & Ariyo, E. S. (2016). *Basketball-based Sport for Development Organizations in Global South*. Presented at the University of Maryland Physical and Cultural Studies Conference, March 4th, 2016, College Park, Maryland, United States.

- Ariyo, E. S., Chepyator-Thomson, J. (2015). *Examination of Boxing in Colonial and Post-Colonial Uganda*. Presented at the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport Annual Conference, November 6-9, 2015, Santa Fe, New Mexico, United States.
- Turcott, R. J., Chepyator-Thomson, J. & Ariyo, E. S. (2015). *Exploration of Migration Patterns by Tennis Players in NCAA Div. I & II*. Presented at the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport Annual Conference, November 6-9, 2015, Santa Fe, New Mexico, United States.
- Turcott, R. J., Chepyator-Thomson, J. & Ariyo, E. S. (2015). *Exclusionary tactics and obstacles of entry for NCAA international student athletes*. Presented at the International Sport Sociological Association Annual Conference, June 9-12, 2015, Paris, France.
- Ariyo, E. S., Chepyator-Thomson, J. & Byron, K. (2014). Motor Car Racing in East Africa: Role and Impact of Safari Rally on Community Development. Presented at the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport Annual Conference, November 6-9, 2014, Portland, Oregon, United States.
- Ariyo, S. E., (2014). *Sport Policy and development in Uganda*. Poster presented at The Global Educational Forum on Culture, Research and Teaching, Athens, GA.

Journal reviews

International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics (2015). "What difference does dance make? Critical conversations across dance, physical activity and public health."

Invited Presentations/Guest Lectures

Philosophy and Ethics in Sport, KINS 3415 (Spring 2016)

Professional Development - Workshops Attended

Women Studies Certificate Program	(Expected completion 2017)
Certificate in Interdisciplinary Qualitative Studies	(Expected completion 2016)
Atlas.ti Qualitative Computer Program 2-day Workshop	(Spring 2016)
Fundraising and Grant Writing Workshop,	(Fall 2015)
6 th Annual Southeast African Languages and Literature Forum	(Fall 2015)

Internal and External Funding

U.S State Dept. Sports United, Unfunded \$250,000	(Spring 2015)
Department of Kinesiology, Travel Grant \$220	(Fall 2015)
College of Education, Travel Grant \$400	(Fall 2015)
College of Education, Travel Grant \$100	(Fall 2014)
U.S State Dept. Sports United, Unfunded \$250,000	(Spring 2014)

Professional Memberships

Member, American Association of University Women (AAUW)	(2014-present)
Member, North American Society for the Sociology of Sport (NASSS)	(2014-present)
Member of University of Georgia International Student Life Organization	(2014-present)
Member, UGA Graduate and Professional Scholars (GAPS)	(2013-present)
Member of University of Georgia African Students Union	(2013-present)
Member of the University of Bridgeport Business School Club	(2009)
Member of University of Bridgeport Student- Athlete Advisory Committee	(2009)
Member, University of Bridgeport Volleyball and Lacrosse Teams	(2009)
Member, Makerere University Games Union and Student Council	(2005)
Member, Sport Department of Kampala Capital City Authority, Uganda	(2006)

Professional Honors and Awards

Certificate of Academic Achievement - University of Bridgeport
 Scholar Athlete Award (NCAA Div. II) - American Volleyball Coaches
 Association
 East Coast Volleyball Champions (NCAA div. II) and East Coast Conference
 First team Honors
 Division II Athletic Directors Association Academic Achievement Award
 Uganda National Volleyball Team, East African University Games Champions

Vita

Alicia J. Johnson completed her doctoral work at the University of Tennessee in May 2016. She majored in Kinesiology and Sport Studies, concentrated in Sport Studies, and specialized in Socio-Cultural Studies. She also completed a cognate in Cultural Anthropology and certificates in Grant Writing and Proposal Development, Graduate Teaching, Collaborative Communication, and Women's Studies. During Alicia's time at the University of Tennessee she was a Graduate Teaching Associate in the Department of Kinesiology, Recreation, and Sport Studies. From 2012-2014 she worked with the Center for Sport, Peace, and Society and assisted with the management of the U.S. Department of State's Empowering Women and Girls Through Sports Initiative.

In August 2012, Alicia earned a Master of Science degree in Counseling Psychology with a concentration in Athletic Counseling from Springfield College in Springfield, MA. While there she served as an AmeriCorps athletic academic coach at a local high school and was a Graduate Teaching Assistant for Introduction to Psychology. In May 2010 Alicia completed a Bachelor of Science degree at Minnesota State University, Mankato in Exercise Science with minors in Biology and Sports Medicine. While at MSU, Mankato, she collaborated with faculty on several research projects and interned with the Tucker Center for Research on Girls and Women in Sport and Physical Activity at the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities during the summer of 2009.

Alicia's areas of research interest include global women in sport, postcolonial feminism, cultural and diversity issues in sport, sport and gender development, the media representation of athletes, and body image in sport.