

Serving up change?
***Corporate Social Responsibility as a Tool for Social Change: A case analysis
of the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership for global gender equality***

by

Courtney Szto

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Abstract

This research project critically questions the power relations inherent in the use of corporate social responsibility (CSR) as a tool for international development. My case study focuses on the partnership between UNESCO and the Women's Tennis Association (WTA), which advocates for global gender equality. This discourse analysis seeks to expose the social inequities that may result from CSR by using the theoretical framework of Orientalism and the methodologies of postcolonial feminism and intersectionality. The results suggest that an outdated understanding of gender as *the* axis of discrimination hinders the attainment of gender equality. Furthermore, *Girl Effect* type initiatives that promote third-wave feminism are observed to reproduce social inequities through the perpetuation of global capitalism. Key recommendations include a reconceptualization of gender (equality) that accounts for the intersectionality of identities, holistic context specific solutions, and the use of socio-cultural analysis for CSR programming.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	II
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	III
TABLE OF CONTENTS	V
LIST OF APPENDIXES	VII
CHAPTER 1	1
INTRODUCTION	1
THE WTA TOUR	2
<i>Creating new boundaries for women</i>	3
<i>The WTA Tour as a corporation</i>	5
UNESCO	9
WOMEN – THE ANSWER TO INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT	11
THE PARTNERSHIP	13
PURPOSE	15
SIGNIFICANCE	16
CHAPTER SUMMARY	17
CHAPTER 2	19
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	19
CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY	21
<i>CSR and international development</i>	27
CSR AND SPORT	31
DEVELOPING WOMEN	35
INTERSECTIONALITY AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT	40
<i>Orientalism</i>	44
FEMALE ATHLETES AS ROLE MODELS	47
CHAPTER SUMMARY	51
CHAPTER 3	52
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK & METHODOLOGY	52
POSTCOLONIAL THEORY	53
ORIENTALISM	57
QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY	61
POSTCOLONIAL METHODOLOGY	62
INTERSECTIONAL METHODOLOGY	63
METHOD: TEXTUAL ANALYSIS	67
REFLEXIVITY AND POSITIONALITY	71
STRENGTHS & LIMITATIONS	73
CHAPTER SUMMARY	74
CHAPTER 4	76
COURT ETIQUETTE: EXPLORING THE INTERSECTIONALITY OF GENDER EQUALITY	76
PLAYING FROM A SET BEHIND – DISCOURSES OF GENDER EQUALITY	76
<i>The courtesy of equality</i>	85
‘I’M EVERY WOMAN’: DISCOURSES OF UNIVERSALISM	88
DESIGNING WOMEN – DISCOURSES OF MODERNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY	95
CHAPTER SUMMARY	103
CHAPTER 5	105
LADIES OF THE COURT: FEMALE ATHLETES AS ROLE MODELS	105

FEMALE ATHLETES AS ROLE MODELS.....	106
GIRL POWER	115
CHAPTER SUMMARY	125
CHAPTER 6	126
UNFORCED ERRORS: GENDER MAINSTREAMING AT WORK.....	126
GENDER MAINSTREAMING	128
<i>Mechanisms of Change</i>	132
<i>Objectives and Critical Assumptions</i>	138
CHAPTER SUMMARY	154
CHAPTER 7	156
CONCLUSION – THE FINAL SET	156
SUMMARY OF RESULTS.....	156
LIMITATIONS	167
CONTRIBUTIONS TO RESEARCH	170
RECOMMENDATIONS	171
FUTURE RESEARCH	174
FINAL WORDS	176
APPENDIX 1 – TABLE 1: COUNTRY PROFILES	177
APPENDIX 2 – TABLE 2: PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION PLAN OVERVIEWS	178
APPENDIX 3 – TABLE 3: HOST ORGANIZATION PROFILES	180
APPENDIX 4 – ACRONYM LIST.....	181
REFERENCES	187

List of Appendixes

Appendix 1 – Table 1: Country Profiles

Appendix 2 – Table 2 and 3: WTA vs. ATP Prize Money Comparison

Appendix 3 – Table 4: Project Implementation Plan Overviews

Appendix 4 – Table 5: Host Organization Profiles

Appendix 5 – Acronym List

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In 2006, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) formed a partnership with the Women's Tennis Association (WTA) to “raise awareness of gender equality issues and advance opportunities for women's leadership in all spheres of society” (UNESCO, 2006). This corporate social responsibility (CSR) partnership follows development literature that positions women and girls as the necessary foundation for global advancement. My research project offers an interdisciplinary analysis that combines studies of international development, business, sociology and sport. Edward Said's theory of Orientalism has been chosen to unpack how CSR programs initiated by professional sport organizations are represented as tools for social change. This case study deploys socio-cultural perspectives to analyze and uncover the knowledge (re)produced from this partnership, while also using intersectionality as a methodology for critical analysis. Furthermore, I evaluate the implications that accompany CSR such as its inherent power relations and perpetuation of neoliberal discourses. I question if it is possible for both social and corporate benefits to be realized with minimal harm to society. My research seeks to provide insight into the values and limitations of the discourses surrounding CSR as a tool for social change.

My interest in this partnership stems from a number of sources. Firstly, my involvement as a board member of the United Nations Association in Canada – Vancouver Branch (UNAC-Vancouver) has instilled a passion within me for global issues and a desire to create meaningful social change. Secondly, my undergraduate studies in Leisure and Sport Management, informs my research with

a solid understanding of the business practices within the sporting industry. Thirdly, my enthusiasm for tennis spans over ten years as a player, coach, administrator, and most importantly as a fan; thus I have attempted to capitalize on this opportunity to combine work and play.

The WTA Tour

In 1970, Billie Jean King and some of her fellow players joined forces to create a “better future for women’s tennis” (WTA Tour, 2010a). The ‘Original 9,’¹ as they were named, signed \$1 contracts with World Tennis publisher, Gladys Heldman, to create a new women’s tour where the women no longer had to be tied to the men and could determine their own prize money (WTA Tour, 2010b). This move eventually led to the unification of women’s professional tennis and the creation of the WTA Tour in 1973. Today the WTA Tour is a global entity, based out of the United States that continues to grow women’s tennis.

The WTA Tour refers to its ‘product’ as “athleticism and glamour on a global stage” (WTA Tour, 2009a). It represents approximately 2,200 players from over 96 nations (WTA Tour, 2010a). According to the WTA Tour, with over 42% of all women’s sports related press being tennis associated (WTA Tour, 2009a), it is the leading professional sport for women (UNESCO, 2009). The WTA Tour has had several major title sponsors throughout the years including Virginia Slims, Sanex and Porsche; but the deal secured in 2005 with Sony Ericsson for \$88 million over six years was the largest and most comprehensive sponsorship deal in the history of any women’s professional sport (WTA Tour, 2010a). It should be acknowledged that

in March 2010 the WTA Tour announced a partnership extension until 2012; however, since the start of 2011, Sony Ericsson is no longer the title sponsor for the WTA Tour (Sportsnet, 2010).

The WTA Tour has long been a supporter of charitable activities. In the early 1990's the WTA Tour and former world number one player, Martina Hingis, joined forces to aid polio eradication (Drucker, 2007). More recently, in response to the floods in Queensland, Australia, both the men's and women's tours partnered to raise funds for flood relief efforts (WTA Tour, 2011a). Regular WTA Tour CSR initiatives include a social partnership with *Habitat for Humanity International*, and philanthropic support for the *Make-A-Wish Foundation*, *Tennis Against Breast Cancer* and *First Serve* (an American charity that works to empower youth through tennis and life skills) (WTA Tour, 2010c). The WTA Tour (2009a) claims that women's tennis can be used as a vehicle for social change by "instilling confidence, empowerment and social change through sport" (p.33). This research project challenges the WTA's claim by questioning the ability of a sport organization and its athletes to empower marginalized people and drive social change.

Creating new boundaries for women

One of the WTA Tour's first examples of fighting for gender equality was displayed during the 1973 '*Battle of the Sexes*' match between Billie Jean King and Bobby Riggs. Riggs, a former Wimbledon champion, challenged King to a best of five set match, which she won in three straight sets. An ESPN article cited this match as an important win for womankind because it was "instrumental in making it

acceptable for American women to exert themselves in pursuits other than childbirth.” (Schwartz, 2007)

The fight for equal prize money has been a long battle for women’s tennis. Tennis is the one of the few professional sports where men and women can compete at the same events, on the same playing surfaces, with the same equipment and against each other (in mixed doubles). However, due to the argument that men play longer matches (best of five sets for men in Grand Slams as opposed to best of three for women), men have historically received larger amounts of prize money (Associated Press, 2006). The discrepancy is apparent when one compares the records of Steffi Graf and Pete Sampras, two of the sport’s finest, to see that women have not received their fair share. During her 17 years as a professional, Steffi Graf accumulated 107 titles, won 900 matches and 22 Grand Slams which earned her just under \$22 million in prize money (WTA Tour, 2010d). Pete Sampras’ 16-year career amassed him 64 titles, 762 match wins and 14 Grand Slams for a total of over \$43 million in career earnings (ATP World Tour, 2010a). In 2007, after much lobbying, equal prize money was finally implemented at all four major tournaments when the French Open and Wimbledon agreed to offer equal prize money across the board.² In 2009, the WTA Tour offered over \$86 million in prize money (WTA Tour, 2010a).

Recently, the WTA Tour also challenged political barriers when, in 2009, it supported the right of Israel’s Shahar Peer to compete in a tournament in the United Arab Emirates, which has no diplomatic ties with Israel (The Independent, 2010). The Dubai tournament felt that allowing Peer to play might spark further hostilities

since Gaza had suffered recent attacks from Israel (The Independent, 2010). After the WTA Tour fined the Dubai tournament an unprecedented \$300,000 for failing to provide Peer a travel visa for the 2009 tournament, Peer was authorized to compete in the 2010 tournament (The Independent, 2010). The WTA Tour ordered the tournament to create a financial performance guarantee of \$2 million in order to maintain its spot on the 2010 Tour calendar, and assure that future qualifying Israeli players will be granted travel visas well in advance of the tournament (The Independent, 2010). Peer was the first Israeli player to compete in a Gulf state tournament (The Independent, 2010). Yet, despite the WTA's ability to open doors for women's sport, it continues to face, and create, barriers related to gender, class, race, sexuality and able-ness.

The WTA Tour as a corporation

Corporate social responsibility (CSR), as the name indicates, primarily pertains to large corporations where ownership and control of the corporation are separated. As Berle and Means (2009) explain, the separation of ownership from the corporation allows space for a divergence of interests while reducing the limits on corporate power. They refer to this 'modern' corporation as a quasi-public corporation, identifiable by its remarkable size and dependence on the public market for funds (Berle & Means, 2009). Yet, where a monopolization of services exists, high public visibility and criticism are a threat, and/or accountability of actions is required, CSR may be necessary, explaining why many small/medium size businesses, the public sector and civil-society organizations have all embraced CSR

as a regular business activity (Crane, Matten & Spence, 2008). The *Oxford Dictionary of Business and Management* (2010) defines a corporation as:

A succession of persons or body of persons authorized by law to act as one person and having rights and liability distinct from the individuals forming the corporation. The artificial person may be created by Royal Charter, statute, or common law. The most important type is the registered company formed under the aggregate are composed of more than one individual, e.g. a limited company . . . Corporations can hold property, carry on business, bring legal actions, etc., in their own name.

The traditional corporation enables easier management of large accumulations of capital, protects individuals within the corporation through limited liability, and is generally protected from government interference (Handlin & Handlin, 1945). While not normally conceived of as traditional corporations, globalization has contributed to professional sport becoming a transnational industry of organizations (e.g., FIFA, FIS), agencies (e.g., IMG, Octagon), and companies (e.g., Nike, Adidas) that have large economic impacts on society (Maguire, 1999).

Marked by neoliberal forces and supply-side-led economies, globalization has compressed the world in both time and space (Harvey, Rail & Thibault; 1996).³ Time is a commodity contingent upon the technology available to us; and physical space has narrowed due to technological advances that allow the flow of goods, people, and information almost unrestricted movement (Maguire, 1999). During the mid-eighteenth century, as globalization gained momentum, the individual became accentuated along with “standardized notions of individual rights, humanity and

international relations” (Maguire, 1999:77). Globalization has facilitated cross border travel and, as a result, has allowed transnational organizations such as the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the WTA Tour to regulate cultural flows of information, players, media, business and social responsibility (Maguire, 1999).⁴

Scholars in the area of sports management make a number of arguments for why sporting leagues/teams should be considered corporate entities. Sports leagues/organizations are similar to regular business corporations with respect to assets because both require and have “valuable human assets, market assets, structured assets and intellectual property” (Yang & Sonmez, 2005). Additionally, some contend that the core purpose of business is to buy and sell goods, services and labour, which each sport does to varying degrees (Lee & Chun, 2002; Sheth & Babiak, 2010). Another argument made in favour of sports leagues/organizations being treated like corporations is that, once established, they can create a monopoly position within the industry since there are few substitutes (Lentze 1995-1996; Mason, 1999). Sheth & Babiak (2010) contend that sports teams are required to follow federal, state and local regulations just like corporations. Overall, the general consensus seems to be that due to the significant economic impact sports teams, leagues, franchises and organizations have on their surrounding communities, whether positive or negative, they should be regarded as corporate entities. I agree that, due to their size and scope, sports organizations should be considered corporations and I believe that the WTA represents corporate interests within this particular CSR partnership.

The WTA Tour is a non-profit organization that “serves as a governing body for players and promoters” (Wertheim, 2001:91). In 1995, the WTA players council association merged with the WTA council to form the WTA Tour that operates today; therefore, it is a unique entity in that it functions as both a *player’s association* and an *organizing league* (WTA Tour, 2010a). The WTA Tour is headquartered in St. Petersburg, Florida with regional offices in London, England and Beijing, China. Individual tournaments are sanctioned by the WTA Tour (and pay a fee to the Tour (Wertheim, 2001)) but owned by third parties, such as IMG (the International Management Group) and Octagon (Rosner & Shropshire, 2004).⁵ I posit that the WTA Tour can be considered a corporation in the sense that it operates under a corporate structure, engages in the buying and selling of products/services/labour, and is held to the legal regulations of a corporation.

The WTA Tour is managed much like a corporation with a management team including a CEO, President, Board of Directors and Global Advisory Council.⁶ It manages the product of women’s tennis by buying sponsorship rights, tournaments and other media opportunities for the entertainment services provided by its players. Television rights, on the other hand, are bought and negotiated by each individual tournament, which has created some criticism because this discourages any consistency with television coverage for the sport. The players of the WTA Tour yield less power than athletes in team sports because they are not unionized, and are therefore, forced to deal with governing bodies (such as the WTA Tour and the International Tennis Federation) as individuals. WTA players essentially act as independent contractors (Rosner & Shropshire, 2004).

With respect to international business laws and regulations, the United States Tennis Association (USTA), the umbrella organization for tennis in the United States, was deemed “an association that wields enormous economic clout by virtue of its exclusive control over conduct of a major sport,” (Wise & Meyer, 1997:133) and therefore, must conform to antitrust/competition laws. Competition laws regulate commerce, trade and mergers that can affect free trade and fair market competition. It applies to professional sports because leagues are seen as “cartels or co-operative unions of member teams” (Barnes, 1988:104). Similarly, I believe that the WTA Tour would also be held to competition laws (e.g., the 1980 *Antitrust Act* in the United States, the 1985 *Competition Act* in Canada, or the 1964 *European Union Competition Law*) since it is an organization that is structured and operates closely to that of the USTA. Moreover, in the eye of the law the WTA Tour constitutes an entity separate from its individual employees. For example, in mid 2010 French player, Virginie Razzano, filed a lawsuit against the WTA Tour alleging a WTA masseuse exacerbated an injury and Razzano sought damages from the WTA Tour, not the employee (Rothenberg, 2010). For these reasons, I argue the WTA Tour can be considered a corporation and its partnership with UNESCO one of corporate social responsibility.

UNESCO

As a special agency of the United Nations, the Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) “works to create the conditions for dialogue among civilizations, cultures and peoples based upon respect for commonly shared values”

(UNESCO, 2010a). UNESCO's relationship with sport started in 1978 when it declared sport and physical education a human right (UNESCO, 1978). The partnership with the WTA Tour falls under the jurisdiction of the *Division for Gender Equality*, committed to gender mainstreaming and gender-specific programming (UNESCO, 2010b). It is important to note how UNESCO defines the following terms (UNESCO, 2007):

- *Gender*: the roles and responsibilities of men and women that are created in our families, our societies and our cultures. Gender roles and expectations are learned, can change over time and can vary from culture to culture.
- *Gender Equality*: the provision of equal opportunities for men and women to realize their human rights.
- *Gender Equity*: the act of compensating for gender discrepancies that have historically disallowed men and women from operating on level ground. Gender equity is the process that will hopefully lead to gender equality.
- *Gender Mainstreaming*: is a process rather than a goal that, much like gender equity, leads to gender equality. Gender mainstreaming improves the relevance of the development agenda by demonstrating that inequalities of gender affect more than just women.

Emphasized at the *Beijing Platform for Action*, gender mainstreaming attempts to centre policy and program creation around gender perspectives. It emerged due to dissatisfaction with earlier attempts to narrow the gap between genders. Gender mainstreaming proposes that focusing efforts solely on women does little to fight gender inequality. Thus, the United Nations (UN) shifted from targeting women as a

group in need to attending to the relations between men and women, especially with regard to “division of labour, access to and control over resources, and potential for decision-making” (United Nations, 2002). My research attempts to unpack how UNESCO’s definitions of gender may impact the attainability of gender equality. I question what is missing from these definitions/concepts (e.g., intersections of race, sexuality, class) as well as how different cultural contexts may complicate gender interventions. I suggest that the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership would be better advised to promote gender equity rather than gender equality because the UN’s representation of gender is outdated and premised upon achieving rights and opportunities that have already been afforded to men. Gender mainstreaming, which will be discussed in depth in the analysis chapters, fails to de-centre men as the normative gender and succeeds in keeping many women on the margins of social justice and/or equity.

Women – The Answer to International Development

Gender inequity has disproportionately disadvantaged women and girls worldwide in most facets of life (e.g., education, employment, abuse and discrimination) (Right to Play, 2008). Recently, many development agencies, corporations and governments have begun touting the development of women and girls as the cause of the century (Scrivener, 2009). Regardless of whether Nike, Dove or the UN supports gender equality, the general understanding is that each year “countries lose billions of dollars because of failing to invest in girls and young women” (UNGEI, 2009: 2); therefore, gender equality is seen as a vital component

of overall development. Moreover, UN Secretary General, Ban-Ki Moon, consistently stresses women's empowerment as an integral part of achieving the Millennium Development Goals (United Nations, 2010a). Oddly enough, women and girls are seen as both the barriers to global development as well as the saviors.

The world of sports has enthusiastically joined the movement for women's empowerment. It is believed that the participation of women and girls in sporting roles can overturn established gender norms while also building self-esteem and leadership skills (Right to Play, 2008). Sport for development and peace (SDP), a relatively new tool in international development, uses sport and play programs to assist in the development of personal, social, and life skills; and, it has shown great support for enhancing the integration of women's opportunities into society (Right to Play, 2008; United Nations, 2003). Notable SDP programs aimed at increasing opportunities for girls and women include: the Goal program in India (International Federation of Netball Associations, 2010), the Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA, 2010) and Moving the Goal Posts (Right to Play, 2008), both located in Kenya. Additionally, Nike has been the most visible sporting corporation in its support of empowering women and girls. In 2004, Nike partnered with the United Nations Refugee Agency to create *Together for Girls*, which provided education for girls in Kenyan refugee camps (Nike Biz, n.d.). Then in 2008, the Nike Foundation committed an additional \$55 million to support the '*Girl Effect*' project,⁷ which it implements with a number of partners including the NoVo Foundation, chaired by Peter and Jennifer Buffett, and the UN Foundation (Nike Foundation, 2008). Yet, it is important to acknowledge Hayhurst's (2011) observation that the discourse of the

Girl Effect ignores the power structures that inhibit empowerment, which will be further elaborated upon in Chapter 5.

The Partnership

Through this partnership with UNESCO, our goal is to let women and girls throughout the world know that there are no glass ceilings, and to do our part to support programs that provide real opportunities for women to succeed in whatever they set their minds to. ~ Venus Williams (UNESCO, 2006)

This 'landmark' partnership with the WTA is the first time that UNESCO has partnered with a professional sports league (UNESCO, 2009), and it is a result of the 2005 *World Summit Outcome* (Clubsonline, n.d.), which encouraged the elimination of gender discrimination (United Nations, 2005). ESPN reported, "[i]t was [Venus] Williams' personal sense of outrage that triggered the WTA Tour's engagement with UNESCO" (Drucker, 2007). Citing the fact that the WTA Tour has been persistent in its fight for equality, UNESCO and the WTA Tour announced its partnership in November 2006 naming Venus Williams as the inaugural UNESCO *Promoter of Gender Equality* (UNESCO, 2009). The partnership consists of five key elements:

- 1.) Sony Ericsson WTA Tour/UNESCO fund for women and leadership (original endowment of €200,000 [UNESCO, 2006]);
- 2.) *Promoter of Gender Equality* player program that uses WTA Tour players as role models to create awareness about gender equality globally and nationally;

- 3.) Mentoring, fellowship and scholarship programs to support women's individual leadership opportunities (hosted through the Women's Sports Foundation);
- 4.) Advertising campaigns;
- 5.) Using existing UNESCO and WTA Tour events as fundraising platforms.

In 2007, the partnership announced that it had selected five women's leadership initiatives (WTA Tour, 2007a) out of a possible 65 projects from 27 countries (Husseini, 2008). The programs selected to receive initial funding are hosted in Liberia, Jordan, Cameroon, China and the Dominican Republic. In Liberia, partnership funds contributed to the creation of a women's only night school for 1000 girls, and provided training for disadvantaged women to staff the program. In Cameroon, initiatives were implemented to foster successful female politicians, businesswomen and athletes to organize gender equality events. In Jordan, a program was implemented to teach women about their legal rights through 24 awareness workshops hosted throughout the country. In China, with approximately 57% of its population living in rural areas (CIA World Factbook, n.d.a), a program was designed to increase the percentage of rural women involved in local affairs. Lastly, in the Dominican Republic an initiative to advocate for women's political and social leadership through capacity building and training activities was created with the hopes that some women will rise up the ranks of civil society and politics (for further country specifics see Appendix 1 – Table 1). Additional funds were also set aside for a program in India; however, to date no information about this program has been released (Business Line, 2008).

The *Promoters of Gender Equality* program chose Venus Williams (United States), Zheng Jie (China), Vera Zvonareva (Russia) and Tatiana Golovin (France) as select player role models to represent this partnership (WTA Tour, 2009b). Additionally, in 2008 WTA Tour founder and former player Billie Jean King, was named the 'Global Mentor for Gender Equality' for achieving her goal of "using sports as a means for social change" (UNESCO, 2008a).

A subsequent addition to the partnership was the '*Heroes Among Us*' program initiated in 2009 to recognize exceptional local role models for young women (WTA Tour, 2009c). The '*Heroes Among Us*' campaign stems from both the WTA Tour's partnership with UNESCO and the WTA Tour's largest advertising campaign, '*Looking for a Hero*', which was promoted in 75 countries (Sports Business Journal, 2008). The '*Looking for a Hero*' campaign represented WTA players as "superheroes both on and off the court" (WTA Tour, 2008a) and used tag lines such as "They're fighting for truth, justice and a really big trophy" (WTA Tour, 2011b).

Purpose

The question that drives my research project is – **how does the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership represent CSR as a tool for social change?** From this question I hope to draw conclusions as to how these representations may enable or limit CSR as a tool for development, and specifically the goal of gender equity. Other research questions to be answered include:

- 1.) What are the ideological underpinnings of CSR within this partnership? Do they vary between organizations and/or within organizations?
- 2.) How does each organization represent gender equality? How does this affect their ability to foster gender equity?
- 3.) Does the focus on gender overlook other factors of marginalization? (e.g., race, class, sexuality)
- 4.) What kind of knowledge is (re)produced by the *Promoters of Gender Equality* program and the general concept of gender equality?
- 5.) How do discourses of business affect development initiatives?
- 6.) How must CSR for development in different contexts and regions adapt its approach, implementation and exit strategies?

Significance

My research findings fill a gap in the literature regarding critical analysis of CSR programs implemented by professional sport organizations. This is the first time the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership has been researched and the first time that professional tennis has been analyzed in a CSR context. It also contributes a deeper investigation into the relationship between CSR and development and the assumed value of CSR as a development tool. Furthermore, it is unique to find a sport organization taking a stance on international development that has chosen not to deploy sport as the mechanism of development. Chapter 2 will go into further detail discussing previous research and how this analysis will address gaps in the literature.

Chapter Summary

Driven by the need to understand if and/or how CSR programs can become better tools for development, my research project questions the representation of CSR. To accomplish this, I use the 'landmark' partnership between UNESCO and the WTA Tour as my case study. The UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership is a large scale CSR initiative that has yet to be examined with regard to the generally unquestioned notions that CSR can be a catalyst for social change, and that young women can be the solution to local, national and global strife. This research project draws together issues of CSR, professional sport, international development, gender equality and the use of athletes as role models.

The remainder of the document is organized into six chapters. Chapter 2 provides a detailed literature review covering the topics of CSR, the development of women, intersectionality, Orientalism, and female athletes as role models. Chapter 3 presents the theoretical frameworks of postcolonialism and Orientalism as well as the methodologies of postcolonialism and intersectionality. This chapter also discusses my methods of data analysis and the issues of reflexivity and positionality. Chapter 4 begins the analysis section with an examination of the intersectional nature of gender equality. Chapter 5 focuses on the *Promoter of Gender Equality* program and its ties to third-wave feminism. Chapter 6, the last chapter of analysis, evaluates gender mainstreaming as an implementation strategy for the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership field programs. Chapter 7 provides a summary of results, limitations, contributions to research, recommendations and suggested areas for

future investigation. The following chapters attempt to argue for a move towards social justice and equitable situations that better acknowledge and understand the power relations associated with philanthropic endeavours.

Chapter 2

Review of the Literature

This research project draws together multiple disciplines; therefore, the review of literature is organized into six sections: corporate social responsibility as it pertains to business, sports and international development; the rise of women's empowerment as a development issue; intersectionality as a critical lens to examine gender in international development; the theory of Orientalism to understand the power relations and discourses at work in this partnership; and the concept of female athletes as role models for young women.

The first section provides a comprehensive overview of how corporate social responsibility has evolved as a business practice. I also discuss the four main theoretical streams of CSR, the limitations of CSR as a device for social change, and CSR as a tool for international development.

The second section delves into the significance of corporate social responsibility in the world of sport. Given that research about CSR and sport is a relatively new topic for sports management, I examine how CSR in sport differs from traditional avenues of CSR. Scholars in the area such as Levermore (2010), Babiak and Wolfe (2009), and Kidd and Hayhurst (forthcoming) emphasize not only the effects created from CSR initiatives put forth by sporting organizations, but also argue for critical analysis of these acts of 'goodwill.' They argue this will enhance understanding of the power relations involved, and how CSR may marginalize or privilege certain people and issues.

The third section discusses the significance of women's empowerment as a necessity for global development. I outline why governments, corporations and NGO's alike choose to support the empowerment of women. This section also highlights some common factors that are overlooked when implementing women's empowerment programs.

The fourth section is devoted to discussing the relevance of gender in international development literature and initiatives. Intersectionality, a theory put forth by feminist scholars, seeks to understand how different aspects of the individual identity can amalgamate into concurrent forms of oppression and privilege. It is introduced as a critical lens for evaluating the concept of gender equality. Intersectionality will also be discussed in further detail in Chapter 3.

The fifth section offers an introduction to the theory of Orientalism (also to be discussed in Chapter 3) and its feminist extensions. Orientalism stems from Foucauldian theory, which understands power as a result of knowledge production; therefore, whoever controls the production of knowledge, has the ability to control individuals, groups and their representations.

The last section discusses the value of female athletes as role models for women's empowerment. This section argues that the types of individuals generally selected as role models for female empowerment signify much more than inspiration. I also discuss how the use of role models is not universal and varies depending on culture.

Corporate Social Responsibility

Corporate social responsibility means something, but not always the same thing to everybody. (Votaw, 1972: 25).

CSR may appear to be a new phenomenon but it actually stems from “the 80-year debate between capitalism and socialism” (Michael, 2003: 126). Despite the fact that in the United States the concept of CSR and corporate philanthropy date back more than a century (Vogel, 1992), the general consensus in CSR literature is that there is no agreed upon definition (Crane et al., 2008; McWilliams, Siegel & Wright, 2006; Newell & Frynas, 2007). Archie Carroll (2008) proposed the CSR pyramid as a way of encompassing a firm’s corporate responsibilities. The economic practices form the base of a firm’s responsibilities, followed by the firm’s legal responsibilities, ethical responsibilities and finally philanthropic responsibilities at the top of the pyramid (Carroll, 2008). Carroll’s pyramid suggests that philanthropic activities are important; however, without sound economic practices there will be no firm to be held socially accountable (Carroll, 2008). On the other hand, Henry Mintzberg (2008) advocates that strong CSR will better serve a firm’s stakeholders, benefiting the firm in the long-term. He argues “when an organization loses its sense of purpose and mission, when it focuses itself internally on the needs of its managers, it is in danger of becoming irrelevant” (p.136). This is a valuable argument that should, in theory, bring about the most benefit for both the firm and its beneficiaries.

Some define CSR as an internal “[effort] corporations make above and beyond regulations to balance the needs of stakeholders with the need to make a

profit” (Doane, 2005: 23); whereas others define CSR as an expectation from society that externally impacts business practices (Carroll, 1979; Sethi & Steidlemeier, 1995). Additional terms that have branched from CSR include sustainable development, corporate citizenship, corporate social performance and corporate constitutionalism, with each term emphasizing a different priority or understanding of CSR (Garriga & Mele, 2004).

Moreover, the interpretation of CSR varies globally. Firms in low-income countries that adhere to work place regulations may consider corporate compliance a CSR activity, whereas firms in high-income countries are often expected to go above and beyond regulations and general philanthropy (Crane et al., 2008). The range of activities CSR can encompass makes it a very difficult practice to regulate. Nonetheless, the World Bank continues to make attempts at becoming the centre for CSR theory by making claims that CSR is the new vehicle able to deliver community development, education, disaster relief and other duties that governments have failed to provide (Michael, 2003). Efforts by the World Bank to solidify the position of CSR as a social provider include reducing barriers to CSR compliance in supply chain management (CSR Wire, 2003), advocating for public policy around CSR (Djordjija & Twose, 2003), and setting global standards for CSR practices (Social Justice Committee, 2010).

The evolution of CSR has spawned four general approaches outlined by Garriga and Mele (2004) as: instrumental, political, integrative and ethical. Instrumental theories, also recognized as “shareholder theory”, maintain that any CSR program must have a strategic purpose and contribute to revenue generation

(Garriga & Mele, 2004). Milton Friedman, arguably the strongest proponent of shareholder theory, posits that the only responsibility of a corporation is to its shareholders, thus any firm expenditure not related to revenue generation is unauthorized spending of shareholder money (Friedman, 2008). Other proponents of instrumental CSR prefer to use CSR to gain competitive advantages (Burke & Logsdon, 1996; Porter & Kramer, 2006; Prahalad & Hammond, 2008). It is believed that capitalizing on CSR as a competitive advantage will bring positive perceptions to the firm, as well as keep the firm on top of market demands enabling proactive business decisions (Hess, Rogovsky & Dunfee, 2008). Prahalad & Hammond (2008) promote CSR as a way of tapping into new markets by serving the needs of the world's poorest people. Another stream of instrumental CSR is cause-related marketing, which firms use to associate their brand with a social cause in order to differentiate themselves from the competition (Garriga & Mele, 2004). Examples of cause-related marketing include the *CIBC Run for the Cure*, which supports the Canadian Breast Cancer Association (CBCF, 2010) and the Nike *Livestrong* wristbands sold to fundraise for the Lance Armstrong Foundation (Nike Inc, 2009).

Instrumental CSR is probably the most visible and prevalent form of CSR implemented by corporations at this point; although, critics such as Nickel and Eikenberry (2009) argue that this type of 'marketized philanthropy' is still rooted in the capitalist system that perpetuates poverty, disease and environmental degradation. In the same vein, Prahalad & Hammond's theory of capitalizing on the billion people at the bottom of the pyramid could also be construed as exploiting global disparity for individual gain. By providing services and products for low-

income countries and communities CSR programs solidify existing power relations and the 'beneficiaries' become dependent on outside intervention.

The second group of CSR theories align politically. Davis' theory of corporate constitutionalism argues that corporations as "social institutions...must use power responsibly" (Garriga & Mele, 2004: 55). Integrative social contract theory, put forth by Donaldson in the 80's assumed that "an implicit social contract between business and society existed" (Garriga & Mele, 2004: 56). Corporate citizenship believes in a willingness to support and improve the local community and the environment. It focuses its efforts on rights, responsibilities and potential partnerships.

Unfortunately, even though corporate citizenship is the most popular term from the political group of CSR theories, it has been unable to carve out a defined area for itself within the discourse of CSR. The meaning of corporate citizenship can range anywhere from purely philanthropic activities to taking over welfare issues that were previously under government jurisdiction. (Garriga & Mele, 2004)

Integrative theories base the use of CSR on the argument that businesses rely on society for their "existence, continuity and growth" (Garriga & Mele, 2004: 57). The issues management approach suggests that social responsiveness can serve as a warning system alerting the firm to possible threats or opportunities. Some felt the issues management approach was insufficient and therefore devised the principle of public responsibility (PPR). PPR believes in enforcing the guidelines set out by public policy and following trends directed by public opinion. Stakeholder management aims to achieve maximum alignment between all firm stakeholders and objectives. Lastly, corporate social performance is an example of Carroll's CSR

pyramid discussed previously, which seeks to address a firm's entire range of obligations. (Garriga & Mele, 2004) This group of theories focuses on managing the internal and external environment that surrounds the firm in order to secure firm sustainability, "social legitimacy, social acceptance and prestige" (Garriga & Mele, 2004: 86), but from its generally responsive stance these theories may not be as capable of finding new opportunities for firm growth and/or social change as instrumental theories.

The last group of CSR theories categorized by Garriga and Mele (2004) are the ethical theories. Normative stakeholder theory, universal rights and sustainable development are all considered ethical theories. Normative stakeholder theory advocates "managers bear a fiduciary relationship to stakeholders" (Freeman, 1984: xx). The UN Global Compact was instituted to encourage corporations to commit to implementing practices that promote human rights, labour rights, sustainable environmental practices and anti-corruption codes (United Nations, 2010b). On the contrary, it should be acknowledged that the universality of human rights has come under scrutiny because Western actors created the concept of human rights with little regard for global institutional and/or cultural differences (Donnelly, 2008). Sustainable development "seeks to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability [of] future generations to meet their own needs" (Garriga & Mele, 2004:61). As trendy as the term 'sustainable development' has become, even some within the business community, most notably the founder of Patagonia Yvon Chouinard, argue that the idea of sustainability and business growth are mutually exclusive (Foster, 2009). Chouinard maintains that "the accepted model of

capitalism that demands endless growth deserves the blame for the destruction of nature, and it should be displaced” (Foster, 2009). I support Chouinard’s argument, that regardless of how “ethical” a CSR approach may be it still fundamentally privileges corporate expansion over environmental and social needs.

In North America, during the era of Reaganomics, as the amount of government welfare programs decreased, the pressure on corporations to take over government responsibilities increased (King, 2006). Many corporations have traditionally viewed CSR as a corporate vulnerability (Kramer & Kania, 2006) and a firm expenditure rather than a profit-centre. However, this shift in responsibilities encouraged corporations to take a proactive stance and make corporate philanthropy, or CSR, a revenue generating operation (King, 2006). Many now encourage the private sector to understand CSR not as a hindrance to revenue generation, rather to embrace it as a strategic opportunity for social change. Porter and Kramer (2006) explain strategic CSR as a “source of opportunity, innovation and competitive advantage” to be capitalized upon (p.2). They believe that utilizing a firm’s core competencies, resources and expertise can greatly benefit the firm and society.

As highly touted as CSR is as a mechanism for social change, it does not come without its criticisms. Ten Bos (2006) urges us to question the ‘goodness’ of our own actions. Michael (2003) contends that CSR may benefit corporations, governments and NGO’s/non-profits more than it does society. Utting (2007) adds that there lies a considerable gap between corporate intentions and CSR implementation, the ramifications of which are felt by society and not the corporation.

Furthermore, he finds little value in CSR reports since they generally measure internal factors such as occupational health and safety as opposed to external factors such as industrial relations and labour rights (Utting, 2007). Also, the range of CSR activities and lack of regulation makes measuring CSR almost irrelevant since no company can be compared to the next. Fougere and Solitander (2009) question whose needs are truly served when the firm determines which social issues are relevant for action. CSR has commonly latched on to social issues that are either popular causes within Western cultures (e.g., animal welfare, breast cancer, sweatshops) or causes that are significant to the firm's bottom line or image (e.g. energy efficiency), which forces many issues of social welfare to be neglected (Utting, 2007). Utting argues "CSR generally attempts to curb specific types of malpractice and improve selected aspects of social performance without questioning various contradictory policies and practices that can have perverse consequences in terms of equality and equity" (2007: 701). Globalization has forced CSR to become entangled with the world of international development (Blowfield, 2005), which not only brings about a distinct set of concerns, but can also exacerbate some of the previous critiques mentioned when CSR crosses international borders.

CSR and international development

Whether through CSR activities alone or through partnerships with NGO's it has become a general consensus that a concerted effort from all members of society are needed to solve development problems (van Tulder & Fortanier, 2009). Since the 1980's, the role of business within the discourse of international development

has shifted from state-led development initiatives towards market-driven solutions (Mukherjee Reed & Reed, 2009). Mukherjee Reed and Reed (2009) argue that under the system of neo-liberal globalization “increasingly states began to be viewed as the problem rather than a solution” (p.5), which allowed room for corporations to take on issues of social welfare. During the 1980’s, UN policies transformed from attempts to regulate the activities of transnational corporations (TNCs) to facilitating movement of foreign direct investment into developing countries (Utting, 2000). Furthermore, the realization that the private sector is the only entity that has the technological, financial and human resources to address global development issues has spurred an increase in both private sector decision-making and program implementation (Utting, 2000).

Mukherjee Reed and Reed (2009) distinctively mark the 1990’s as a significant decade in the transition of development power from state to TNCs. In 1992, the UN abandoned its creation of a *Code of Conduct* on TNCs due to resistance from developed countries. The 1992 *Earth Summit* in Rio de Janeiro provided a platform to promote conservation and environmental development. The following year, the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) was formed as a multi-stakeholder initiative that brought together industry stakeholders, NGO’s and communities for forestry conservation. In 1998, under the direction of Kofi Annan, the UN created a fund for international partnerships “to promote new partnerships and alliances in furtherance of the Millennium Development Goals” (p.6). The decade culminated with the creation of the *UN Global Compact*, devised to engage the private sector in issues that affect developing countries. By the time the *World*

Summit on Sustainable Development took place in 2002, 240 new multi-stakeholder partnerships for the purpose of international development had been formed.

(Mukherjee Reed & Reed, 2009)

There is a concern that corporations involved in international development either use CSR as 'window dressing' or lack the necessary skills to properly tackle development issues (van Tulder & Fortanier, 2009). NGO's argue that significant corporate presence already exists within the UN, which creates a fear of privatization and commercialization of the UN system (Utting, 2000). Newell and Frynas (2007) underline the fact that "CSR as a business tool is distinct from CSR as a development tool" (p.670), which has yet to be fully understood. Utting (2000) believes that partnerships between the UN and the private sector are based on opposing interests because, to a degree, the UN aims to follow ethical principles whereas businesses are driven by profits. He explains that the current approach of UN-business partnerships strains rather than "[strengthens] relations between the UN and an important sector of the NGO community" (p.14). Blowfield (2005) argues that we need to question not only how CSR affects firm behaviour but also critically question how CSR has affected the meaning of development. He contends that the largest impact business thinking has made on international development is its ability to "dominate the way we view the world, and to become the norm against which everything is tested for true and false value" (p.516). Blowfield's critique of CSR has offered a valuable entry point for my thesis into the representation and reproduction of CSR as a tool for social change. Dangers lie where CSR uncritically accepts capitalist values as universal norms, especially when they contradict the welfare of

development recipients. So long as CSR privileges values such as free trade, profit-maximization, individual rights and market systems, the core of business will remain unchanged and it will continue to control the limits and possibilities of CSR (Blowfield, 2005).

On the other hand, van Tulder and Fortanier (2009) argue that the complex development challenges we currently face require capabilities that no one sector can solve alone; and therefore, public-private partnerships are no longer a luxury, they are a necessity. Blowfield (2005) concedes to critics of international development that if inequality is a result of structural hegemonic power, rather than issues of access and opportunity, CSR will do little to de-centre the existing system; rather, he believes that the strength of CSR comes in its ability to create new forms of dialogue that resonate with investors, consumers and managers. Perhaps most importantly, Blowfield (2005) admits regardless of any positive contributions CSR may have on social issues, it is not the ultimate solution, because government and civil society are still needed to answer the questions of social inequity.

Little is actually known about the “developmental potential” of CSR (Newell & Frynas, 2007: 671), which is why my research project attempts to better define the boundaries of change for CSR outside of its business capabilities. Blowfield’s (2005) critiques of business and international development pose valuable questions concerning capitalist norms that have been applied to my research project.

Furthermore, I unpack the power relations that commonly go unacknowledged within CSR discourses (Halme, Roome & Dobers, 2009; King, 2006) that can easily undo good intentions. While CSR has quickly become a “well established topic in

mainstream business literature”, it has yet to create the same acceptance within sport management studies (Bradish & Cronin, 2009: 692), which leads me into a discussion of the role of CSR within the sports industry.

CSR and sport

The argument that “[o]nly sport has the nation, and sometimes the world watching the same thing at the same time” (Singer, as quoted in, Jackson, Andrews & Scherer, 2005: 9) has made sport indistinguishable from society itself (Smith & Westerbeek, 2007: 6), hence making it an excellent platform for launching social initiatives. The magnitude of sport allows for mass communication, youth appeal, positive health messages and social interaction (Smith & Westerbeek, 2007), many of which are important factors in successful CSR programs. The last decade or so has observed a surge of CSR support throughout the sports industry (Babiak & Wolfe, 2006); by contrast, academic literature is still limited regarding the effects of CSR programs initiated by sports organizations (Babiak & Wolfe, 2009; Breitbarth & Harris, 2008; Levermore, 2010, 2011). Sporting organizations, professional teams, athletic apparel and equipment manufacturers and even the athletes themselves have taken to ‘giving back’ in one form or another (Babiak & Wolfe, 2006).

Babiak and Wolfe (2009) have outlined four factors that make sport distinct from regular business. Firstly, they argue that passion differentiates sport from traditional consumer products and services since sport tends to generate emotional bonds between teams, players and fans. Secondly, they contend that there are economic differences because sports leagues can be compared to cartels with

monopoly power and special government protection, while at the same time receiving “public funds for stadia and related infrastructure” (p.722). Thirdly, Babiak and Wolfe believe sports organizations are held to higher standards of transparency due to the fact that day-to-day activities often garner media attention (e.g., player trades, injuries etc.). Lastly, they contend sports organizations require complex stakeholder relationships since sports organizations often require support from government, fans, players and the media. Smith and Westerbeek (2007) agree that transparency is a key differentiator of sports from traditional business, and also add rules of fair play, spectator and participant safety, and the need for environmental sustainability as reasons that necessitate social responsibility by all members of the sporting community.

It is well acknowledged that sport brings with it a litany of irresponsible behaviours such as doping, gambling, and violence (Levermore, 2010; Smith & Westerbeek, 2007). Babiak (2010) exposes the contradiction between how sport often serves wider society better than it does those within the system, since sports executives commonly overlook issues of racial/gender/class inequity, employee relations and/or athlete experiences (Babiak, 2010). However, with its mass popularity and broad audience base sport also provides many opportunities to improve social welfare (Smith & Westerbeek, 2007). The influx of CSR initiatives put forth by sports organizations (characterized in this research project as any for-profit business that promotes sport or physical activity including equipment and apparel companies) covers the gamut of social issues ranging from maternal health (Adidas, 2007) to child refugees (Nike Inc., 2009), and cancer research (NHL, 2010) to

environmental sustainability (Hadhazy, 2009). The use of CSR programs is no longer questioned because the need to maintain strong community relations with stakeholders is of utmost importance to any sporting organization (Babiak & Wolfe, 2009). Therefore, the focus has shifted from the utility of CSR to the inadequate measurement and evaluation of the effects of these programs. As mentioned earlier, this uncritical acceptance of CSR as a common business practice privileges capitalist systems and assumes “that any weaknesses in CSR can be addressed by technical problem-solving” (Blowfield, 2005:520). The limited existing sport management literature surrounding CSR now calls for increased attention to the impacts of CSR programs (Babiak & Wolfe, 2009, 2006; Godfrey, 2009), and more rigorous questioning of the CSR process itself (Kidd & Hayhurst, forthcoming; Levermore, 2010).

In a recent article, Roger Levermore (2010) explores the potential and limitations of CSR for development through sport. His article contributes to a growing amount of CSR literature that discusses the ability of CSR to address issues of social and economic development. Levermore importantly recognizes that a gap in literature exists between sport and CSR research that has failed to study the increased deployment of CSR initiatives by sport organizations for the purpose of social and economic development. Much like development literature, to be discussed in a later section of this review, CSR initiatives are driven by Western ideology that often promotes distance and disengagement over accountability and cultural relevance. Even so, Levermore affirms “sport, more than any other potential vehicle, contains qualities that make it a powerful force in effective positive social

contributions” (p.238). He calls for future research to evaluate the impact of specific CSR for development through sport initiatives from different geographic locations to determine what works within certain circumstances.

Kidd and Hayhurst (forthcoming) mark the consideration of human rights by sport organizations as a new development for CSR. They argue for the use of critical theory when evaluating the impact of CSR initiatives. Critical theory enables researchers to better understand the power relations involved in CSR, and how it can simultaneously benefit certain people while marginalizing others (Kidd & Hayhurst, forthcoming). It is especially pertinent for CSR initiatives that involve international development to evaluate the effects of corporate involvement on local communities (Kidd & Hayhurst, forthcoming; Levermore, 2010). As will be discussed in a following section, international development can cause more harm than good, which makes it imperative for CSR managers to have a comprehensive understanding of how corporate support can create both positive and negative situations, especially with development initiatives.

This research project seeks to answer Levermore’s call for increased attention to CSR for development initiatives put forth by sports organizations. It also answers Kidd and Hayhurst’s call for increased critical analysis of CSR within sports and its evaluation procedures. This research project provides a small step towards determining what types of practices work effectively under certain circumstances in different geographic regions. My overall goal has been to provide critical insight into the process of utilizing CSR as a development tool.

Developing Women

Of particular concern to me is the plight of women and girls, who comprise the majority of the world's unhealthy, unschooled, unfed and unpaid. If half of the world's population remains vulnerable to economic, political, legal and social marginalization, our hope of advancing democracy and prosperity will remain in serious jeopardy. Hilary Clinton (UNGEI, 2009: 3)

The development of women has become of utmost importance with regard to international development, especially as it relates to Millennium Development Goal (MDG) achievement. The 2010 *World Economic Forum* in Davos, Switzerland brought together more than 100 leaders from business, government and nonprofits to discuss the significance of young women in global development (Nike Biz, 2010). Despite large gains in global gender equality, women continue to be disproportionately affected by issues such as lack of access to clean water and sanitation, lack of sustainable employment, lack of opportunities for education and a high prevalence of violence (United Nations, 2008). It is believed that through education and increased access to health education, the empowerment of women will result in decreased fertility rates, lower rates of HIV infection and lower child mortality rates (Grown, Gupta, Pande, 2005; Right to Play, 2008). For these reasons, the empowerment of women has become a “prerequisite for development” (Hayhurst, MacNeill & Frisby, 2011: 54), and thus has made its way onto the agenda of NGO's, governments, and corporations. The 2009 *Because I am a Girl Report*, released by the NGO Plan, argues that investing in the development of women and girls will result in a more “prosperous and equitable society” and therefore, is “in

everyone's interests" (UNGEI, 2009: 2). More recently, the UN announced a merger of all four existing UN agencies devoted to women's issues (UNIFEM, DAW, the Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and UN-INSTRAW) to form one entity under the name UN Women (United Nations, 2010c). This "positive and exciting moment for the entire UN family" is said to provide a unifying voice for women and women's development by facilitating policy implementation committed to gender equality (United Nations, 2010c).

The concept of gender held by those in development work tends to refer to the "rules, norms, customs and practices by which *biological* differences between males and females are translated into *socially constructed* differences between men and women...this results in the two genders being valued differently and in their having unequal opportunities" (Kabeer, 2005: 2, original emphasis). UNESCO (2007) defines gender as the "roles and responsibilities of men and women that are created in our families, our societies and our cultures." In this definition, gender roles are understood as the learned expectations associated with males and females that vary through time and among cultures. Conversely, more progressive scholars such as Anne Fausto-Sterling (2002) contend that society's extreme attachment to the notion of two sexes/genders accounts for much systemic oppression and would most likely disagree with the definitions of gender used in development work.

Social theorists comprehend gender as a conceptual tool that facilitates how individuals understand the social world (Hall, 2002). Within North America, the term gender has become interchangeable with the term 'woman' as generally speaking anything with 'gender' in the title (e.g., courses, conferences, organizations) is

considered female focused (Hall, 2002). Hall also critiques the idea of 'sex/gender roles' articulating that it is illogical to define roles attached to gender when no such behavioural roles are attached to the identity markers of race, age, or class. She also contends that the concept of sex roles is centered on individuals and detracts attention away from the social structures and the power relations that accompany gender inequality. Hall makes the case that using terminology such as 'sex roles' or 'sex role orientation' reifies the existence of such categories because they do not exist in concrete ways.⁸ (Hall, 2002)

The term 'empowerment' has also produced a variety of interpretations. Many international organizations such as the UN use the term to advocate for certain policy implementations, whereas others may understand empowerment as a result of social inclusion (Malhotra, Schuler, Boender, 2002). Conversely, those who become 'empowered' can interpret empowerment as the ability to exercise free will (Coalter, 2007). Whether it is understood as increased opportunities or the reduction of barriers, the goal of empowerment put forth by Western actors commonly tries to ensure that "women may be players in tomorrow's future" (Giardina & Metz, 2005a: 68)

The *Girl Effect*, defined as "the ability for adolescent girls in developing countries to bring unprecedented social and economic change to their families, communities and countries" (Nike Foundation, 2008) has brought about much attention to the role of young women in society. As a collective, young women are often portrayed as a group able to overcome risk societies and obtain social rights without assistance from the state; and therefore, are upheld as symbols of the nation

(Harris, 2004). Yet, “adolescence is a time when the world expands for boys and contracts for girls,” (Brady, 2005: 39) which unfortunately has created very divergent gender experiences in many societies. Furthermore, what it means to be a girl and the expectations of young women are constantly changing (Aapola, Gonick & Harris, 2005). Many communities believe young women need to be protected and therefore limit their lives to the domestic sphere (Brady, 2005).

Within sport studies, Heywood (2006) argues that the discourse of liberal feminism, which encourages neoliberal ideology, has manipulated girls’ sports programs into arenas for the creation of ‘can-do’ girls for which health and success are imperative. Programs designed to benefit ‘at-risk’ girls can be problematic when the needs of the girls are not of utmost importance, but rather the needs of the market and support for the ‘Empire’ (Hardt & Negri, 2000) become the main beneficiaries (Heywood, 2006). Heywood (2006) challenges the motives (i.e. empowering young women) behind placing Western girls as the symbol for social change, and encourages further analysis into the ramifications these ‘opportunities’ have on the idea that feminism is no longer needed.

Unfortunately, development is commonly understood as a logistical problem whereby the end result of becoming Western/modern goes unquestioned (Hargreaves, 2000). The excitement surrounding the empowerment of women and girls comes with many additional concerns because some communities may construe the empowerment of women as the disempowerment of men. “Efforts at empowering women must be especially aware of the implications of broader policy action at the household level,” (Malhotra et al., 2002: 5) as the women who become

empowered do not necessarily return home to families and/or communities that view women's empowerment as a positive outcome, but rather as deviant or insubordinate. Brady's (2005) research regarding the significance of safe spaces for young women cites supportive environments as necessary for proper social development. She also notes that "not only do girls have to learn how to manage their safety within their own environment; they also have to learn how to 'manage' their parent's fears" (2005: 43). Moreover, if cultural norms continue to exist where girls can be held responsible for the actions of boys (Brady, 2005) then the development of young women will forever be hindered. It is increasingly more evident in development literature that the development of women and girls cannot occur without the development of the surrounding community (Brady, 2005; Saavedra, 2005). Development agencies and CSR programs must be cognizant of the risks involved when women and girls are encouraged to challenge the existing patriarchal system (Saavedra, 2005), whether through sport or other methods, since the ramifications will be felt by the very women intended as the beneficiaries.

The emphasis on CSR and creating productive young women is not a coincidence but an effect of a 'modern' society that privileges self-governance and the ability to adapt without state support (Harris, 2004). Habermas (1983) explained modernity as a constant comparison to the past and a privileging of that which is new and current. Thus, the normative tradition of society relying on the state and industrial labour has been rejected for the 'modern' culture of global capitalism, self-invention and private sector welfare solutions (Harris, 2004).

The observations made by scholars such as Harris (2004) and Heywood (2006) have influenced my decision to question the effectiveness and value of women's empowerment initiatives such as the *Girl Effect*, which privileges individualism and corporate interventions. I analyze the discursive practices associated with the programs supported by the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership such as empowering distant women, upholding neoliberal values and the general concept of gender equality over gender equity. I also question the role of women's empowerment projects in the perpetuation of global capitalism. The manner in which gender is privileged as an identity leads me into a discussion of the intersectional nature of identity.

Intersectionality and International Development

Intersectional analysis holds that there are no generic women and men; our gender identities, loyalties, interests, and opportunities are affected by intersecting and cross-cutting gender, race, class, national, and sexual identities. (Peterson & Runyan, 2010: 7)

The promotion of gender equality, as a key focal point of international development and perhaps the most popular aspect of the identity to address (van der Hoogte & Kingma, 2004), unfortunately overshadows other identity markers such as sexuality, class, able-ness and race. Kimberle Crenshaw (1991) wrote that “women of colour are less likely to have their needs met than women who are racially privileged” (p.1250), or as Goudge (2003) claims – “Gender is on the agenda but racism isn’t” (p.51). Crenshaw (1991) observed two decades ago that

feminism's lack of attention to race leads to the reproductive subordinations of ethnic minorities and vice versa when race fails to acknowledge the significance of gender. Despite the fact that individual identities are composed of an amalgam of sub-identities, development agencies often mandate organizational focus to only one or two of those sub-identities (van der Hoogte & Kingma, 2004). Categories such as gender, sexuality, race and class have come to be understood by social scientists as social constructions that often lead to dichotomous structures (i.e., man vs. woman, heterosexual vs. homosexual, white vs. non-white, affluent vs. poor). These structures privilege some and disadvantage those marked by an absence of defining features (i.e., male reproductive organs, heterosexual lifestyle, white skin, social mobility). Intersectional analysis attempts to "avoid essentializing singular identities" (Peterson & Runyan, 2010: 61) in order to better understand how multiple facets of identities can either privilege or oppress communities while exposing the power relations inherent within and between identity groups. The relevance of intersectionality is so significant that Davis (2008) warns any scholar who "neglects difference runs the risk of having her work viewed as theoretically misguided, politically irrelevant, or simply fantastical" (p.68). Intersectionality offers a valuable understanding of human identity and the power relations involved in changing social circumstances.

Gender can be understood a result of power relations embedded within social identities (Shields, 2008). As development literature increasingly cites women as the answer to global problems, feminist scholars notice two common themes: that gender has become both the problem and the solution, and when gender is the topic

of discussion issues of race, sexuality and class become irrelevant (Crenshaw, 1991; McEwan, 2009; Peterson & Runyan, 2010; Yuval-Davis, 2006). First introduced by Kimberle Crenshaw, the idea of intersectionality was used to unpack “issues of black women’s employment in the US” (Yuval-Davis, 2006: 193), whereby some women experienced triple oppression as a Black, as a woman, and as working class individuals. Multiple intersections of identity segregated the feminist movement, as middle class, white academic women became the face of women’s liberation. Conversely, women on the margins of ‘womanhood’ such as lesbians and racialized women felt their stories were not being conveyed appropriately under the umbrella of women’s interests and experiences. Intersectionality has gradually shifted from recognizing the marginalization of low-income women and women of colour to uncovering the production and transformation of power relations that materialize within the lived experiences of women (Davis, 2008).

As touched on above, intersections of identities can privilege, as well as oppress, individuals by either providing or eliminating opportunities based on certain identity markers (Shields, 2008). Intersectional analysis “captures the consequences of the interaction between two or more forms of subordination” (Yuval-Davis, 2006: 197). This type of analysis recognizes that individuals are not generic in nature, but instead have multiple identities that interact simultaneously (Peterson & Runyan, 2010). Gender, race and class are the large markers commonly discussed as attributes to oppression, but intersectionality can also be applied to other social constructions such as age, able-ness, nationality and appearance (Shields, 2008). These are all constructions of identity that vary from culture to culture and can be

privileged in one society and a factor of oppression in another. Intersectionality exposes the variance of power relations that result from amalgamating different identity markers.

Intersectionality is an important evolution for both feminist and development studies. Many scholars contend that development work is very gendered (Baines, 2009) and the UN Development Program has reported that “no society treats its women as well as its men” (UNDP, 1997: 39). Developed by the World Bank and the UNDP, the concept of gender mainstreaming has become a common practice among powerful Northern organizations such as the UN and the European Union (Peterson & Runyan, 2010). Gender mainstreaming is a result of learning that the act of adding women into current gendered structures is not sufficient enough to bring about gender equality, and that reconstructing existing structures and systems needs to occur (United Nations, 2002). At its core gender mainstreaming incorporates the interests, concerns and experiences of both men and women to develop policies that demonstrate gender equality (Peterson & Runyan, 2010). However, intersectional analysis recognizes that, although gender mainstreaming bestows responsibility on both men and women, it does not dismantle the systematic gendering that is inherently built within organizations (Baines, 2009). Gender mainstreaming is seen by some as another attempt for “modernization and good governance” (Squires, 2007 cited in Peterson & Runyan, 2010: 128). The result has been uneven enforcement of policies and a retraction of commitments to women’s policy agencies based on the idea that fewer resources are needed under the approach of gender mainstreaming (Peterson & Runyan, 2010). Additionally, the

measurement of gender equality under the mainstreaming approach has become quantitative in nature (Baines, 2009; Peterson & Runyan, 2010), which will be further discussed in Chapter 3. My research answers Angela McRobbie's (2009) call for increased insight concerning gender mainstreaming from postcolonial feminist theorists, and enhanced questioning of the complexities of implementing gender mainstreaming in practice.⁹

Walby (2005) has observed that, along with academia, CSR has become a strong platform for women's voices to be articulated. Intersectional analysis enables my research project to answer the question – does the focus on gender overlook other factors of marginalization? It seems a common theme that gender is an appropriate cause to support, and yet issues of race, sexuality and class disappear. If the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership wants to enhance the circumstances of women globally it will need to focus its attention wider than gender issues alone. Intersectional analysis provides worthwhile insights for future CSR programs wishing to include gender equity initiatives; and also, has the ability to become even more powerful when coupled with the theory of Orientalism for critical analysis of international development and gender equality. The combination provides a micro analysis of individual identity (intersectionality) with a macro analysis of collective identity (Orientalism).

Orientalism

Edward Said's (1978) theory of Orientalism posits that the West constructs the Orient, or any non-Western culture, as a primitive undeveloped society. The

West is placed as the norm and as the epitome of human achievement, whereas the Orient is represented as 'unnatural' or 'backwards' (Said, 1978). This concept of West versus East constitutes the Orient as the 'Other' and the West can only be known through its difference and distance from the Orient. Said outlines two streams within the discourse of Orientalism. Manifest Orientalism encompasses "the various stated views about Oriental society, languages, literatures, history, sociology and so forth" (Said, 1978: 206). Latent Orientalism, on the other hand, deals with the fears and fantasies developed by the unconscious mind (Said, 1978).

Within sport academia Orientalism has been utilized to unpack different topics ranging from athlete misconduct, to global politics and sport for development and peace initiatives. Jiwani (2008) deploys Orientalism in her analysis of the 'infamous' Zinedine Zidane head-butt that occurred during the 2006 World Cup final. Jiwani argues that Zidane's Algerian heritage brought about Orientalist explanations for his actions, exemplified in the press by descriptions of the incident as savage, animalistic and irrational. Brownell (2005) applies Orientalism to her analysis and comparison of female athletes in America and China claiming "Orientalism benefited European culture by strengthening its sense of identity while it weakened Oriental culture by limiting what Orientals could think about themselves" (p.1181). She explains that the stereotype of the effeminate intellectual Chinese in opposition to the athletic Westerner is an example of Orientalist production. Brownell reasons that the current strength of Chinese athletics is a response to the identity crisis placed on China by the West. Darnell (2007) incorporates Orientalism into his investigation of sport for development and peace volunteers arguing that the First-world comes to

know itself in opposition to the Third-world. The First-world is characterized by its benevolence and rationality and the Third-world is known only for poverty, instability and general backwardness. These examples demonstrate Orientalism's value as an analytical tool for sport scholars, and that sport is not immune to the discourses of West as best and East as least.

In *Colonial Fantasies*, Meyda Yegenoglu builds on Said's concept of Orientalism by adding a feminist lens. Yegenoglu (1998) discusses in great detail how the gaze of the veiled Muslim woman threatens Western hegemony, and how Western feminism is in fact a modernizing project. She articulates how Oriental women have become "the proof of the backwardness of Eastern cultures" (p.97) and that Western feminists have taken it upon themselves to liberate these underdeveloped women. It has become the hope that through the modernization of Oriental women the evolution of the Orient itself will follow. Western feminists are the universal benchmark for which all women are measured against (Yegenoglu, 1998). To be a modern woman denotes education, Western ideals, feminine virtues (Yegenoglu, 1998) and having the ability to exercise free will (Ahmed, 2000). Yegenoglu (1998) explains that through the eyes of Westerners the "Orient is identical to its women, they are its essence" (p.74). Global feminism aims to provide opportunities for all women to realize their potential and become 'developed', thereby equating development with modernity (Ahmed, 2000). Sara Ahmed (2000) expands on Yegenoglu's thoughts by unpacking the ideology that women who are underdeveloped owe it to women everywhere to "fulfill their debt to modernity" (p.177) and contribute to global advancement. Applying feminist Orientalism has

enabled me to question the dominant discourses within the agendas of Western feminists and gender equality initiatives as they relate to CSR and the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership. It also encourages me to question the desire from Western actors to modernize Eastern subjects in the name of international development.

It is important to consider the concept of Orientalism with regard to CSR because, much like development work, CSR programs inherently create power relations and therefore require critical attention to the (re)production of hierarchies, norms and privileging (Darnell, 2007). CSR managers become authority figures within the community and international development, whether knowledgeable in these areas or not. For sports organizations, authority comes from local respect and economic might; yet, when sport and CSR decide to intervene in international affairs without due care it creates cause for concern. Just as the West and its ideals are often privileged and go unchallenged, so are certain types of women privileged in the quest for female empowerment, which leads me into a discussion of female athletes as role models.

Female Athletes as Role Models

The industry for sports and entertainment marketing continues to expand as celebrities and athletes not only represent themselves, but also more importantly represent the symbolic cultural meanings needed to sell ideas and products (Andrews & Jackson, 2001; Biskup & Pfister, 1999; Bush, Martin, Bush, 2004; Gilchrist, 2005; Jackson, Andrews & Sherer, 2005). Role models are used to inspire “the possibility of emulation” (Addis, 1996). Meier and Saavedra (2009) describe

role models as 'maps' that can provide routes for success. Female athletes, although often marginalized and trivialized in the media (Harris & Humberstone, 2004; Lines, 2001), are commonly promoted as positive role models for young women. Especially in countries where gender disparity is the norm, it is not uncommon for successful female athletes to become role models for young women (Meier & Saavedra, 2009). Despite the fact that there is little research confirming that role models have an impact on behavioural changes (Lines, 2001; Meier & Saavedra, 2009) professional athletes are touted as role models, whether worthy or not, simply for the fact that they are visible to the masses (Biskup & Pfister, 1999; Bush et al., 2004; Lines, 2001).

An important research finding regarding role models observed that the traits emphasized for role models are not universal and in fact greatly varies between cultures. Western individualistic cultures appreciate role models who exhibit independence, uniqueness, and success; and, therefore promote positive role models as inspirational figures (Lockwood, Marshall & Sadler, 2005). In contrast, collectivist cultures do not put as much emphasis on the self and rather encourage interdependent relationships (Lockwood, et al., 2005). Furthermore, individuals from collectivist cultures generally do not want to stand out from the group and would prefer to "maintain social harmony" (Lockwood et al., 2005: 380). Collectivist cultures put emphasis on responsibilities and obligations to others, consequently trying very hard not to disappoint those closest to them (Heine, Lehman, Markus & Kitayama, 1999). This research demonstrates that promoting Western celebrities/athletes as role models in cultures that do not emphasize individual

achievement will have little inspirational effect. Collectivist cultures prefer to use negative role models and failures as motivation to prevent and/or correct personal mistakes (Lockwood et al., 2005). These findings are relevant to my research project for my analysis of the *Promoters of Gender Equality* program, and have enabled me to ask questions concerning the value of promoting WTA Tour players as global role models such as – how can four players represent the interests of women worldwide?

Role models are promoted through neoliberal discourses that advocate individual determination and perseverance as a path to superiority. Hargreaves (2000) posits that the socially manufactured discourses surrounding heroines masks the differences between women and removes guilt by diverting attention away from the inferior position of women in sports to an imaginary ideal.

Through media narratives young women learn to understand that what they are currently is merely a starting point to who they can become (Capon & Helstein, 2005). The role model is normalized and the consumer or fan becomes abnormal or undeveloped.

'Girl Power' and women's empowerment campaigns are built on "personal self-betterment strategies that mask political and economic conditions of disadvantage and vulnerability" (Geissler, as cited in Giardina & Metz, 2005a: 70). Discourses surrounding athletes as inspiration for young women perpetuate the ideology that individual free will, dedication and desire will result in success irrespective of gender, race or class (Cooky & McDonald, 2005). Heywood (2006) argues that power over female destiny has become the responsibility of each individual woman to make the right choices while seizing opportunities for gender

advancement. These neoliberal discourses are celebrated and encouraged as girl power has taken over popular culture (Harris, 2004). McRobbie (2001) argues that female success in the market place “punishes failure as individual weakness” and celebrates “competitive individualism as the mark of modern young womanhood” (as cited in Harris, 2004:20). She emphasizes the need to question ‘female individualism’ and meritocracy as a method for women to be accepted as ‘modern’ (McRobbie, 2004).

Whether referred to as a role model or a heroine one fact remains – those who venture into ‘male arenas’ are still not viewed as equals. Female athletes, first and foremost, are promoted as women first and athletes second (Biskup & Pfister, 1999; Harris & Humberstone, 2004). The common themes throughout feminist critiques of women’s empowerment literature expose third-wave feminist campaigns as methods to reproduce conservative hegemonic discourses of heterosexuality and individuality. Furthermore, Cooky and McDonald (2005) contend, even in the world of sports, “too often [have] the experiences of White, middle class, heterosexual and able-bodied women . . . stood for all women” (p.160). Understanding the discourses of athletic women has facilitated my analysis of the *Promoters of Gender Equality* program with the following questions in mind: (1) are the representations promoted by the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership (re)producing hegemonic discourses of women and female athletes? and (2) what are the effects of promoting the voices of the few as the ideal for the many?

Chapter Summary

This review of literature has brought together a wide spectrum of knowledge. We are witnessing a rise in corporate involvement, sport or otherwise, in issues of social welfare that have yet to be fully understood as methods of social change. Furthermore, the excitement surrounding women's empowerment programs seems hard to resist since the topic of gender equality theoretically affects half of the world's population. Nevertheless, the literature discussed proposes that interventions of development require rigorous research into the underlying conditions of the problem. My research project has utilized the literature covered to formulate questions about how the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership represents and addresses the expectation that women and girls are a catalyst for international development. Intersectional analysis has enabled me to unpack the interlocking systems of oppression that dictate the need for gender equity programs. Feminist Orientalism prompts me to question the desire behind promoting gender equality initiatives that set Western standards as the universal finish line. Lastly, understanding the hegemonic ideals and myths surrounding female athletes that are perpetuated throughout popular media has raised questions for my research project concerning the effectiveness, compatibility and motives of the *Promoters of Gender Equality* program with the end goal of female empowerment.

Chapter 3

Theoretical Framework & Methodology

Postcolonialism attempts to recover the lost historical and contemporary voices of the marginalized, the oppressed and the dominated, through a radical reconstruction of history and knowledge production. (Guha, as cited in McEwan, 2001)

In this chapter, I discuss postcolonialism and Orientalism as the theories deployed throughout my research project to unpack the representations of both the One-Thirds and Two-Thirds worlds. I examine the power relations uncovered by postcolonial feminism along with the importance of acknowledging the significance of one's social position in the production of knowledge. I also explain how feminist extensions of Orientalism are useful in explaining the discourses reproduced by the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership. Additionally, I use postcolonial methodology to expose the social construction of power relations, as well as, intersectionality to better understand how identities become manufactured through social inequities and assumptions. Intersectionality is especially useful for analyzing the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership implementation strategy of gender mainstreaming. These qualitative methodologies enable me to situate myself, as a researcher, and my research subjects in the social process of decolonization. Lastly, critical discourse analysis is discussed as my method of data analysis. I explain the importance of reflexivity and positionality as a researcher of power relations; hence it is imperative to acknowledge the power relations associated with research.

Postcolonial Theory

Postcolonial theory, also referred to as anti-colonial theory, challenges the “unacknowledged and unexamined assumptions at the heart of Western disciplines that are profoundly insensitive to the meaning, values and practices of other cultures” (McEwan, 2001: 94). During (2000) posits that postcolonialism is an attempt to cope with the repercussions of European colonization. It is a theory that challenges the dominant discourses of North-South relations as they are commonly presented in the West (McEwan, 2001). Deployment of postcolonial analysis allows for the deconstruction of the “interconnection of issues of race, nation, empire, migration and ethnicity with cultural production” (p.6) by undermining the traditional acceptance of “disciplinary boundaries” (p.8) (Moore-Gilbert, 1997).

The hegemony of Western discourse does not come from the West’s “massive economic development and technological advances but in its power to define, repress and theorize” (Saradar, as quoted in McEwan, 2001: 95). Therefore, postcolonialism provides opportunities for those voices generally silenced within the hegemonic domain a chance to be heard (McEwan, 2001). Postcolonial thought provokes the creation of methods that rethink dichotomous categories that appear natural (e.g., man/woman, First-World/Third-World), and allow for better comprehension of how relative circumstances (e.g., geography, class, religion, ethnicity) can greatly affect the opportunities available to individuals (McEwan, 2001). Using postcolonialism to question the ‘naturalness’ of Western norms and categories exposes the articulations of power that are necessary to create and reproduce a discourse.

The term discourse, in the Foucauldian sense, is a form of power that has the ability to confer or subtract meaning (Rossi, 2004). Discursive practices give rise to and privilege subjects while simultaneously excluding those who fall outside constructed norms. Specifically, when used as part of postcolonial language, discourse allows the world to be known and represents the connection between power and knowledge. It is commonly used in reference to the relationship between colonizers and the colonized, where the colonizers use discourse as an exercise of power over the colonized. Discourse attempts to represent truth by way of power. (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2007)

With respect to international development, postcolonial theory teases out the assumptions that accompany Western 'goodwill'. Postcolonial analysis recognizes that the Third-World/Two-Thirds World is necessary for the supremacy of the First-World/One-Thirds World.¹⁰ Without the Third-World for comparison, the modernity and progress of the West would be irrelevant (McEwan, 2001). Terms such as 'underdeveloped' or 'developing' are framed in comparison and in relation to the 'fully developed', or First-World counterparts, that constitute that which is truth. Hayhurst (2009) notes how partnerships formed for the purpose of international development are often limited to a one-way flow of information from First-World actors to Second and Third-World recipients. Therefore, I deploy a postcolonial approach to my project because it recognizes "that it is impossible to stand outside of dominant discourses such as development," and requires changes to come from within (McEwan, 2009:106).

Colonialism has formed and accentuated discrepancies, not only among nations, but also within nations and between classes and genders (Peterson & Runyan, 2010). Postcolonial feminist theory “seeks to disrupt the power to name, represent and theorize by challenging western arrogance and ethnocentrism and incorporating voices of marginalized people” (McEwan, 2001: 100). The feminist extension of postcolonial theory debunks the myth that the experience of what it means to be a woman is universal, and instead emphasizes understanding the lived experiences of different women in various contexts (McEwan, 2001).

The significant feature of postcolonial theory, whether feminist or otherwise, acknowledges that voice can never be given since the experiences of the writer or the researcher limit full understanding of the subject at hand. McEwan (2001) states one must concede that individual “privileges may have prevented us from gaining certain knowledges” (p.101). Similarly, Mohanty (1988) argues that First-World feminists who choose to write about Third-World women contribute to the “global hegemony of Western scholarship” (p.64); hence writing is never apolitical. Therefore, I will immediately concede that I myself as an Asian-Canadian, middle-class young woman do not understand the lives of women in Liberia, Cameroon, Jordan, China or the Dominican Republic; but rather, have attempted through this research project to better understand how we from the One-Thirds World can learn to work with women from different geographic and social locations.

Mohanty expressed in 1988 that the image of the Third-World woman is associated with assumptions of sexual constraint, ignorance, tradition, religiosity, and victimization; “in contrast to the self-representation of western women as

educated, modern, as having control over their own bodies and sexualities, and the 'freedom' to make their own decisions" (p.65). Projects aimed at saving helpless Third-World women from the talons of underdevelopment can reinforce Western supremacy and arrogance (Hayhurst et al., 2011). The interest in improving the lives of women in Two-Thirds World has generated the idea that to be developed is to have economic agency (Mohanty, 1988). Postcolonial feminism contends that women's experiences, although bound together by the sociological concept of gender, are not homogeneous in nature (Mohanty, 1988).

Postcolonial analysis has directed my research project to ask questions inspired by Hayhurst's (2009) application of Slater and Bell's (2002) analysis of documents as enunciations of power. Thus, I pose questions such as: (1) who controls knowledge production? (e.g. UNESCO as a major development agency); (2) what is their social location? (e.g. where are UNESCO and the WTA Tour placed as organizations in the intersectional map of race, class, gender, nationality?, etc.); (3) who becomes empowered through UNESCO-WTA Tour programming and who becomes marginalized?; (4) who is positioned to gain the most benefit from UNESCO-WTA Tour programming? Using a postcolonial feminist lens enables my research to address the remnants of colonization embedded within One-Third World knowledge production, research and international relations (Hayhurst et al., 2011). To further comprehend the discourses and power relations involved in gender equity, I now delve into Edward Said's theory of Orientalism as it relates to development work and its feminist extensions.

Orientalism

The formation of universal humanism's ideal is predicated upon a racist gesture, for, in order to be able to proclaim its humanity, the West needed to create its others as slaves and monsters. (Sartre, as cited in Yegenoglu, 1998: 95)

Edward Said (1978) describes the theory of Orientalism as the “generic term...employed to describe the Western approach to the Orient; Orientalism is the discipline by which the Orient was (and is) approached systematically, as a topic of learning, discovery, and practice” (p.73). Through the concept of Orientalism, West and East become divided with the West as powerful and all knowing, and the East as defeated and backwards (Said, 1978). Europe's conquering of Asia allows Europe to “articulate the Orient” and create, give life, animate and constitute the unknown. Said applies Michel Foucault's theory of knowledge production as power to explain how the Orient (to be used throughout this thesis interchangeably with the term Two-Thirds World or Said's interpretation of Eastern) becomes authorized and dominated by Western constitution. Western strength comes from its ability to be the centre of comparison, while also deflecting any comparison eastwards (Said, 1978).

Said divides Orientalist theory into two streams, latent and manifest. Latent Orientalism is derived from the unconscious, remains relatively unchanged and is consequently unmenacing. Manifest Orientalism, on the other hand, *describes* Western knowledge of the Orient. Manifest Orientalism allows the Orient to become construed as backwards, degenerate, uncivilized and unequal. Orientals become

less than people through Western eyes; they are not looked at but looked through and become a perpetual problem to be solved (Said, 1978). Language becomes truth as Western 'knowledge' about the Orient is disseminated and the Orient becomes constituted by the knower (Said, 1978). Truth no longer comes from the material itself, rather it gains meaning through learned judgment (Lewis, 1996). Said (1978) describes Europe's articulation of the Orient/Asia not as a "puppet master, but of a genuine creator whose life-giving power represents, animates, constitutes the otherwise silent and dangerous space beyond familiar boundaries" (p.57). Orientalism denies autonomy to that which is marked different or novel, therefore forcing 'primitive' societies to derive their own identities negatively; it is "an exercise in cultural strength" (p.42). Some critics of Orientalism argue that, in Said's quest to challenge the binary between East and West, he actually reinforces and reifies the binary by privileging the voice of the Occident over that of the Orient (to be discussed more in Chapter 7). Moreover, some have criticized the masculinist nature of Orientalism (Lewis, 1996; Yegenoglu, 1998), which even Said eventually recognized in his subsequent publication *Culture and Imperialism*. Yegenoglu (1998) takes issue with Said's neglect to understand the significant ways in which Orientalist discourse is structured around Oriental women and sexuality. Additionally, Lewis (1996) highlights how Said's only mentions of gender in *Orientalism* are in reference to the Orient as a feminine entity. Said gives little credence to the way in which women were, and are, also producers of Orientalist discourse (Lewis, 1996).

Orientalism has grown and been appropriated by many different disciplines since its inception, feminist theory being one of them. In *Colonial Fantasies*, Meyda Yegenoglu unpacks the perception of the veiled Oriental woman and how she becomes a product of knowledge. Again using Foucault's theory of knowledge as power, Yegenoglu (1998) argues that "with modernity comes a new form of institutional power which is based on visibility and transparency and which refuses to tolerate areas of darkness" (p. 40). These "areas of darkness" refer to Oriental women, as the common image of the veiled woman rendering the Western gaze ineffective. The Oriental woman becomes an enigma that poses a threat to Western hegemony because "the veiled woman can see without being seen" (Yegenoglu, 1998: 43).

Western feminists have taken it upon themselves to 'unveil' Oriental women with the hopes that through the modernization of Oriental women the transformation of the Orient itself will follow (Yegenoglu, 1998). Gayatri Spivak (1999) explains this exercise as "the capitalist [woman] saving the female subaltern" (p.386). The common assumption by Western feminists is that women from the Two-Thirds World merely lack freedom of choice, therefore if provided with ample opportunities for freedom of expression they too can become empowered, modern women (Yegenoglu, 1998).

The theory of feminist Orientalism has enabled my research to question the motives behind the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership. Is this CSR partnership an example of a modernizing project whereby the WTA players as "modern-day superheroes" (WTA Tour, 2009c) are promoted for their ability to overcome

challenges and have high aspirations? When the WTA refers to its players as modern-day superheroes it implies that the women they are trying to empower are traditional, lack the fortitude to be successful and have limited aspirations. The lives of women in the One-Thirds World are the comparative measure used against all women to define success, achievement and modernity. In order for Western women to emphasize their emancipation, the Oriental woman must be devalued during the process of empowerment. (Yegenoglu, 1998)

The continual measurement of all women westward is another example of how tension is created between West and East, or One-Thirds and Two-Thirds Worlds and only acts as a barrier to equity. The “unequivocal acceptance of Western feminists’ lives and achievements” is seen “as democratic, advanced, emancipated, in short as the norm” and represented as “the highest achievement of humanity” (Yegenoglu, 1998: 101). The Third-World woman has become “caught between tradition and modernization” (Spivak, 1988: 306). This is what Said (1978) termed “ontological and epistemological distinction;” (p.2) whereby the East becomes identified by the absence of the Western markers. The fully matured and developed woman is educated, Western, unveiled and feminine. The undeveloped woman is characterized by the absence of the aforementioned markers; she holds back the maturing of her entire country because she is the ground upon which national identity is constructed (Yegenoglu, 1998). Orientalism has provoked my research to question the goodwill behind the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership gender equality initiatives. It has enabled me to determine what systems of knowledge and oppression are being (re)produced by this CSR partnership, and the

assumptions that accompany the want for such development initiatives. The theoretical approaches of postcolonialism and Orientalism offer compelling entry points into qualitative research.

Qualitative Methodology

Qualitative research seeks to understand the essence and ambience of a subject by referring to the “meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and the descriptions of things” (Berg, 2009: 3). The qualitative researcher can be compared to a bricoleur, or quilt maker, since both use a multitude of methods, strategies and materials to create a complete work (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Research is power and it has the ability to serve as a metaphor for truth (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Denzin and Lincoln (2000) explain that “qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world;” (as quoted in Andrews, Mason & Silk, 2005: 5) thereby, allowing researchers to interpret the meanings associated with certain phenomena. Yet, it is also a form of European imperialism and colonialism (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), which “remains a powerful remembered history for many of the world’s colonized people” (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:1). For Said (1978), research constitutes another manifestation of Orientalism whereby statements can be made about the Orient, which authorize, describe and rule over it. Therefore, we must be cognizant that for those being studied, the act of research can stir up feelings of mistrust, anger, and exploitation because often it is an arrogant Western assumption to think that all that can, and needs to, be known can occur through momentary encounters with the Other (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

Postcolonial Methodology

I have deployed postcolonial methodology to interpret the questions of identity (e.g., race, class, sexuality, gender), power and language (Edgar & Sedgewick, 1999) that arise from my research of the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership. Under the umbrella of postmodern research, postcolonial theory encompasses the “range of perspectives on the social processes of decolonization and its aftermath” (Hay, 2003:16). By the 1930’s, almost 85% of the globe was under European domination (McEwan, 2009), the effects of which continue to be lived and understood. Postcolonial analysis encourages the dismantling of dichotomous categories that have come to be accepted as ‘normal’ (McEwan, 2001).

A fundamental theme within postcolonial methodology is the crisis of representation (Bale & Cronin, 2003; Peterson & Runyan, 2010). This crisis, as explained by Peterson and Runyan (2010), refers to the inequities of representation within institutions of power, NGOs and society, whereby the few propose solutions for the many. Through these representations, the few commonly frame the Other in essentialized terms (e.g., Third-World women, victims) (Peterson & Runyan, 2010). Furthermore, Hall (2000) explains representation as the “production of the meaning and concepts in our minds through language” (p.17). Representation can be further broken down into the systems of mental representation and language (Hall, 2000). Mental representations are the concepts, classifications and relations between objects, people and events as we understand them, and language is the medium used in the construction of meaning (Hall, 2000). The process of linking meaning, signs and language is understood as representation (Hall, 2000). Traditionally,

language has been accepted as transparent representation; however, it is now recognized that representation does not result in an exact replica of the original subject, but becomes constructed by the observer or researcher (Bale & Cronin, 2003). I use postcolonial methodology to critique the representation of CSR and international development, gender equality initiatives and female athletes as role models. Postcolonial theory challenges the universalist assumptions that give initiatives such as the UNESCO-WTA partnership authority. Since much research has focused on the colonizing aspects of development, I have extended these critiques to CSR programs and their effects as tools for international development. My analysis has attempted to answer questions such as: What kinds of knowledge and discursive practices are (re)produced by CSR? Do gender equality initiatives carry colonizing agendas? What value do role models bring to development initiatives if these individuals exemplify colonized ideals?

Intersectional Methodology

“Heralded as one of the most important contributions to feminist scholarship” (p.67), intersectionality uncovers the power relations that result from the interlocking of identities (e.g., race and gender), institutional systems and cultural ideologies (Davis, 2008). McClintock (1995) argues that in order for one to understand colonialism and postcolonialism, one must acknowledge that issues of race, gender and class are not experienced within distinct silos, rather “come into existence in and through contradictory and conflictual relations to each other” (as cited in Brah & Phoenix, 2004). Intersectionality attempts to capture the inequalities created by

multiple forms of subordination, oppression or discrimination (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Nira Yuval-Davis (2006) explains how the naturalization of certain social divisions (e.g., race, class, ethnicity) commonly becomes homogenized with the assumption that every member of a particular social category shares similar 'natural attributes' (p.199). Intersectional analysis gives credence to the fact that "without a range of perspectives from varying social locations, proposed solutions by the few can do more harm than good" (Peterson & Runyan, 2010: 5). Thus, since gender is a social construct of power relations, it is important to debunk the concepts of the 'universal' man and woman.

Peterson and Runyan (2010) explain that the notions of masculinity and femininity are often viewed as zero-sum equations, whereby to be less feminine is to be more masculine and vice versa. Our gender affects not only how we experience the world, but also how the world interprets our existence (Peterson & Runyan, 2010). Much like how the First-World comes to know itself through opposition to the Third-World, men and women come to know themselves as the opposite of the other.¹¹ Moreover, gender becomes "created and fragmented by race" and therefore is "inextricably linked to one's personal identity and social status" (Higginbotham, as quoted in Douglas, 2002: 5).

Moreover, our personal "loyalties, interests, and opportunities are affected by intersecting and cross-cutting gender, race, class, national, and sexual identities" (Peterson & Runyan, 2010: 7). Peterson and Runyan have broken down the intersectional analysis of gender into four premises. The first of these principles is that human identities are multi-faceted. Race, class, gender, ethnicity, age, able-

ness, appearance and nationality are all interlocking components of a singular identity. Race cannot be divorced from gender, age cannot be experienced separately from able-ness and ethnicity cannot be divided from nationality. All of these identities are lived simultaneously in interlocking fashions. Therefore when the Director General of UNESCO, Koïchiro Matsuura, states that the women of the WTA Tour serve “as role models and leaders for women and girls around the world” (Racquet Sports Industry, 2009) and act as inspiration to women everywhere, this assertion is based on the assumption that women are, to apply Peterson & Runyan (2010), a homogeneous group able to be represented by a few. By addressing the differences among women, intersectional analysis illuminates the various social positions that women inhabit everyday and the power relations negotiated by these positions (Davis, 2008).

The methodological framework of intersectionality has enabled me to assess how race, sexuality, class and other identities are situated against or with gender, while also questioning *which* women are privileged and/or oppressed by the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership. As discussed in Chapter 2, gender equality has little to do with gender as a singular entity, but more so as one component within a breadth of identity markers. Unfortunately, the widely accepted concept of gender mainstreaming, which is used in this partnership, attempts to equalize gender disparities without accounting for the intersectional nature of gender.

Gender mainstreaming promotes the idea that both men and women are responsible for the creation of gender equality (Baines, 2009). Conversely, Baines (2009) finds three inherent problems with the concept of gender mainstreaming.

Firstly, gender equality, by way of gender mainstreaming, is still understood as a lack of opportunities and representation within policies and/or procedures for women, when in fact gender inequity is a result of gendered organizational cultures that innately privilege men. Secondly, she argues that from her research, gender mainstreaming can become a tedious process of documenting gender performance measured against technical indicators to be used in reports, which may belittle the lived experiences of women by turning them into statistics. Enhancements of gender experiences cannot necessarily be quantitatively measured, which can result in overlooking intangible gains of women's experiences. Lastly, Baines clarifies that organizations promoting gender mainstreaming as an activity separate from race, class, and sexuality create a "mask for organizational policies that [exacerbate] gender injustice and the re-establishment of unequal relations" (p.141).

In addition to the critiques provided by Baines, it should be noted that the concepts of gender mainstreaming and gender equality are predicated on the sole existence of two genders and that equality with men is the end goal (Hankivsky, 2005). Despite gender being socially constructed and accepted as the categories of male and female, scholars such as Fausto-Sterling (2002) argue that "biologically speaking, there are many gradations running from female to male" (p.468), which greatly complicates the notion of gender equity and its material implications. Furthermore, equality with men within the confines of a historically patriarchal society merely results in increased space within a system built for the success of men. In order for gender equality to occur, if such a concept is conceivable, a complete restructuring of social systems that takes into account multiple factors of

privilege and oppression and individual needs would be necessary. The aforementioned points are salient for my research project because they question the manner in which the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership promotes the empowerment of women, and the way in which it understands the role of gender within identity.

Saavedra (2005) argues, “equal opportunities, if they can be achieved, do not necessarily result in equal outcomes” (p.2). Cheryl Odum-Johnson (1991) posits that development and gender equality are “not just about equal opportunity between men and women, but the creation of opportunity itself; not only the position of women in society, but the position of the societies in which the Third World women find themselves” (p.320). We need to understand how gender operates within communities, and be prepared to accept varied meanings of gender within a community (Saavedra, 2005). Intersectional analysis enables us to see that the use of gender mainstreaming by the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership may in fact reproduce systems of gender inequity. Intersectionality poses questions for my research such as: Is gender equality attainable? How are the programs supported by the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership supposed to bring about gender equality? Can gender be both an oppressive and liberating identity? For which women are these programs empowering/disempowering? Deploying postcolonial analysis in tandem with intersectionality has provided my research project with a strong critical base from which to question the motivations and representations of the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership.

Method: Textual Analysis

McKee (2003) explains textual analysis as a method of gathering information enabling researchers to “understand the ways in which members of various cultures and subcultures make sense of who they are and of how they fit into the world in which they live” (p.1). A text is understood as anything we derive meaning from (e.g., book, television show, advertisement, song etc.) (McKee, 2003). Texts have the ability to change beliefs, attitudes, and values (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough (2003) warns that no textual analysis can be definitive or conclusive because to completely understand a text is impossible. He also explains that textual analysis is inherently selective and partial because each researcher chooses to ask certain questions and forgo others based on individual motivations. Textual analysis by itself is insufficient since each text is a reflection of specific time periods, ideologies and systems etc. (Fairclough, 2003). Therefore, I attempt to position my research texts within larger political, economic and social macro-analyses.

Within the scope of textual analysis lies critical discourse analysis, which “[investigates] and [addresses] social problems by examining the *ideological workings* of discourse (Liao & Markula, 2009: 31, original emphasis). Foucault’s concept of discourse can be explained as both a constrictive and constitutive practice that facilitates writing, speaking and thinking (Hook, 2001). Discursive practices set-up boundaries of thought that limit and impede individual ability to think outside of dominant discourses. Discourse can be used as an instrument of power and can also be an effect of power (Hook, 2001). Therefore, to analyze discourse is to analyze specific relations of power and/or knowledge (Mills, 1997). Sara Mills (1997) warns that because people actively engage in discourses to create particular

identities, they can never be approached at face value. Therefore, to analyze discourse means to critique both what is constituted and what is absent (Mills, 1997).

Critical discourse analysis was implemented to interpret and unpack the narratives found within press releases, articles, reports and print advertisements related to the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership. Most of the data was easily retrievable from the Internet, whereas, some information such as the Program Implementation Plans (PIPs) were supplied from a key-informant at the WTA Tour. The majority of narratives used for analysis were taken from WTA Tour and/or UNESCO press releases.

Fairclough's three-dimensional model for CDA involves: analyzing the contents of a communication event (e.g. UNESCO/WTA press releases); analyzing the "processes of production, circulation and consumption of discourses or intertextuality" (e.g., circulation via what method – internet, television etc.); and finally, locating the connection points between the communication event and hegemonic ideologies (Liao & Markula, 2009:33). My research project focuses heavily on analyzing the contents of communication events as well as the points of intersection between partnership content and dominant discourses. I chose to forgo evaluating the production and consumption of UNESCO-WTA Tour discourses because I believe it would be worthy of a thesis project unto itself, and therefore, would not be done justice within the confines of this Master's of Science project. Another layer of CDA involves intertextual analysis, which questions what other texts

are necessary to understand a particular text, as well as the social and cultural meaning and articulation of those texts (Matheson, 2005).

Intertextuality can range from quotations found within texts to the unwritten assumptions that draw from the larger world of texts (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough (2003) states “[w]hat is ‘said’ in a text is ‘said’ against a background of what is ‘unsaid’, but taken as a given” (p.40). Moreover, linking what is found in-text (whether overt or inferred) to what has been written elsewhere refers to the intertextuality, or the discursive connections, of a text (Liao & Markula, 2009). Fairclough distinguishes two forms of intertextuality as manifest and constitutive intertextuality or interdiscursivity. Manifest intertextuality refers to overt usage of other texts within texts, such as quotations. Interdiscursivity, on the other hand, is a subtler form of intertextuality that concentrates on the meanings imbued within the texts. An example of interdiscursivity as applied to print advertisements would be the camera angles used and clothing worn by models, which in combination hint at larger discourses (i.e., heterosexuality, inferiority, status) (Liao & Markula, 2009).

Textual analysis has enabled me to unpack the meanings, both overt and implied, within UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership texts thus providing insight into the motivations and representations of this CSR partnership. Said (1978) argues that within and through the narratives of texts lies the

power of men...the tendency of institutions and actualities to change...above all, it asserts that the domination of reality by vision is no more than a will to power, a will to truth and interpretation and not an objective condition of history. (p.240)

Textual analysis also enabled me to place these texts within larger macro-discourses and interpret the cultural, social, political and economic leanings of this CSR partnership and possibly CSR in general. CDA aids my project in exposing the hegemonic ideologies within the texts of CSR, international development, gender equality and women's professional sport.

The method of textual analysis compliments the methodology of intersectionality because each seeks to expand beyond the scope of the immediate data. One text is an amalgamation of other previous texts, just as one identity represents a compilation of sub-identities. Moreover, a discourse is also intertextual in nature, in that it is formed from multiple axes of hegemonic power (e.g. the discourse of masculinity stems from socially constructed gender norms, discourses of biology, and media representations). Thus, to understand how CSR is represented as a tool for social change textual analysis and intersectionality work in tandem to unpack representation at both the level of communication (i.e. texts) and the individual (i.e. identity).

Reflexivity and Positionality

Research, especially within the social sciences, involves more than a reporting of facts (Schwartz & Jacobs, 1979). "All scholarship is partial" (King, 2005:28), which places a greater emphasis on the positionality of researchers and the power relations that accompany research (McEwan, 2001). Duncan and Sharp (1993) argue research "requires a continual and radical undermining of the ground upon which one has chosen to stand, including, at times the questioning of one's

own political stance” (as cited in McEwan, 2001:101). It is important to situate knowledge within a realm of specificity to avoid making grand universal claims (Rose, 1997). Specifically speaking, Western academics must acknowledge that their positions are relatively inaccessible to most others, and be aware of the power that may accompany this privilege (Rose, 1997).

I admit that as an Asian-Canadian, middle-class, female graduate student I have grown-up accepting the rhetoric that many institutions including the WTA Tour continue to perpetuate – there are no glass ceilings for women, athletes are exemplary role models for youth, and increasing opportunities for women is the solution to gender inequality. The process of un-learning, re-learning and questioning has been challenging. Thus, shifting from a proponent for the issues of CSR, international development, gender equality and professional sport to a researcher inhabiting a critical stance has been a crucial and yet, at times, difficult task. My intention is not to disrespect the efforts of UNESCO and the WTA Tour, but to advocate for increased focus on social justice and the power relations that make CSR necessary.

In order to maintain reflexivity throughout my research, I have referred to the following questions posed by Nagar & Geiger (2007): (1) How can I produce knowledge across multiple divides (i.e., power/difference axes, geographical/institutional locations) in manners that avoid reinscribing the interests of the privileged? and, (2) “[H]ow can the *production* of knowledge be tied explicitly to a material politics of social change favoring less privileged communities and places?” (p.2, original emphasis). I have aimed to produce knowledge capable of

crossing multiple divides through the use of intersectional analysis. By highlighting and unpacking dominant discourses, I have attempted to expose the interests of the privileged with the hopes that enhanced understanding can bring about changes to the status quo. My purpose has been to produce knowledge that will lead to tangible changes in the way that CSR is enacted and promoted, therefore, making CSR managers more accountable for their actions and to their beneficiaries. Although my research does not focus specifically on the material lives of those less privileged, I have attempted to use my position within the 'privileged' One-Third World to highlight the harm that commonly accompanies our assumptions about those in the Two-Thirds World. Thus, I have approached my research as a point of entry for privileging the material conditions of those in the Two-Thirds World over the interests of those in the One-Thirds World.

Strengths & Limitations

As a research method, textual analysis enables the researcher much freedom because it is cost-effective and an unobtrusive method of gaining insight into a situation. It is also extremely relevant because texts are everywhere, allowing the discourses they carry to seamlessly infiltrate society. Interdiscursive analysis is a powerful tool that facilitates textual analysis to be appropriately situated within its social analysis (Fairclough, 2004). On the other hand, textual analysis is open to much interpretation and each account only offers one perspective on the discursive practices in question.

This research project privileges gender over other identity markers such as race, class, sexuality, age, nationality and able-ness. Although, these other identities are mentioned throughout my project, gender certainly takes priority because it is the focus of the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership. My intention is not to represent gender as the defining feature of identity; rather I intend to do the opposite, and demonstrate how gender issues may be compounded by other overlooked intersecting identities. I seek to expose how complicated gender initiatives can be and how dealing with gender as a single issue may lead to ineffective and/or superficial outcomes.

Chapter Summary

Using postcolonial theory enables me to deconstruct the dichotomous structures that have become naturalized within Western discourses such as developed/undeveloped, man/woman, white/non-white. Postcolonial feminism challenges the notion of universal womanhood and questions the assumptions that are commonly associated with gender equality and development initiatives. Also discussed, was the relevance of Orientalism as a theoretical lens to interpret the power relations involved in knowledge (re)production. Orientalism questions the use of the One-Thirds World as a comparative measure for success, achievement and modernity.

Two qualitative methodologies will be deployed throughout this research project. Postcolonial methodology, much like the theory, challenges the representations of identity, power and language. Intersectionality analyzes the

interlocking of identities such as race, gender and class in an attempt to understand and change the inequities created by multiple forms of oppression. Together, these two methodologies dispute the assumptions associated with identities, particularly the homogeneous experience of gender, in an attempt to highlight the multi-faceted nature of the human identity.

Textual analysis, specifically critical discourse analysis, will be used for data analysis. The main purpose of critical discourse analysis is to locate the connection points between the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership's communication events (e.g. press releases) and larger hegemonic ideologies. Intertextuality, similar to how intersectionality illuminates the weaving of identities, will enable me to better understand the interlocking of texts that (re)produce dominant discourses. I acknowledge that research is a situated activity and recognize the importance of producing knowledge that avoids reinscribing the interests of the privileged.

Chapter 4

Court Etiquette: Exploring the Intersectionality of Gender Equality

This chapter analyzes the narratives created by the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership. The data used for analysis includes online press releases, articles, and reports published by UNESCO and other UN agencies. Through the use of critical discourse analysis, I unpack how both UNESCO and the WTA Tour represent gender equality as a relational measurement to the status of men, and also how their representation of gender equality reproduces discourses of universalism and modernity. This partnership stems from a long line of development declarations that privilege equality over equity, which lose sight of the processes necessary to create equality. The reproduction of a binary logic is expressed throughout partnership documents such as man or woman, black or white, Occident or Orient. Ultimately, the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership fails to address the structural boundaries associated with current notions of gender equity.

Playing From a Set Behind – Discourses of Gender Equality

The two most dominant narratives I found throughout UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership material are the ideas that gender equality is achieved when women are treated the same as men and that gender inequality is a result of high barriers to participation and/or lack of opportunities. CEO of the WTA Tour, Stacey Allaster asserts, “woman deserve the same possibilities as men,” (WTA Tour, 2009c), and President of the WTA Tour, David Shoemaker states “women should be treated the same as men” (WTA Tour, 2007b). When asked to comment on the significance of

the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership, WTA player, Marion Bartoli proclaimed that women should be treated equally to men in every aspect of life (On Tennis, 2007). Furthermore, in a 2008 UNESCO roundtable on gender equality, Secretary-General Koïchiro Matsuura highlighted the fact that UNESCO is one of the few agencies to boast gender parity among their professional staff, and aims to have 50% female representation by the year 2015. Perhaps the most obvious statement made by the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership that its understanding and representation of gender equality is women being equal to men is illustrated in a print advertisement that shows the symbols for male and female inside two tennis balls separated by an equal sign.¹² These statements demonstrate that at every level of involvement this partnership is premised upon the assumption and reproduction of men as the normative gender while women continue to battle on the outside of what is considered 'normal' (Stevenson, 2002). To borrow from Kane & Lenskyj (1998), I argue that female athletes are normalized as inferior and "less authentic versions" of male athletes when they fail to attain similar levels of athletic achievement.

According to the WTA Tour, this partnership was founded on the Tour's history of fighting for equality with its most notable gains coming under equal prize money (WTA Tour 2007a). The victory for women, with regard to equal prize money, at certain combined events and the Grand Slams is no doubt a significant achievement for women in sport, but it also reinforces the social construction that men set the expectation and women simply follow suit.¹³ Women's tennis has challenged gender equality within the sphere of men's tennis, yet has not de-centred men's tennis as the norm for tennis as a sport. Female players, as discussed in the

literature review, continue to receive a disproportionate amount of attention paid to their physical appearances and personal lives, which trivializes the talent of the WTA players for marketing purposes.¹⁴

It seems pertinent at this point to discuss the debate between equality and equity, both as terminology and as strategies. Equity, as described by the World Health Organization, relates to unnecessary and unfair inequalities; “[t]hus while equality is an empirical concept, equity constitutes an ethical imperative associated with principles of justice and human rights” (cited in Facio & Morgan, 2009). Equity, as a form of social justice, is premised upon social cooperation (Harvey, 2009), which allows all members of society to contribute fully (Miller, 1999).¹⁵ By extension, gender equity aims to provide the necessary resources and opportunities in a manner that understands the cultural context in which it is applied (Meier, 2005). It does not require that every person is treated the same, but rather is treated fairly considering their individual circumstances (Council of the Department of Athletics and Recreation, 1994; International Working Group on Women in Sport, 2002).

Conversely, Facio and Morgan (2009) argue that equality is directly connected to human rights and CEDAW, and therefore carries legislative weight through government obligation. They feel equity is subjective and illusive, thereby providing governments with an excuse when equality mandates are not met. Facio and Morgan (2009) explicitly argue that gender equality is commonly mistaken for identical treatment with men. In response, they suggest equality should be “whatever treatment enhances the enjoyment by both sexes of all human rights”

(p.22). Yet, this logic appears to be the same critique they have of equity, that it is immeasurable and highly variable.

Facio and Morgan (2009) also observe that Islamic groups, the Vatican and Latin American Catholics were the first groups to propose the use of equity rather than equality at the 1995 *World Conference on Women* in Beijing. Using the argument that these groups have historically never shown much value for women, Facio and Morgan challenge their respect for women's rights. Facio and Morgan (2009) believe that substituting equity for equality is a dangerous proposition and that only equality demands equal right to *all* rights.

I contend that Facio and Morgan's stance on equality is partly based on semantics since they commonly define their version of equality very similarly to the definition of equity. They also racialize certain religions through the privileging of gender equality as a human right over the human rights of freedom of thought and expression. Moreover, they associate equity with conservatism, therefore canceling the potentially transformative power of equitable treatment and limiting equality to a comparative norm devoid of content (Otto, 1996). Understandably, equality may carry more legal power because it has been chosen as the language of the UN and most of its agencies; however, equality cannot exist in the absence of equity. Development discourse and gender mainstreaming, which will be unpacked in depth in Chapter 6, afford too much focus to the measurable outcome of gender equality, and hence lose sight of the processes necessary to create the desired objective. As Catherine MacKinnon (1990) argues, the common misconception is that the application of equality is equivalent to the achievement of equality, and inequality is

understood as the lack of application; but rarely is the concept of equality ever questioned. I believe psychologist and author Timothy Leary expressed it best when he said “[w]omen who seek to be equal with men lack ambition.” Through this statement I aim not to essentialize or universalize men, but instead to acknowledge that equity and equality must become more than a matching game and we must question the goal of equality itself.

The WTA Tour also asserts that gender inequality stems from a lack of ‘real’ opportunities for women and girls, supposedly worldwide, and that these barriers must be overcome in order for gender equality to be achieved. The notion that increased opportunities will reduce inequality is demonstrated by Billie Jean King. Upon receiving the title – ‘Global Mentor for Gender Equality’ she said “[t]here is so much work still to be done when it comes to breaking down barriers to opportunity for women and girls throughout the world, and one of the most effective things we can do is combine our resources, energies and expertise” (Women’s Sports Foundation, 2008). Yet, as will be discussed throughout these remaining chapters, resources, energy, and expertise do little to affect social change when guided by inappropriate discourses of equality, gender and development. Furthermore, when Zheng Jie from China was selected as a Promoter of Gender Equality (PGE) she expressed her excitement to help young girls around the world gain better opportunities for success (WTA Tour, 2007b), thus also showing her support for the assumed value of opportunities. The programs selected for UNESCO-WTA Tour support were based on each program’s ability to create *real opportunities* for women and girls to assume leadership roles (WTA Tour, 2007a). As for what is meant by

‘real’ I can only speculate that UNESCO and the WTA Tour feel the opportunities they have created will result in gender equality in the chosen areas.

Postcolonial feminism questions the value of increased opportunities for women within a world created for and by men, specifically white heterosexual men as the accepted norm (Hubbard, 2008; McIntosh, 2007; Peterson & Runyan, 2010) or “pre-defined standard” (Talbot, 1988). The point is not to enable women to do whatever men have already done, but to question the existing structures and consequences of patriarchal societies (Talbot, 1988). Increasing opportunities and reducing barriers may facilitate participation for women, but it fails to address how women’s programs/interests/concerns/positions are commonly add-on considerations by male dominated institutions as observed by scholars such as Einhorn (2005), Kelly (2003), Stromquist (1996), and Walker (2003). For example, the United States’ *Title IX* education amendments of 1972 are best known for increasing sporting opportunities for females in high school and collegiate athletics (O’Reilly & Cahn, 2007). *Title IX* provides an instructive example of how creating an influx of women and girls into sporting activities, though a momentous achievement in equity, also exacerbates the gender divide by further naturalizing the division between men and women (Dworkin & Messner, 2002). *Title IX* not only created a situation of separate but equal, by reifying the differences between men’s sports and women’s sports, but also created a racial divide by failing to challenge the privilege afforded to middle and upper class white women (Cooky & McDonald, 2005). Hence, equal prize money for the WTA Tour symbolizes a separation of gender but equality in status for those women privileged enough to reach the top of the game.

In addition to the discussion of 'naturalized' genders, questioning the naturalization of 'whiteness' as representative of the normative race is also important. Both the social construction of gender and race inform how we as individuals and groups view the world, and our perceptions of how the world views us (James, 1994). Therefore our behaviour is a culmination of, not only our experiences, but also our social education about how certain genders and races come to be valued or devalued by society (James, 1994). Postcolonial feminist analysis raises the question, for which women are these 'opportunities' afforded? (McEwan, 2001; Otto, 1996). Frankenburg (1993) explains the concept of whiteness as the opposite to any other race, where it is never a subordinate, marginalized or disadvantaged, and is fundamentally dominant, normal and privileged. Among the top ten ranked female tennis players, the countries represented at the end of 2010 were Russia, Denmark, Belarus, Serbia, Italy, Australia and the United States (WTA Tour, 2010e). These seven countries are culturally and ethnically very different, but racially speaking are predominantly White nations. Paradoxically, the only two Americans in the top ten, at the end of 2010, were both African Americans (and sisters) – Venus and Serena Williams. The Williams sisters in this case are an overrepresentation of racialized women because they are also the only two African American women in the top 100 players. Dyer (1997) argues as long as whiteness remains the unquestioned norm, whites will be understood as people and non-Whites will be categorized by race. We must begin to challenge the unearned privileges that accompany whiteness (Long & Hylton, 2002) and focus more

attention to the power relations and hierarchies created from its reproduction (Darnell, 2007).

The success of Venus Williams, as both a woman and an African American, has become a symbol for tennis' denial that acts as a barrier in sport. As an African American former #1 player, multiple Grand Slam Champion and member of the WTA Player Council, Venus Williams would seem an obvious choice as the inaugural PGE for this partnership (Venus Williams, n.d.). Williams is not only a professional athlete, she is what the American dream was built upon. Her father, Richard Williams, coached both Venus and Serena from the concrete courts of Compton, California all the way to global stardom on the professional tour (Spencer, 2001:91). In Williams' spare time she has started an interior design company, *V Starr Interiors*, as well as a clothing line called *e/eVen* (the largest line ever launched by a female athlete), and wrote a book titled *Come to Win* (Venus Williams, n.d.). Williams is a spokes-model for meritocracy, demonstrated by her ability to climb out of poverty and succeed in a sporting system that is, supposedly, premised on achievement through equitable means and only rewards those who have earned their success (Birrell as cited in Hall, Stack, Smith & Whitson, 1991:44). So long as the Williams sisters stay in women's tennis, the sport will continue perpetuating the rhetoric that it is a "space devoid of racial discrimination" (Douglas, 2002) and a fully integrated sport, consequently using Venus and Serena as a racial alibi for tennis. They are the reflex answer for anyone who chooses to question the social inclusiveness of tennis in the 21st century; unfortunately, they are also the exception.

The erasure of race as an issue in sport has resulted in a contradiction where it only becomes visible in times of success and unacknowledged in times of failure. In America, the acknowledgement of race is often understood as an “obstacle to racial equality” because creating opportunities based on race appears inequitable and as a consequence diminishes the power of meritocracy (Cole & Andrews, 2001:76). Therefore, the total avoidance of race consciousness has led to the rhetoric of colour-blindness. The Williams sisters play into this rhetoric, which argues, “America no longer needs race-conscious affirmative action programs” (Cole & Andrews, 2001:70). Cole and Andrews (2001) posit that Tiger Woods, like other famous African Americans (e.g., Colin Powell, Oprah Winfrey, Michael Jordan etc.) is the embodiment of meritocracy, and the proof of American color-blindness as an effective method for breaking racial barriers (p.78). By extension Venus Williams, much like Tiger Woods, transcends her sport and appeals to sponsors because of her race (Cole & Andrews, 2001:95). Moreover, as Tiger Woods’ emergence and domination has supposedly signified the shattering of golf’s elite country-club status (Cole & Andrews, 2001:83), Williams’ success similarly provides the same illusion for the image of tennis. Therefore, despite the ‘global’ representation promoted by the WTA Tour, upon closer inspection of the 96 nations represented by the WTA, the majority are nations prominent in the One-Thirds World. This suggests that tennis has done little to break away from its white, middle/upper class elite sporting image and maintains the status quo through its denial of race as a barrier to participation.

The concept of equality is an obstacle in itself because it marks a false finish line determined not by those running the race but by those who have ‘completed’ the

race. In an interview with *Maclean's Magazine*, WTA Tour CEO Stacey Allaster acknowledges that structural oppression exists within sports by observing that the institution of sports is male-centered; yet she then explains “you have to learn how to play *their* games in *their* world if you want to succeed” (Fillion, 2010, emphasis added). Her statement concedes that gaining respect and mobility in a *man's* world requires political maneuvers rather than more opportunities and fewer barriers. Just as wealth creation does not necessarily lead to poverty reduction (Gruneau, forthcoming), increased opportunities do not necessarily lead to equitable results. The UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership is in a fight against institutional/structural oppression and their chosen activities do not de-centre the root of the problem, which is a patriarchal society that favours and privileges men and global capitalism. Generali-Linz Tournament director, Sandra Reichel, made an extremely poignant comment that “gender equality doesn’t mean fighting against men ...” and that “women should not feel that they must copy men’s behaviour to achieve success – [women] must be authentic if [they] are to be truly equal” (UNESCO, 2008b). It is a rare instance where this partnership does not chase a male-determined finish line. The male-female, and white-black, binary logic illustrates how the larger discourse of gender equality and international development affects what qualifies as equal and what does not.

The courtesy of equality

The UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership is the product of a long line of international development gender equality initiatives. This partnership is a direct

result of the 2005 *World Summit Outcome*, which declared “progress for women is progress for all.” However, the 2005 *World Summit Outcome* was itself a culmination of previous ‘milestones’ in the evolution of gender equality. The 1979 *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW), the 1985 *Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women*, and the 1995 *Beijing Platform for Action* were all integral documents that have shaped how gender equality is viewed, discussed and implemented. Over the years each of these documents has been implemented in ways that attempted to enhance the experiences of women while educating about the various ways that gender equality has failed to be realized. Where the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership draws its ‘expertise’ and understanding from is a thorough history of development discourse that continues to set men as the norm and tries to play catch up with women. For example, CEDAW’s (United Nations, 2009a) intention was to break down the traditional roles of men and women in order to create gender equality, yet the language used actually reinforces the separation between men and women:

Introduction: The Commission’s work is instrumental in bringing to light all the areas in which women are denied equality with men.

Article 2c: To establish legal protection of the rights of women on equal basis with men...

Article 3: ... for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men.

Article 10: State Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure to them equal rights with men in the field of education...(United Nations, 2009a).

In each of these Articles men have already achieved and realized their human rights, whereas women are merely being afforded the courtesy of equality. The rights of men, more specifically the rights traditionally afforded to white heterosexual Western men, have been normalized as human rights.

In addition, the *Beijing Declaration* (United Nations, 1995) has also had a strong influence on the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership, both at the level of discourse and implementation (to be further discussed in Chapter 6). When the UNESCO-WTA Tour announced its partnership it claimed that it would “further gender equality and promote women’s leadership in *all spheres of society*” (WTA Tour, 2006, emphasis added), which is rhetoric directly extracted from the *Beijing Declaration*:

women’s empowerment and their full participation on the basis of equality in *all spheres of society*, including participation in the decision-making process and access to power, are fundamental for the achievement of equality, development and peace. (United Nations, 1995, emphasis added)

Furthermore, the *Beijing Declaration* dedicated itself to enhancing women’s access to resources, information, training and markets with the goal of empowerment and advancement of the female gender. Both CEDAW and the *Beijing Declaration* acknowledge the importance of having women in leadership and decision-making roles, which is reflected by the programs selected for UNESCO-WTA Tour

partnership support. The process of gender mainstreaming has also been adopted from the 2005 *World Summit Outcome*.

Men, as the norm, do not need to be labeled - they just are; whereas, women's attributes and experiences have become variations on the norm: "we know women only in relation to men" (Hall, 2002:7). Sport continues to be a fundamental institution for the production and reproduction of gender expectations. Therefore, it should not be surprising that what the WTA Tour views as gender equality is attaining 'equal footing' with their male counterparts.

'I'm every woman': Discourses of Universalism

Another dominant narrative that arises from this partnership is the idea of universalism. It mediates assumptions of human rights as shared values and the concept of 'the woman'. Universalism is premised upon the assumption that regardless of geographical, cultural or experiential constraints etc. there are certain irreducible truths for all human life (i.e. Third-World women are oppressed) (Ashcroft et al., 2007). It is a hegemonic view that is imposed upon everyone from the dominant culture. Universalism should not be confused with essentialism, which ascribes defining features to every member of a subgroup such as race or gender (i.e. women are feminine) (Ashcroft et al., 2007). Evidence of universalism in this partnership can be found in narratives such as "gender equality means supporting human rights" (UNESCO, 2008b), and Koïchiro Matsuura, proclaiming that gender equality is "a matter of justice and human rights, and a development imperative of the highest order" (UNESCO, 2008b). These statements assume that gender

equality is a common goal (Women's Sports Foundation, 2008) and that the homogeneity of women is bound together in a notion of 'sameness' under universal oppression (Mohanty, 1988). Mohanty (1995) questions the connection between the cultural and ideological construction of 'Woman' versus the material lives of 'Women', explaining that this discursive homogenization creates a falsely constituted group of subordinated women and reinforces the divisions between men and women.

Human rights are neither universal in nature nor in creation. The *Declaration of Human Rights* is European in origin and was created in a manner that promotes Eurocentric interests (Donnelly, 1998) such as the individual as bearer of rights and duties, Christian values (Matua, 2002) and Western methods of economic development. Jack Donnelly (1998) argues we must acknowledge and address "the ways in which human rights subtly shape national and international political spaces and identities by demanding, justifying or [de-legitimizing] certain practices" (p.22).

Gibney (2003) argues the proliferation of human rights may have more to do with acts of globalization than the ethics themselves (i.e. the moral principles of common good approaches). The expansion of transnational obligations such as economic partnerships or security issues may have weakened the ability of states to ensure that human rights are being upheld (Skogly & Gibney, 2002). Therefore, through an amalgamation of cultures, technology, economics, and security, globalization facilitates the growth of Western/Eurocentric interests under the banner of human rights.

Furthermore, human rights, as they are conveyed in major declarations, tend to privilege individual rights over collective rights, thereby benefiting and perpetuating capitalist systems (Donnelly, 2008; Gibney, 2003; Kidd & Donnelly, 2000). As was discussed earlier, the human right of gender equality can create tension when enforced against the right of religious freedom, which brings about the discussion of cultural relativism (Donnelly, 1998). Donnelly (1984) explains that cultural relativism, as a continuum, holds each individual culture as the decider of what is and is not morally right. Therefore in order to advance global gender equality, the notion of human rights cannibalizes itself in its attempt to promote and protect cultural diversity while concomitantly dictating the way in which that cultural diversity is performed.

The privilege placed on individual rights and enterprise over collective rights and social security leads us into a discussion of global capitalism as a macro-discourse that has trickled down into the ideology underlying the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership. Applying Blowfield's (2005) discussion of how business thinking has infiltrated international development practices to this particular partnership, it becomes evident that this CSR program promotes fundamental capitalist values of profit generation, free trade, private property, commoditization and market systems exemplified by the partnership's desire to integrate women of the Two-Thirds World into the global capitalist system that sustains both UNESCO's and the WTA Tour's existences. These assumptions and values continue to exist as unquestioned universal norms and practices. Much of gender focused development initiatives are premised upon grooming women to assimilate into a market system, and each of the

PGEs is an example of the power behind capitalist meritocracy (Aguilar, 2004; Heywood & Dworkin, 2003; Hopkins, 2002; Riordan, 2001). Paradoxically, it is those that live the ramifications of global capitalism that are also the beneficiaries of the gender initiatives that attempt to usher more women into a globalized economy.

The all-encompassing 'universal woman' is a concept that often arises throughout gender equality promotion. Western feminism produces "third world women' as objects of knowledge" (Ahmed, 2000:165) that can be labeled as 'powerless', 'exploited', and/or 'sexually harassed' for the purposes of Western elevation (Mohanty, 1988). Koïchiro Matsuura's (UNESCO Secretary General) declaration that the women of the WTA Tour serve as role models and inspiration to women worldwide (Racquet Sports Industry, 2009) is based on the assumption that women are a homogeneous group able to be represented by a few (Peterson & Runyan, 2010). The fact that Billie Jean King was named the *Global Mentor for Gender Equality* is, in itself, an arrogant Western assumption that any one individual could represent the interests of women worldwide. King represents Western neoliberal values and ideals such as success, independence and free will; however, these traits are not universally respected to the same degree they are in the One-Thirds World. Furthermore, the selection of King as a "Global Mentor" may prove to be a contentious choice because her sexuality becomes a legal issue in some of the program countries.¹⁶ While the selection of King may seem obvious to the WTA Tour for her tireless fight against gender inequality, her selection could also bring about unintended ramifications for the partnership in countries such as Cameroon (BBC, 2006) and Liberia (UNHCR, 2001) where homosexuality remains illegal and

can result in incarceration, prosecution or excommunication. Hence, the promotion of WTA players as women that have the ability to represent the interests of *all* women is a case in point of the Orientalist underpinnings of this partnership, whereby the West is able to construct and constitute the Other.

Applying intersectional analysis acknowledges that not all aspects of identity confer privilege or create disadvantage, and can in fact work simultaneously in combination or in opposition to each other (Peterson & Runyan, 2010).

Consequently, the PGEs cannot represent a united front for women and girls because each woman experiences privilege and oppression differently. King may be privileged by her race (white) and by her social status, but she is disadvantaged by her gender, sexuality and age. Venus Williams, seven-time Grand Slam champion (WTA Tour, 2011c), faces double oppression as a black woman and yet is privileged by her success as a professional athlete, American nationality, and possibly by her age. However, it is important to note that Venus Williams has maneuvered a double oppression into valuable social and financial capital through her visibility as a successful black woman. Tatiana Golovin, once ranked as high as number 13 in the world (WTA Tour, 2011d), and Vera Zvonareva, two-time Grand Slam finalist (WTA Tour, 2011e), are both privileged by their race (white), age, social status and sexuality while experiencing oppression as women; but by contrast, have very different national identities as French and Russian respectively, which may confer entirely separate sets of privileges and disadvantages. Furthermore, both Golovin and Zvonareva are privileged by their physical appearances as evidenced by their non-tennis related magazine features.¹⁷ Zheng Jie, Olympic doubles bronze

medalist (ESPN, 2008) and two-time doubles Grand Slam champion (WTA Tour, 2011f), is disadvantaged by her gender and race (Chinese), but privileged by her social status and sexuality. These five women, despite all being female tennis players, have had vastly different life experiences. Thus, to suggest these women can understand the plight of women in Liberia, Cameroon, Jordan, China and the Dominican Republic is an example of Western arrogance. Sandra Reichel's comment that "women must be involved in decision-making, so that the entire society is spoken for" (UNESCO, 2008b) demonstrates this partnership's reproduction of the homogenous notion of 'woman' as a universal entity, which says "too little and too much at the same time" (Mohanty, 1988:68). Thus, intersectionality enables us to understand the dangers associated with speaking of women as a singular group and how certain attempts at gender equality may be more harmful than helpful without understanding the multiple axes of oppression and privilege. Ultimately, the discursive practice of sociologically categorizing women as a gender group subordinate to men speaks to a larger discourse of Western feminism, whereby women from the One-Thirds World assume their values and interests can be attributed to women globally.

Global feminism (which I express as the enactment of Western feminism) has created a significant movement, as demonstrated by the number of UN documents focused on gender equality, but the question remains, who has been the driving force behind this movement? As a form of cultural imperialism, global feminism "has elided the diversity of women's agency in favor of a universalized Western model of women's liberation that celebrates individuality and modernity" (Grewal & Kaplan,

1994:17). As globalization increasingly creates a mythically homogenous and connected society, there also exists a strong discourse to establish difference and separate identities (Grewal & Kaplan, 2001). The belief that global gender equality can be achieved is premised upon Western feminism as the standard against which all feminism is measured (Yegenoglu, 1998). Ahmed (2000) describes this behaviour as a “fantasy of proximity” whereby the idea of universal rights are assumed to be close enough to the truth of the other’s well being (p.166).

Universalism, reproduced by global feminism, attempts to perform an erasure of difference (i.e. all women desire the same type of equality) while concurrently establishing difference and distance through cultural relativism (i.e. I cannot speak for you because you are different) (Ahmed, 2000). The act of spreading global feminism presumes a common good for all women and overlooks the perpetuation of neocolonialism and the substitution for masculinism as the unquestioned norm (Yegenoglu, 1998). This becomes exemplified by the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership’s lack of acknowledgement of patriarchal supremacy and its refusal to question the goal of equality determined by pre-existing male achievements. The partnership also performs an erasure of difference when it enthusiastically uses terms such as “all women”, “commonly shared values” and “global role models” to lump women into a singular category.

‘Universalism’ and ‘human rights’ are concepts derived from the larger discourse of international development. Just as colonization held Europeans as the “basis for evaluation and judgments of insufficiency” (Muhlhan, as cited in Kothari, 2006), international development is a discourse dominated by Western organizations

(i.e., the United Nations, the World Bank). The concept of development is “based on the assumption that some people and places are less developed than others” (Parpart, 1995). Development is about the achievement and distribution of power (McEwan, 2001). In the post-colonization era, notions of superiority and inferiority are based upon modern Western markers of ‘development’ such as science, technology, industrialization, democratization and governance, but are “no less racialized than ideas around [the] ‘civilizing mission’ of the past” (Kothari, 2006:12). The ‘civilizing mission’ asserts that Western development is the only way out of poverty (Shrestha, 2002). International development may be the resurrection of the old colonial ‘civilizing mission’ (Shrestha, 2002), while the objective remains the same and the West continues its attempts to transform those deemed inferior into more acceptable beings. The UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership’s attempt to promote gender equality is in actuality a denial of self-governing, which Said (1978) explains as disallowing any Oriental to independently rule himself. I extend this argument by contending that international development, as a construction of Orientalism, further acts as a method of *knowing* what lies beyond our comfortable boundaries, and thus forms a controlled construction of difference.

Designing Women – Discourses of Modernity and Responsibility

The universal Western woman who enjoys a secular and liberated life is predicated on the assumption that Western life is the polar opposite to the life of the ‘average Third-World woman’. WTA Tour press releases and promotional materials perpetuate narratives of the modern woman and her ‘responsibility’ to develop

women less fortunate than herself. Venus Williams claims “as the world’s leading sport for women, [the WTA has] a responsibility to do everything [it] can to help break down barriers to success for women” (WTA Tour, 2006). Meanwhile, the PGEs are promoted for their success as ‘modern women’ - “educated, Westernized, and unveiled but still [retaining] the essential ‘feminine’ virtues” (Yegenoglu, 1998:134): Zheng, for example, is applauded for being China’s first ever Grand Slam champion (WTA Tour, 2010f; WTA Tour, 2007b); Zvonareva is commended for her ability to juggle being both a professional athlete and a student;¹⁸ while former world number one player Venus Williams is praised for her balance of interests.¹⁹ This discursive self-presentation is necessary in the construction of Western ways as normal; however, is not necessarily based in truth (Mohanty, 1988). As emancipated Western feminists that embrace modernity (i.e., exhibited by individuality, belief in human rights, and economic development), the PGEs have been authorized (by the WTA Tour and UNESCO) to speak for women they have never met (Ahmed, 2000). Promoting WTA players as “modern-day superheroes” (WTA Tour, 2009c) reproduces the idea that the difference between West and East is a temporal one, whereby Western progress and time are set as the modern standard (Yegenoglu, 1998). This is problematic because ‘Third-world women’ become analyzed, constituted and solved, thereby becoming frozen in time, space and history (Mohanty, 1988). Women of the Two-Thirds World have come to signify tradition within cultures, thus through gender equality initiatives Western feminism attempts to impose a break from tradition and spark a movement into modernity (Yegenoglu, 1998).

Said (1978) believes the Orient “becomes a living tableau of queerness” (p.103) in opposition to the West. I find the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership an illustration of this ‘queerness’ when it assumes that the lives of women in the Two-Thirds World are contrary to ‘modern’ life and economically counterproductive, and hence rationalize intervention. Western feminists centre themselves as the norm and those from the Two-Thirds World are forced to derive their identities negatively. The players of the WTA Tour are situated as modern, responsible, successful and strong women “committed to the principles of equality and opportunity”, which according to the partnership, creates a “natural fit” between the WTA Tour and UNESCO (WTA Tour, 2009c). Such language insinuates that the women of Liberia, Cameroon, Jordan, China and the Dominican Republic are living contradictions to professional tennis players, hence primitive, irresponsible, unsuccessful, weak and generally abnormal. In its attempt to spread gender equality, the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership treats its beneficiaries as aberrations that are naturally different, but can be integrated into ‘developed’ life through Western guidance.

The UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership uses WTA players as “proof that there can be a positive change for the condition of women” (UNESCO, 2008b), implying that the process of Western feminism can lead to the neoliberal ideals of financial, professional and personal success. When partnership texts espouse that progress for women will benefit everyone (UNESCO, 2008b), and that this partnership facilitates the ability of women to fully contribute to societal advancement (WTA Tour, 2006), then these narratives imply that women as a collective group have been holding back the development of humanity (Yegenoglu, 1998). Indeed, this

partnership contributes to the discursive practice of equating economic progress with general human development (Mohanty, 1988). Gender equality initiatives such as the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership give the illusion that women stand united in a fight against oppression, yet are divided by economics. The assumption that certain women have, thus far, failed to contribute to the status of women worldwide is another form of Orientalism at work. It is assumed that the 'primitive' lives of women in the Two-Thirds World must be altered to better reflect the dominant culture experienced by women in the One-Thirds World. Furthermore, Koïchiro Matsuura emphasizes that, "gender equality is not an outdated, impossible dream, but a goal that can and must be realized in order for us to achieve peace and sustainable development" (WTA Tour, 2007a), which suggests that the subordinate status of women impedes global achievement of larger development goals.

Additionally, narratives such as "to do *our* part to support programs that provide real opportunities for women to succeed in whatever *they* set their minds to" (WTA Tour, 2006, emphasis added) also divides the supposedly unified mission of feminism. '*Our part*' signifies the mobility of the WTA Tour and its players as authorities from the One-Third World who travel across boundaries and name the Other, while 'whatever *they* set their minds to' signals the difference between those who are *becoming* and those who have *become* women and fully participating humans (Ahmed, 2000). Venus Williams' enthusiasm to "help women in need" (WTA Tour, 2007a) demonstrates that she is no longer *a woman in need* and has graduated to a fully participating human in the development of society, evidenced by her ability to juggle a career, entrepreneurial projects and charitable work. Venus

Williams then becomes an Orientalist in her reproduction of Western norms as the measurement of human achievement. Ahmed (2000) explains this discourse as one of potentiality, whereby women, until they fully realize their rights as *human*, are constantly in a state of becoming, “such that they become women and human, at one and the same time” (p.173).

Due to the West’s superiority, it has assumed an authoritative position in which it must guide the Orient out of its primitive state. Gender equality is one of the tasks that will, supposedly, help break the Orient away from tradition and ‘backwardness’. This self-authorized responsibility to help spread gender equality through the denial of autonomy is what Yegenoglu (1998) describes as a way for Western women to “avoid confronting their own oppression at home” (p.106). Spreading gender equality provides a façade of autonomy and freedom for Western women (Yegenoglu, 1988).²⁰ Since the ultimate ‘universal’ is the Western white male and women are automatically relegated to a secondary position, the quest of Western feminism is, in many ways, a projection of the self onto women in the Two-Thirds World and a colonial act of situating the Western woman as the universal norm (Yegenoglu, 1998). Described as a *simulation of sovereign masculine discourse* by Western women, Yegenoglu (1998) asserts that only in the East can the “Western woman...become a full individual” (p.107). The motivation by Western women to claim universality is a result of being “the devalued others of men” (Yegenoglu, 1998:107). Therefore, the desire for the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership to help women from the Two-Thirds World fully partake *in all forms of*

society arguably stems from Western feminism's myth that who *they* are now is who *we* were (Yegenoglu, 1998).

This drive to create 'whole' women is proven in the objectives of the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership through programming that aims to build the capacity of women in the Two-Thirds World in manners that have, arguably, been achieved by successful Western women such as being aware of one's legal rights, being educated and being politically represented. These objectives reproduce the discourse that 'Third-world women' are viewed, in essence, as "ourselves undressed" (Mohanty, 1988), thus vulnerable and primitive. Consequently, knowing about the lives of women in the Two-Thirds World is no longer sufficient, and knowledge turns into action; to borrow from Said (1978), a new declaration of Western power and an exercise of responsibility are assumed through gender equality.

Gender equality, as a method to proliferate modernity and responsibility, stems from Orientalist thought whereby "the West is modern, greater than the sum of its parts, full of enriching contradictions and yet always 'Western' in its cultural identity..." (Said, 1997:10). The Orient, on the other hand, is marked by tradition, religion, and instability. It is unable to define itself, and therefore must either be feared and/or controlled (Said, 1978). This divide allows for Western authority and power (e.g. UNESCO/WTA Tour) to assume its "world responsibility"; a responsibility that has been packaged in the past as the Monroe Doctrine and Manifest Destiny (Said, 1993), and repackaged more recently as international development, corporate social responsibility and globalization. This self-authorized responsibility is heavily

rationalized throughout UNESCO-WTA Tour documents as a duty bestowed upon the WTA Tour because it claims it is the “world’s leading sport for women” and therefore is required “to inspire and encourage young women around the world” (WTA Tour, 2009c). Moreover, Sandra Reichel’s belief that her position as a Western woman from within the male-dominated sports industry positions her well as an advocate for global gender equality (WTA Tour, 2010g), is one of the individual narratives that demonstrates a self-authorized responsibility predicated on the notion that she has overcome male oppression.

This *responsibility* that originated with European imperialism has now become synonymous with American culture and interests. America has ‘manufactured consent’ (Chomsky, 1988) to such an extreme that individual Americans feel “it is up to [Americans] to right the wrongs of the world” (Said, 1993: 286), or as Kiernan states “America loved to think that whatever it wanted was just what the human race wanted” (as quoted in Said, 1993:287). To illustrate, Global Mentor for Gender Equality, Billie Jean King told Sports Illustrated (King, 2010):

Every time I get my name on something or someone gives me an award, that equals responsibility to me. I feel that I am an ambassador for my country, for this world, and for my sport and all other sports...women were so underserved, that that’s where I went. I didn’t have a choice.

King’s comments demonstrate not only ‘manufactured consent’ but also an obligation to other women because of her privilege. Consent is further substantiated by the partnership’s enthusiasm to foster Western/American ideals of success through programming in the Two-Thirds World (WTA Tour, 2008b), which also reifies

these women as passive Oriental recipients of Western benevolence. It is this authority that is evident in CSR partnerships, such as the UNESCO-WTA Tour collaboration, as it continues to perpetuate Western authority and constitute the Other as unchanging and fundamentally different from the West (Said, 1978).

At a macro-level, the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership is a manifestation of colonization and the belief that the Other is different and needs to be controlled. The use of gender equality by the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership is an attempt to (re)colonize women of the Two-Thirds World through discourses that have situated both UNESCO and the WTA Tour as the colonizers that seek to hold Oriental women to Occidental standards. Colonial discourse is a relation of power that both constructs the subject as much as it constructs the colonizer (Ashcroft et al., 2007); therefore, through this partnership the identities of UNESCO and the WTA Tour are strengthened as benevolent, developed and influential entities. Said (1993) describes colonial discourse and the notion of the “mysterious East” (i.e. Orient), as premised upon:

bringing civilization to primitive or barbaric people, the disturbingly familiar ideas about flogging or death or extended punishment being required when “they” [misbehave] or [become] rebellious, because “they” mainly [understand] force or violence best; “they” [are] not like “us,” and for that reason [deserve] to be ruled. (p.xi)

Evidence of colonial ideals are illustrated in notions such that sport can open minds and be a catalyst for social change; therefore, “when countries extend an invitation to the women’s tennis tour...they are implicitly associating themselves with its

values” (AFP, 2008). Through the narratives produced by the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership, micro-discourses of gender, international development, Western universalism and modernity can be traced back to an overarching macro-discourse of colonialism as a form of Orientalism.

Chapter Summary

This chapter examined the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership as a product of a long line of problematic gender equality initiatives stemming from a dominant discourse of international development that has, thus far, only afforded women the courtesy of equality. Common notions such as increasing opportunities for women and seeking equality with men are problematic with regard to their inability to address the roots of gender discrepancies. Additionally, the discursive practice of universalism creates a false notion of homogeneous oppression over all women. Hence, intersectionality enables me to acknowledge that the PGEs cannot represent a united front for women worldwide because of the multiple axes of privilege and oppression in articulation.

Furthermore, modernity was discussed as a temporal difference between East and West, whereby Western feminist initiatives attempt to impose a break from tradition in order to draw Eastern/Oriental women into modernity. Western feminists have situated themselves as the norm, thus constructing women of the Two-Thirds world as living contradictions and aberrations that are naturally different from women of the One-Thirds World. Gender focused development initiatives, rationalized as a Western responsibility and authority, were unpacked as methods to assimilate

women of the Two-Thirds World into the global capitalist system. As an example of Orientalist discourse, women of the Two-Thirds World are represented as unchanging and fundamentally different from the West.

Chapter 5

Ladies of the Court: Female Athletes as Role Models

This chapter focuses on the most visible aspect (in terms of public relations) of the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership, the *Promoter of Gender Equality* (PGE) player program. Female athletes are discussed in relation to celebratory feminism, whereby successful women are held as the benchmark for all women, and in relation to their historically contradictory role as both female and athletes. I argue that the use of celebrity philanthropy, such as the PGE program, performs a pattern of distant domination that rarely allows the recipients of gender development initiatives to represent themselves. These programs fail to de-centre the power dynamics that maintain men in positions of power, with regard to the institutions of sport, capitalism, and international development.

I also unpack the discourses of ‘girl power’ and the *Girl Effect* as versions of third-wave feminism that favour individual action over collective struggle. Third-wave feminism privileges neoliberal ideology, thus often reproducing the subjugation of already marginalized females (i.e., lesbians, racialized women). Ultimately, this chapter highlights how female empowerment has been commodified for perpetuation of the global capitalist system. Despite the manner in which the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership has represented its dedication to gender equality, this chapter exposes how it has failed to put social impact at the forefront of this partnership and therefore, in many ways, contributes to the perpetuation of CSR as “window dressing” and marketing tactics.

Promoters of Gender Equality

The four athletes chosen by UNESCO and the WTA to represent this partnership were (in order of selection) Venus Williams, Tatiana Golovin, Jie Zheng and Vera Zvonareva. Venus Williams volunteered to be the first PGE (Drucker, 2007), as they are officially known, and the subsequent players were selected. No documentation of the selection criteria used to choose players as representatives for the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership was found; however, inductive coding of UNESCO-WTA Tour press releases revealed common qualities including: being accomplished, recognizable, formidable athletes, successful women and sources of inspiration for their deeds both on and off the court. Each UNESCO-created Project Implementation Plan (PIP) provides suggestions as to how each program could be supported by a PGE, such as attending a training session, or book launch;²¹ however, their main role is to engage the public in the importance of gender equality and act as inspiration for women and young girls around the world.

Female Athletes as Role Models

North American popular culture has had a powerful influence on the types of female role models and heroes that are celebrated (Aapola et al, 2005; Hopkins, 2002; Inness, 2004; McRobbie, 2004; Motivate Canada, n.d.; Zaslowsky, 2009). Female cultural and media icons have overtaken academics and activists as those women we 'look up to' (Hopkins, 2002). The longing to see young women exercise their own self-determination has become a dominant storyline since the 1990's and sport has certainly produced its fair share of heroines and role models. Both UNESCO

and the WTA Tour contend that the players selected to represent this partnership are “excellent role models for millions of girls and young women throughout the world” and “will be key factors in the successful implementation of this timely and innovative public-private partnership” (WTA Tour, 2007b). Yet, as mentioned in the literature review, little empirical evidence has proven that role models have a strong influence on a person’s behaviour, choices and attitudes (Biskup & Pfister, 1999; Lines, 2001; Meier & Saavedra, 2009).

Postcolonial feminism questions the contradiction between being a female, traditionally associated with submissive roles, and a role model, which is often equated with hegemonic masculine traits. The conventional notion of role models and/or heroes assume responsibility for setting norms, values and behavioural expectations (Almquist & Angrist, 1971), or implicitly reinforce existing dominant expectations (Fingerroth, 2004). Yet, a role model also serves to inspire others and demonstrate a path of measurable success (Meier & Saavedra, 2009). On the other hand, they are ‘cultural clichés’ whose success can also be demoralizing if their achievements seem unattainable and highlight one’s own failures (Lockwood & Kunda, 1997). For girls and young women, the role models chosen are often celebrities used by corporations to promote ideals such as strength and free will to reproduce consumer capitalism (Cole & Hribar, 1995; Meier & Saavedra, 2009).

Allen (1990) has argued that the yearning for female role models, especially minority role models, is problematic in that it runs the risk of stereotyping based on race and gender, feeds into assumptions of white male superiority, undervalues minority role models, and is a signal to white men that they are not required to serve

as role models for minority females. Choosing role models based on their race and gender may force the role models to feel obligated to appear perfectly 'female' and also perfectly 'black' or 'Asian' etc. in an attempt to appropriately represent their gender and race. In addition, Allen argues that hiring minority females as role models for minority female youth is problematic because "while it trumpets [their necessity]" the need for minority female role models also "whispers [their inferiority]" (p.37). This *need* reproduces the notion that visible minorities are less valuable than whites. Furthermore, Allen argues that the use of minority female role models for only minority females disrespects the value that some role models may be able to provide to youth of any gender or race. Lastly, Allen feels that explicitly hiring minority females to reach minority females signals to white men that they are absolved of any responsibility to minority females.

Although Allen's (1990) arguments were conceived with respect to black female professors and black female students, I argue that her critiques can be applied to the deployment of (racialized) female athletes as role models for marginalized young women. Likewise, the use of female athletes as role models often brings about a contradiction of being an athlete, equated with being male, and displaying desirable feminine characteristics. Female athletes also feed into the superiority of male athletes because their success within a 'man's world' reinforces the fact that sport is still a traditionally male arena. Additionally, the assumption that a racialized athlete, such as Venus Williams, is needed as a role model for young black girls devalues William's ability to inspire children of any race or gender. Assuming that role models can only inspire in silos of gender/race/class/sexuality

etc. reduces accountability, cheats those they are supposed to inspire, and diminishes the intersectional nature of identity. Yet, as useful as Allen's critique may be, she also reproduces the marginalization of racialized women by labeling them as 'minorities', which reifies their status as counter-normative and inferior persons.

There are two main methods in which most role models can be used to facilitate 'ripple effects' of change. They may either change social attitudes by softening public opinion on certain topics, or they may use their social capital to bring people and resources together (Meier & Saavedra, 2009). Specifically, female athletes are often attached to social initiatives that aim to empower girls and young women (Heywood & Dworkin, 2003). For example, FIFA's (2011) '*Goals for Girls*' campaign supports the value of female athletes as role models with this statement:

Such is the level of media attention on global sporting events that the stories and images of women such as these [Mia Hamm, Nawal El Moutawakel, Cathy Freeman, Tegla Loroupe] have reached every corner of the world. The sports in which these women excelled were once only played by men, so today's women athletes have already demonstrated that barriers can be broken and gender stereotypes can be overcome.

As the hosts of the 2010 Commonwealth Games, the performances of the female Indian athletes equated to more than athletic success. Their on-field achievements symbolized that "irrespective of their socio-economic backgrounds... true courage, will power and strength and if provided with an enabling environment women can prove themselves to be winners in every sphere of life, and can also change the face of the nation" (India PR Wire, 2010).²² Referring back to Yegenoglu's (1998)

assertion that national identity is built upon its women, athletic achievements are an example of how the responsibility to define a nation, or a group of people, often falls on the shoulders of women.

The formerly contradictory role of being both female and an athlete has become one of the icons of third-wave feminism (Giardina & Metz, 2005b; Heywood & Dworkin, 2003). This raises an important question: how does an unreciprocated imaginary relationship with Williams, Golovin, Zheng and Zvonareva impact the material lives of women in Liberia, Cameroon, Jordan, China and the Dominican Republic involved in this partnership? The UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership offers a one-way relationship in which women from the Two-Thirds World and the PGEs rarely, if ever, meet face-to-face; and the success or failures of the PGEs realistically have no effect on the lives of women in the Two-Thirds World.

As introduced in the literature review, research on the cultural differences in preferences of role models found that culture greatly impacts the types of characteristics valued in role models (Lockwood et al., 2005).²³ Lockwood et al.'s (2005) study revealed that Western societies that strive for achievements tend to use promotional role models to demonstrate paths to success. Whereas, those from Eastern societies tend to adopt a more prevention minded approach by learning which behaviours and actions to avoid; therefore, they generally find negative role models extremely motivating. Where positive role models can demonstrate a path to success, they also "provide little information about the shortcomings that one needs to correct or the means by which one may avoid future failures" (p.381).²⁴ Lockwood et al.'s (2005) study is relevant to the PGE program in that only the promotional role

model strategy is used for this global initiative. The WTA Tour praises Williams, Golovin, Zheng and Zvonareva for their accomplishments and arrival as strong, 'modern' women; and although they may be good role models for young women in America, France, and Russia every UNESCO-WTA Tour program is hosted in a country from the Two-Thirds World. To claim that these players can act as role models for young women throughout the world is another example of Orientalism and its reproduction, whereby the Western norm is constructed as a universal norm. It is assumed that women in countries from the Two-Thirds World, where tennis is almost inaccessible, will appreciate athletes who are respected within the One-Thirds World, where tennis is relatively accessible. It should also be acknowledged that the UNESCO-WTA Tour television advertisements featuring Venus Williams and Tatiana Golovin were broadcast in the United States, Europe, Russia and India (among other countries) (WTA Tour, 2007a), which demonstrates that the PGEs are not necessarily targeted at the women in their programs, but perhaps more to women in the One-Thirds World.

Meier and Saavedra (2009) argue "visits from foreign superstars are less likely to inspire, because they are irrelevant and their success unattainable" (p.1170), and therefore, more value should be placed on role models that provide the 'just like us' feeling and share an affinity with their 'targets'. This theory applies to this partnership's on site program visits where appearances by superstar athletes are great for marketing purposes, but fly-in/fly-out appearances have little long-term effect on the women these programs claim to be helping. It is recommended that

regular contact with mentors will have more sustainable positive effects than a one-off visit from a distant role model (Meier & Saavedra, 2009).

The good intentions of Williams, Golovin, Zheng and Zvonareva are privileged because of their status as elite athletes and therefore garner more attention for their activism than does the plight of women living in Liberia, Cameroon, Jordan, China and the Dominican Republic. Nickel and Eikenberry's (2009) critical analysis of celebrity philanthropy, as a celebration of elite society and distance, relates to the PGE program and the concept of superstar role models. Much like how "[America actress Angelina] Jolie can only raise awareness of Africa through her distance from Africa" (p.981), the PGEs can only raise awareness about gender equality in countries of the Two-Thirds World because of their distance from them. Nickel and Eikenberry (2009) note that instead of interviewing Africans about their own lives, CNN instead interviews Jolie and "subjects Africa to Jolie's interpretation in a pattern of domination" (p.982). This is a relation of power that emphasizes the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' as effects, rather than focusing on the causes, which are inequitable structures. There is evidence of this in the PGE program as the following narratives from the PGEs suggest distance and interpretation rather than fact:

"I think it's a huge step already bringing out competition here, because I don't think people have seen many competitions, women's competitions, in this country before." – Vera Zvonareva (Torchia, 2008)

"Creating opportunities for women and girls to succeed and lead requires programs that will touch the lives of real people...I am thrilled that today we are instituting programs on the ground throughout the world that will help

women in need, and I am looking forward to personally supporting these projects.” – Venus Williams (WTA Tour, 2007a)

Instead of interviewing women participating in or implementing the UNESCO-WTA Tour programs, only the players’ and executive’s narratives are counted, which again reproduces an interpretation of what is needed and valued in distant countries. Venus Williams’ statement reveals more about her own involvement and enthusiasm about the programs than about the ‘real people’ she speaks for. The resulting patronizing role model narrative reproduced by the PGEs is that where gender equality is supposedly working and valued women can reach infinite heights, but where gender inequality is rampant those women lack inspiration and opportunities. Consequently, from a postcolonial feminist perspective I am able to unpack that power relations effected by celebrity philanthropy work to maintain distance and inequity. Despite the enthusiasm demonstrated by the PGEs to make a difference and provide more and better opportunities, to draw on Nickel and Eikenberry (2009), the PGE’s fail to de-centre the power dynamics that gave rise to this partnership. This pattern of domination is consistent in the construction of Orientalism whereby experience becomes interspersed with knowledge about the Orient and the Occident is allowed to speak on the Orient’s behalf (Said, 1978). Thus, Orientalism is reproduced when women in the Two-Thirds World are only known through constructed representations and are described by those from within the dominant culture. The voices of the PGEs become the voice of women worldwide.

The PGE program also demonstrates Orientalism through the values highlighted such as individual achievement and self-invention. Narratives that

privilege the PGEs as formidable athletes, accomplished winners, successful women, and heroic actors speak to a neoliberal discourse and assumes these traits to be universally valued. The WTA Tour press releases provide strong evidence of these women as successful tennis players and use their on-court achievements as justification for why they would be positive role models for all young women. Stacey Allaster stated “[w]e know tennis players are great role models, inspirational figures for many women around the world” (Drucker, 2007) suggesting that professional tennis players are a higher class of athlete, and woman, than the rest. Moreover, as the CEO of the WTA, Allaster herself becomes the epitome of female achievement in her ability to lead other successful women. She has attained what she refers to as the “dream job” and her success becomes solidified through the WTA’s travels to parts of the world “where appreciation for women is not the same” (Fillion, 2010). Thus, “being able to make a difference” “energizes” (Fillion, 2010) Allaster, reifying her privilege in the One-Thirds World and the neoliberal discourse of individual achievement.

Said (1978) describes this act as deliberately representing and speaking on behalf of the Orient. Allaster’s comment locates herself and the players of the WTA in opposition to and above “women around the world.” Allaster speaks as if her words are truth, when in fact they are a *representation* of what she believes to be true. Speaking on behalf of the Other is how Orientalism contains, represents and constitutes that which poses a threat to Western dominance, while also reaffirming the dominant discourse (Said, 1978). That dominant discourse, as Gilchrist (2005) notes, is a capitalist economy whereby the sport star must be understood as both a

product of its culture and as part of its reproduction. The Orient (i.e. women of the Two-Thirds World) is forced to derive its identity negatively (i.e., primitive, unsuccessful, victimized) and in need of alteration. The partnership's PGEs are embedded within capitalist discourse not only as athletes, but also as successful 'modern' women. It is the 'modern' young woman that has become both a product of global capitalism and a perpetuator of its discourse.

Girl Power

The future may be feminine, but it will not necessarily be fair. (Hopkins, 2002)

I contend that the use of female athletes as promoters of gender equality is indicative of a larger discourse of girl power and the *Girl Effect* movement. Girl power and the *Girl Effect*, as examples of dominant articulations of what it means to be a young woman in a capitalist, technocratic and globalized world (Aapola et al., 2005), have become taglines for third-wave feminism. Girl power became a household term when the British singing group, the *Spice Girls*, repackaged feminism into a more palatable and marketable expression of female agency in the late 1990's (Zaslow, 2009). Girl power provides an alternative to the "dirty" term feminism, which is often equated with "outdated political rebellion" (Taft, 2004:71). Couched in the neoliberal ideology of choice, girl power represents equality with men, control over the body, financial independence, self-determination and a general "in your face" assertion of individuality (Shugart, Waggoner & O'Brien Hallstein, 2001; Zaslow, 2009).

Zaslow (2009) describes third-wave feminism and girl power as a model where “feminism already exists and is available for women to enter into at will. Feminism does not insist upon a unified struggle to resist patriarchal oppression but may be an individual choice to embrace one’s feminist inheritance” (p.28).²⁵ Therefore, girl power, and consequently gender equality, becomes understood as an individual endeavour rather than a collective struggle. This version of girl power also gives the illusion that gender equality has already been reached by some (Harris, 2004; McRobbie, 2009; Taft, 2004). To illustrate, former WTA Tour CEO, Larry Scott commented that the achievement of equal prize money for women’s tennis represented “the final pieces of the jigsaw” (WTA Tour, 2008c), implying that the WTA Tour has completed its task of attaining gender equality. By focusing on neoliberal ideas such as “self-improvement, self-correction and individual empowerment over social change or state support” (p.158), girl power fails to acknowledge and/or challenge the structural forces that perpetuate gender oppression (Zaslow, 2009). We observe such neoliberal ideology in the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership in the choices of programming aimed at self-improvement and self-correction through opportunities for education, employment and awareness, rather than focusing on collective rights such as lobbying for living wage requirements. It is evident that the WTA Tour and the PGEs have also become lost in the rhetoric of girl power as they seek not to change the world, but to succeed within it (Hopkins, 2002).

The ‘modern’ young woman, as touched upon in the previous chapter, represents a separation from traditional gender and citizenship roles (Harris,

2004).²⁶ Harris (2004) has observed that those who demonstrate a “capacity for self-invention” (p.6) and resistance to traditionally normative identities (i.e., sacrifice, citizenship, obedience) have set the new benchmark for success among young women. Marked by global capitalism and the ability to flourish without state support, modernity relegates any barriers to success as misfortunes experienced only by the minority of the population (Harris, 2004). Hence, the rise in enthusiasm by private organizations, such as the WTA Tour and UNESCO, to provide inspiration and social services that support individual achievement while reproducing the dominant ideology of modernity.

The PGEs represent the WTA’s contribution to girl power whereby distant stars provide the “feminine energy and potential personified” that young girls are taught to crave (Hopkins, 2002: 4). Zheng Jie has expressed her enthusiasm to help young girls and women succeed in their ambitions (WTA Tour, 2007b) and Venus Williams has been eager to provide better opportunities for women around the world (WTA Tour, 2006). Hopkins (2002) argues that female stars with a ‘message’ become even more appealing and powerful because they reproduce “feminism as individual enterprise and power as an object of individual consumption” (p.24). Tatiana Golovin’s opportunities as a professional tennis player have lead her to “feel strongly that girls and women across the world should have similar opportunities to succeed in the goals they set for themselves” (Women’s Tennis Blog, 2007). Stacey Allaster has promoted that WTA players have overcome their own adversities in order to be successful (WTA Tour, 2009c) suggesting that empowered women control their own destinies. These narratives stem from a larger discourse of

neoliberalism whereby free will and choice are the cornerstones to individual success (Aapola et al., 2005; Giddens, 1991; Harris, 2004; McRobbie, 2009; Zaslow, 2009). These young women, as “pinnacles of civilization” (p.8), become symbols of the strength of the free-market economy, of which girl power is both a product and distributor of capitalist discourse (Zaslow, 2009). Both Zheng and Zvonareva have embraced their individual achievements and freedom, while also demonstrating that ‘escaping’ Communist China and Russia can result in a better life (Giardina, 2001). Williams has, supposedly, overcome racial oppression and low-economic status through individual ambition and dedication. Within neoliberal settings, individuals become solely responsible for their achievements and their failures, while governments are absolved of any accountability for social welfare (Edwards, 2009; King, 2005; Zaslow, 2009).

As positive as the intentions behind these messages may be, they disguise the discursive forces that can shape and either privilege or oppress certain gendered, raced, classed and sexualized identities (Taft, 2004). Under the guise of celebrating women’s empowerment, Giardina (2001) makes a powerful argument that girl power actually reproduces the subjugation of females because it still exists within hegemonic male structures. As the empowerment of young women not only gives power over men, but also over other women in a structured hierarchy, it is important to note that certain women become empowered and privileged through girl power, while others such as lesbians and racial minorities continue to be marginalized (Giardina, 2001; Hopkins, 2002; McRobbie, 2009). Likewise, Heywood and Dworkin (2003) insist that sport fosters empowerment based on “regressive

illusions that obscure real, structural inequalities inherent to a market system and the sports world that is intrinsically part of it, a world that serves to empower only a very few individual women and (at best) ignores all the rest” (p.3). As demonstrated by this partnership, the UNESCO-WTA Tour’s efforts to empower marginalized women have resulted in superficial outcomes (e.g. photos of women running races in Cameroon, number of events conducted, posters produced and disseminated) for the women of Liberia, Cameroon, Jordan, China and the Dominican Republic, while further empowering the PGEs as upstanding icons of girl power.²⁷ Heywood and Drake (2004) have identified that third-wave feminism has given greater cultural capital to women of the One-Thirds World at the expense of those in the Two-Thirds World, and is indicative of the inequities that accompany globalization. The intersectional nature of identity is too commonly overlooked and alludes back to the quote at the beginning of this section, which suggested that although third-wave feminism has commanded more mainstream attention than its predecessors, it has been far from an equal undertaking. Third-wave feminism has created space for certain women to be successful within male-privileged structures such as professional sports, but has consequently reproduced inequitable rewards.

Similarly, the *Girl Effect*, a program and term created by Nike Inc., supports the notion that the empowerment of young women will greatly benefit society. It is described as “the unique potential of 600 million adolescent girls to end poverty for themselves and the world” (Girleffect.org, 2010). The *Girl Effect* theorizes that

By giving one of these girls a chance, you start the girl effect. When girls have safe places to meet, education, legal protection, health care, and access

to training and job skills, they can thrive. And if they thrive, everyone around them thrives, too (Global Giving, 2010).

The *Girl Effect* is one of the many programs, as was discussed in the literature review, that has chosen to focus on young women as the base from which further development can be built upon. The *Girl Effect* project is supported by organizations such as: the NoVo Foundation, the UN Foundation, the Coalition for Adolescent Girls, CARE, Plan, the Population Council, ICRW and the Centre for Global Development (Brand Channel, 2010). The *Girl Effect* has taken a dramatic stance on the importance of young girls exclaiming that impoverished lives for young women will likely lead to early marriage and pregnancy forcing them out of school and the workforce, inevitably handcuffing millions of girls into unfulfilled destinies and their nations into certain instability (Coalition for Adolescent Girls, 2009).

This line of thinking regarding the need for economic development is reflected in the UNESCO-WTA partnership through narratives that promote gender equality as a necessary condition for sustainable development (WTA Tour, 2009c). With the goal of enhancing the position of women worldwide (WTA Tour, 2006), the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership is another driver behind the *Girl Effect* movement. Unfortunately, the *Girl Effect* inherently highlights young women as both the problem and the solution to 'underdevelopment' without acknowledging or understanding that safe spaces, education, legal rights, health care, and job skills are merely superficial answers to an extremely deep-rooted problem. It also maintains the goal of gender equality over gender equity failing to acknowledge that equality within structures and institutions created for and by men is anything but equality for women. Equity, on

the other hand, aims to eliminate the discrepancies that inherently oppress women, which would hopefully lead to outcomes that, although not necessarily numerically equal, represent equality of conditions. These types of *Girl Effect* programs seek to deal with the inconvenience of gender discrepancies, and are more acts of chivalry than of respect and concern.

The discourses of girl power and the *Girl Effect* speak to a larger macro-discourse of the “commodification of female empowerment”, whereby the formerly “dirty” concept of feminism has been appropriated for consumption in a capitalist system (Hopkins, 2002). Young women have become vital economic agents in the perpetuation and consumption of girl power, and also catalysts of development in the *Girl Effect* movement. In the One-Thirds World, young women hold significant market power through their ability to adapt to and promote trends. As devoted consumers, Hopkins (2002) identifies young women and “girl culture” as a growth industry, which inevitably negates older women of any cultural value (Riordan, 2001), and allows men to escape responsibility as agents of change. Relegating young women to be pawns in a system of market exchange strips them of their agency. Evidence of the market significance of girl power is exhibited by Venus Williams’s own entrepreneurial sense. In 2007, Williams’ clothing line *Eleven*, in partnership with retailer Steve & Barry’s, released a special edition Venus Williams/UNESCO tee shirt with the net proceeds to benefit the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership (WTA Tour, 2007a). The tee shirts read “strong, smart, confident, equal” – words that have become the mantra of girl power and the *Girl Effect* movement.

Conversely, young women in the Two-Thirds World are seen as integral players in basic economic development. As ‘agents of change’ (McRobbie, 2009) young women are positioned as crucial components in transforming ‘developing’ economies into fully functioning market economies. It should be noted that terms such as ‘investment’, ‘marketable’ and ‘productive’ are commonly attached to women’s empowerment, which should signal the economic and market driven undercurrent of this so-called human rights initiative. Secretary General of the United Nations, Ban-Ki Moon, has consistently made a case for ‘investing’ in the advancement of women based on the need for an increase in “highly productive members of society” (United Nations, 2009b). UN Women (2011) states:

Gender equality is not only a basic human right, but its achievement has enormous socio-economic ramifications. Empowering women fuels thriving economies, spurring productivity and growth.

Much of the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership is focused on increasing the political activism of young women; however, there are aspects that point to facilitating economic empowerment such as creating successful businesswomen in Cameroon, teaching leadership skills in the Dominican Republic and the internship positions created for young American women through the *Women’s Sports Foundation*. Likewise, the Nike Foundation argues that ‘investing’ in the *Girl Effect* will lead to “more stability, less poverty and more opportunity for economic growth” (Nike Foundation, 2008). Aguilar (2004) warns that to speak of globalized economics without placing women at the centre of this process would be a massive oversight. As more women enter the labour force to create “economic growth”, initiatives such

as the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership paradoxically reproduce the very forces that keep women in Two-Thirds World at the bottom of economic growth and enables their role models to continue succeeding at the expense of the women they attempt to empower. The 'return on investment' is not geared to benefit women of the Two-Thirds World, but those who called for empowerment from the distant One-Thirds World.

The commodification of female empowerment feeds into the globalization of capitalism. Mosco (1996) explains that the mystification of commodification occurs through a naturalization of "social relations between capital and labor," and through the reification of the commodity as "it takes on a life of its own" (p.142, as quoted in Riordan, 2001). The empowerment of women has taken on both forms of commodification, first by being drawn into the mainstream and given exchange value; and second by being reified by every new program with female empowerment as its focus, and through every role model held above the rest who claims to inspire others. Mystification refers to the distortion of reality within an individual's consciousness (Bell, 1978). Therefore the mystification of commodification with regard to women's empowerment shapes cultural ideologies about women and their agency while also masking the inequitable social relations that result from projects such as the *Girl Effect* and the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership.

My research confirms that the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership, as a proponent of the *Girl Effect* movement, reinforces capitalist and patriarchal power relations. Without providing any alternative solutions to existing dominant ways of thinking (i.e. neoliberalism) or offering any critique of the significant inequalities that

exist between and among women, this partnership reproduces oppressive structures. George H. Sage (2010) uses the WTA Tour as an example of 'globalization from above', which attempts to combine all geographic regions into a unified capitalist system that operates on neoliberal ideology. Due to the WTA Tour's "social exclusivity of...leadership, limited opportunities for participation in [the sport of tennis], and high cost of attending [tournaments]" (Sage, 2010:13) it feeds into the expansion of capital and consequently into the political economy of globalization. In this system, women and girls become economic building blocks used as simple articles of exchange and as sites of alteration (Murphy, personal communication, March 16, 2011), necessary only as cogs in the machine of capitalist expansion. Hence, structural change is substituted for individual determination. Mohanty (2003a) highlights that it is precisely on the bodies and lives of females in the Two-Thirds World that the effects of global capitalism are manifested most vividly through exacerbated economic, political, racial and gender inequalities. What perhaps began as radical intent has become lost amongst the rhetoric, and the dominant values of neoliberalism; and capitalism can rest easy knowing that a possible threat has once again been adopted, rearticulated and controlled (Riordan, 2001).

The implications of this misguided attempt at empowerment indicate that the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership becomes a supporter of the systems that perpetuate gender inequity and therefore fails to create the 'real' opportunities that it so fervently promotes. In its quest to empower women from the Two-Thirds World, the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership may in fact solidify their positions along the

margins. Individual women from Liberia, Cameroon, Jordan, China and the Dominican Republic are left to fend for themselves because the opportunities that have been afforded them through the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership represents a superficial attempt at social justice, but a real method of global capitalist expansion.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has discussed the implications associated with the *Promoter of Gender Equality* player program such as the value of unreciprocated relationships with distant athlete superstars for women in the Two-Thirds World. The program was critiqued to represent itself as more beneficial and empowering for the athletes than for the women it seeks to inspire. Through Orientalism, the voices of the PGEs become the voice of women worldwide because they become the representing authority. It is important to note that third-wave feminism has created a hierarchy of women, whereby very few individuals become empowered and the majority is ignored. Orientalism was used to theorize the construction of women in the Two-Thirds World as bodies of alteration and general abnormality against the Occidental women of the One-Thirds World. Additionally, third-wave feminist initiatives are heavily premised upon the need for economic development and the incorporation of more women into the global capitalist system. Therefore, the commodification of female empowerment results in superficial change as a substitute for structural destabilization, which is also a common failure of the process of gender mainstreaming to be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 6

Unforced Errors: Gender Mainstreaming at Work

This chapter focuses on the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership programs and the strategy of gender mainstreaming. The first section will discuss the process of gender mainstreaming and its aim to bring marginalized issues into the core of development work. I unpack the contentious power relations that arise from gender mainstreaming, as well as the inherently uneven results that arise due to its myopic focus on gender.

The second section examines the mechanisms of change necessary to facilitate gender equity. I argue for the need to direct attention to the relationships that may foster gender equity, rather than promoting initiatives that are associated with gender equality.

The third section discusses the program objective of empowering women, and two critical assumptions that I believe hinder the effectiveness of the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership and other gender equality initiatives. The first critical assumption claims that more women in politics will facilitate gender equality, when in reality assuming that the few can represent the many is one of the flaws of gender mainstreaming. The second critical assumption underestimates the necessity of community support for gender initiatives. The development of women cannot be divorced from community development. Gender mainstreaming fails to challenge the institutional structures that perpetuate oppression and often results in reinscribing the interests of the privileged.

Background Information

In November 2007, the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership announced the selection and funding of five programs focused on women's leadership designed to raise awareness and promote gender equality (WTA Tour, 2007a). The partnership put out a call for project proposals through national UNESCO commissions; the most promising and effective proposals were granted a maximum of \$20,000 USD (Dominicana On Line, 2007). The programs selected in Cameroon, Liberia, China, Jordan and the Dominican Republic are all hosted by local organizations and overseen by UNESCO's *Division for Gender Equality*. In this chapter, I analyze each program's Project Implementation Plan (PIP), which provides details about the program's description, logical framework, links to the PGE program, project management, implementation, project work packages table, implementation sequence, Gantt chart, risk management analysis and matrix, sustainability analysis, monitoring and evaluation outline and chart, and project budget. These documents were provided to me by a key informant from the WTA Tour but were drafted by UNESCO's *Division for Gender Equality* using the information supplied by each respective local organization. (See Appendixes 3 and 4 – Tables 4 and 5 for details on each program.)

Since the *Beijing Platform for Action* in 1995, UNESCO has adopted a three-prong approach to facilitating gender equality. As the first prong, UNESCO integrated the concerns of both men and women into every aspect of its operations, while being cognizant that the implications may differ between genders. UNESCO explains mainstreaming as a process that brings marginalized issues into the core of

an organization's business operations and strategy (UNESCO, 2003). The second strategic prong was to encourage increased women's participation at all levels of activity, and the third prong was to develop programs specifically to benefit women (UNESCO, 2002). Adopting a mainstreaming perspective also shifted UNESCO towards results-based programming (UNESCO, 2003). UNESCO's *Division for Gender Equality* has committed to a *Priority Gender Equality Action Plan for 2008-2013*, which is carried out through both gender mainstreaming and gender-specific programming (UNESCO, 2010b). UNESCO believes that mainstreaming gender issues will bring about the transformation and subordination of structures and systems that create gender inequality (UNESCO, 2003). Gender mainstreaming emphasizes the aspiration for men and women to benefit equally, thus again privileging the notion of equality over equity. The UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership is an example of UNESCO's attempt to make gender equality a priority. With such fervent support of the mainstreaming process, it is important to critically assess its values and limitations.

Gender Mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming, as a progression from the women in development approach (WID),²⁸ is intended to represent a diffusion of responsibilities for gender issues beyond women's units into all departments of institutions (Baden & Goetz, 1997). At the heart of gender mainstreaming are attempts to "mainstream policies, practices, and resource allocations to achieve gender equality" (Tiessen, 2007:12). With the adoption of gender mainstreaming by transnational and supranational

organizations such as the United Nations and the European Union, it has gained momentum as a powerful tool for gender equality. Mushaben (2006) claims that gender mainstreaming

is the best thing to happen to women's/minority rights since the invention of the U.S. class action suit. Actually it is better insofar as it compels positive, *preventative action* rather than long-delayed *punitive reaction* (p.375, original emphasis).

She argues gender mainstreaming has placed women's issues as a regular concern on development agendas and altered political discourses throughout the institution itself. In support of Mushaben (2006), Walby (2005) believes that gender mainstreaming has the ability to neither assimilate women into men's norms, nor maintain the dichotomy between men and women, but may transform existing structures into new spaces for discovery. Still, for this to occur she posits that gender mainstreaming requires public transparency and input from external actors because, as a process, it must break down the "neatly bounded responsibilities" into a new terrain that reflects the people it intends to represent. Likewise, Tiessen (2007) argues that for real change to occur the distribution of power must be altered through a commitment to challenging norms and not giving in to quick fixes and superficial solutions. The tension formed by gender mainstreaming creates a constant negotiation between gender equality and the mainstream (Walby, 2005) because organizations rarely want to confront the contentious power relations they are revealing (Crewe & Harrison, 1998). The current use of gender mainstreaming is inherently bound by the fact that gender is situated "as *the* axis of discrimination"

(original emphasis), and therefore has led to uneven results through its failure to deal with the intersectional nature of identity (Hankivsky, 2005).

Jahan (1995) divides gender mainstreaming into two categories, the *integrationist* approach and the *agenda-setting* approach. The integrationist approach merely integrates gender concerns into existing structures, systems and organizations, whereas the agenda-setting approach seeks to transform existing systems of oppression and subordination to promote equality. Both Jahan (1995) and Tiessen (2007) acknowledge that most development organizations opt for the former approach because it is easier to implement. Hence, gender mainstreaming often falls short of gender transformation and instead reinforces dominant structures and technical measures over institutional reform (Tiessen, 2007). The superficial use of gender mainstreaming brings about the danger of being both *everywhere* and *nowhere* at the same time; where it is “everybody’s business and nobody’s business. Everyone’s accountable and no one’s accountable” (Lewis, 2005:125). It is *everywhere*, in that every facet of an organization is expected to integrate gender concerns, while the risk of no accountability leaves it *nowhere* (Tiessen, 2007). The greatest limitation of the integrationist approach lies in its reproduction of the systems that it seeks to avoid, in other words, it re-colonizes those from the Two-Thirds World through band-aid solutions that feed inequity. The value of the agenda-setting approach lies in its attempt to disrupt the “mainstream”, yet that is also its limitation, as this method may be met with opposition because of its very overt attempts to redistribute power.

Although the intent of gender mainstreaming is to enhance the position of women in development situations and within development organizations, its main flaw is stated in the definition – bringing marginalized issues into the core. The act of integrating interests from the periphery into the centre is an improvement from the WID approach, yet fails to destabilize the traditional development interests that have historically privileged men, especially those from higher classes and of Caucasian descent. Consequently, women become incorporated into a core that already exists and notions of traditional gender capacities are reinscribed (McRobbie, 2009). The inherent problem with gender mainstreaming and the history of gender equality initiatives throughout development history is the fact that they consistently fail to de-centre men as the norm (Carney, 2004; Hankivsky, 2005; Tiessen, 2007). Walby (2005) explains that the paradox of mainstreaming lies in the fact that it is both a process of inclusive democracy, and a process that focuses on efficiency and expertise, which continues to privilege the traditional policy actors. Gender mainstreaming relies “heavily on technical solutions, and [creates] an illusion that gender equality is taken seriously in development agencies” (Tiessen, 2007:19), which I contend is evident in the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership programs and will be evaluated throughout the remainder of this chapter.

I have identified two main flaws in the frameworks outlined by the UNESCO-WTA Tour programs. The first flaw I highlight is that none of the programs have focused enough attention on isolating the mechanisms necessary for creating gender equity in each respective region. This lack of understanding is connected to my second major critique of these programs, which is that the program objective of

empowering women and the 'critical assumptions' outlined by this partnership greatly constrain the effectiveness of these programs and are indeed critical oversights. As discussed in chapter 3, postcolonial feminism poses the following questions: (1) who controls the production of knowledge that is applied to these programs and what is their social location?; (2) who becomes empowered and marginalized through the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership?; and (3) who is positioned to gain the most benefit from these programs? I begin my analysis of the UNESCO-WTA Tour programs by explaining the significance of the mechanisms necessary to facilitate change in development situations.

Mechanisms of Change

Understanding what facilitates change versus assuming that change is an inevitable end point may often be the difference between a successful development program and one that merely exists. Changing the behaviours, values, and wishes of human beings is a complex task that is impacted by a large number of fluid variables, and it is these variables that are commonly overlooked in the gender mainstreaming process. Baines (2009) contends that gender mainstreaming can lead to a "tedious and time consuming process of documenting gender performance in relation to a number of bare bones indicators" (p.142). This is evident in the UNESCO-WTA Tour programs where each PIP includes numerous charts and bullet points detailing implementation sequences, output indicators and verification means (UNESCO-WTA Tour, n.d. a-e); and yet, every PIP fails to explain how participation, awareness and knowledge are "presumed to lead to specific intermediate impacts

and then to [the] broader intermediate [outcome]" of gender equality (Coalter, 2007:38). Fred Coalter's (2007) work on sport for development programs emphasizes the need to move away from measuring tangible program outcomes to better understanding the processes necessary for change. By comparison, gender equality programs also seek to foster many of the same outcomes as sport for development programs (e.g., empowerment, self-reliance, self-esteem), and thus also need to focus more attention on the causal powers that drive individual and social change, rather than repeatedly spending money and time measuring factors that have no relevance for attaining gender equity.

In particular, I argue that the UNESCO-WTA Tour programs, not unlike many social change programs, "[lack] systematic measurement of outcomes" and understanding of "*the mechanisms and processes via which they are achieved*" (Coalter, 2007:26, original emphasis). Process and effectiveness are commonly overshadowed by the desire for outcomes and efficacy (Coalter, 2007). For example, the program in Cameroon aims to enhance female participation in athletics by recruiting 150 women for three mini marathon races (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.a). The means of verification for this initiative are pictures at the start and finish points and a video album (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.a). These methods for verification suggest that 150 women were at the start and end of the race but may have no bearing on long-term female involvement in physical activity. The program in Cameroon claims that participation of women in these races will increase awareness about the role of women in society (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.a; however, this fails to explain the rationale

for how women's participation in races will catalyze changes to the role of women in Cameroonian society.

Opening a night school in Monrovia, Liberia, seemed a logical way to increase access and completion of primary and secondary education for disadvantaged girls (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.b), yet access represents only one piece of the puzzle. The approach to facilitating girl's education in Liberia is greatly affected by questions such as: Is girl's education valued in Liberia? What opportunities are available for girls who complete their high school education? How do these opportunities differ from those who do not complete their high school education? Providing the opportunity for education is beneficial if access is the only obstacle, but access will not change behaviours and attitudes if there is little need or incentive to obtain an education. Moreover, power relations of racism, classism or sexism can also affect access to education for females. The PIP states that this night school was to be *reintroduced* (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.b), which raises a question about the failure to properly address the mechanisms of change the first time this initiative was implemented.

In China, one of the output/impact indicators is the number of publications disseminated with stories of 25 successful rural Chinese women (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.c); but this indicator does not demonstrate a causal link between the publication and a change in women's decision-making capacities in rural China. Despite the female literacy rate in China being quite high, the majority of illiterate women in China are those in rural communities (Action Aid, 2010). The PIP for China expects an increase in awareness among rural men and women about gender issues

(UNESCO-WTA, n.d.c). What the plan does not address is how it will make a women's magazine appeal to men in rural communities. While analyzing the logical framework for China's program, it was difficult to discern how publishing stories in a magazine would result in rural women becoming more actively involved in the politics and affairs of their communities. As bell hooks (1990) eloquently articulates, the act of 'giving voice' through stories commonly performs an erasure of the original voice:

No need to hear your voice when I can speak about you better than you can speak about yourself. No need to hear your voice. Only tell me about your pain. I want to know your story. And then I will tell it back to you in a new way. Tell it back to you in such a way that it has become mine, my own.

(p.151)

During the search for an 'essential truth', the subject becomes an object to be authorized and the power relations of colonizer and subject are reproduced through every narration. Furthermore, Kamala Visweswaran (1996) warns of the seduction that comes with 'giving voice', since complete representation of the Other can never be accomplished. Therefore, the publishing of women's stories in China results in an erasure of the women themselves.

The Jordanian program sought to empower women through legal rights education (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.d). The PIP outlines three outputs for the program: the launching of a high level female legal literacy campaign, 20 legal literacy workshops, and a high level closing event (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.d). The main impact indicators listed are the number of legal reform initiatives for gender equality and the

number of legislative changes for gender equality (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.d). These impact indicators are grand in scope considering the activities outlined appear to target the general population and not necessarily those in positions of legislative power. Similar to all of the previous programs discussed, this PIP also neglects to outline how training 400 women on legal literacy will lead to legal reforms and legislative changes for the betterment of all Jordanian women (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.d). Likewise, the program in the Dominican Republic focused much of its efforts on mobilizing women to become more politically active (UNESCO, n.d.e). Nonetheless, as will be discussed later in this chapter, increasing the presence of women in political arenas is not necessarily the mechanism of change that will place women's issues on political agendas.

Walby (2005) warns that the emancipatory possibilities of gender mainstreaming can become lost "when it is reduced to a technical, modernization project" (as cited in Baines, 2009:142). As a modernizing project, gender mainstreaming attempts to move women from the Two-Thirds World closer to the lived experiences of women in the One-Thirds World, again illustrating that Orientalism has infiltrated multiple levels of development. So much attention is paid to the 'primitive' lives of women in the Two-Thirds World that each woman is reduced to a statistic without much thought ever directed to the status of gender relations worldwide, or any other social construction that creates hierarchies of human-ness. Making gender a technical project reduces human experiences into something that is "ahistorical, apolitical and decontextualised" (Mukhopadhyah, 2004:95). Although technical measurements are necessary for certain initiatives

such as immunization programs or baseline measures for disease rates, Hayhurst (2009) reminds us that some of the most significant changes and results remain unquantifiable. For instance, measuring the value of hope, self-esteem or companionship would be an impossible task, and the attempt itself diminishes the essence of goodwill. Unfortunately, 'cookie-cutter' solutions do not work in the real world of development, which means that increased attention must be paid to the *processes* that produce "which *outcomes* for which *participants* and in which *circumstances*" (Coalter, 2007:34, original emphasis). Furthermore, it is important to question *which* participants benefit, if any, from these programs because each program treats women as if they are equally challenged and will benefit equally from UNESCO-WTA programming. This is a question to which the answer remains outside the scope of this project and would require field research to better comprehend; however, discourse analysis does enable me to identify that the approaches being used, unfortunately, point to universalizing solutions for context specific tribulations (i.e. offering broad solutions such as educating women regardless of the geographical/cultural/political context).

The dominant development approach of working from assumptions reveals its Orientalist nature whereby situations and people are discussed and analyzed from afar. UNESCO, as an actor of the One-Thirds World, is privileged as a producer of knowledge and authority regardless of its intentions or implementation strategies. Even those who work in the field with those from the Two-Thirds World are asked and expected to teach, describe and act as the authority (Said, 1978), which describes Orientalism and gender mainstreaming at work. The UNESCO-WTA Tour

programs have failed to distinguish the difference between mechanisms that *bring about* change and the activities or characteristics that are *associated with* change (Coalter, 2007, emphasis added), yet UNESCO and the WTA Tour are positioned to gain the most benefit from this partnership because their positions are reaffirmed as benevolent actors regardless of the outcomes of the programs. This leads me into my second critique of these programs, which is of the overall goal of empowerment and the ‘critical assumptions’ associated with each program. Each preconceived notion is based on characteristics that are assumed to be *associated with* change, but in reality provide no causal relationship in facilitating social change.

Objectives and Critical Assumptions

In each PIP, outlined in the project logical framework are project objectives and critical assumptions. The critical assumptions are made in an attempt to link program objectives to the desired UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership goals. Several objectives and critical assumptions are listed as bullet points for each program; however, I have chosen to focus on one specific project objective and two critical assumptions that I believe are extremely relevant to this, as well as other, gender initiatives.²⁹ The project objective to be unpacked is concerned with the empowerment of women (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.d), which is a key focus of UNESCO’s gender equality mandate (WTA Tour, 2007). Then the two critical assumptions I discuss are: that the participation of women in politics is a significant factor in the promotion of gender equality (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.c/d/e), and that the selected communities will be supportive of women’s participation in the UNESCO-WTA Tour

programs (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.a-e). These two critical assumptions appeared most consistently throughout program PIPs.

Project objective: As a result of the project activities, women become empowered to be more involved in the affairs of their communities.

‘Women’s empowerment’ is a concept that, although commonly utilized as a tool for development, has been endowed with unrealistic expectations given the personal complexities and neoliberal assumptions that accompany empowerment. The term ‘women’s empowerment’ generally brings about a ‘feel-good notion’ (Staudt, 2002) while also providing an indefinable seductiveness (Rai, 2002). UNESCO places emphasis on the belief that empowered women will strengthen their communities (WTA Tour, 2006). The World Bank identifies empowerment as a key element to poverty reduction and general development, and gender mainstreaming as necessary for development assistance (Malhotra et al., 2002). It loosely defines empowerment as having options, choices, control and power, in other words, human agency (Malhotra et al., 2002). Likewise, UNESCO (1999) defines women’s empowerment as “a process of awareness and capacity-building leading to greater participation in transformative action, to greater decision-making power and control over one’s life” (p.19). Other definitions include Batliwala’s (1994) notion of empowerment as “the process of challenging existing power relations, and of gaining greater control over the sources of power” (p.130), Kabeer’s (2001) definition as “an expansion in the range of potential choices available to women so that actual outcomes reflect the particular set of choices which the women in

question value” (p.81), and Rowlands’ (1997) Foucauldian argument that “empowerment is more than participation in decision-making; it must also include the processes that lead people to perceive themselves as able and entitled to make decisions” (p.14). McWhirter (1991) claims that in order for people, organizations or groups to become empowered they must: (a) become aware of the power dynamics at work in their life context, (b) develop the skills and capacity for gaining some reasonable control over their lives, (c) exercise this control without infringing upon the rights of others, and (d) support the empowerment of others in the community. It is important to note the difference between a ‘situation of empowerment’ and ‘an empowering situation’. In a situation of empowerment, all four of the above conditions are met, whereas an empowering situation falls short of providing all four conditions (Rowlands, 1995). From the PIPs used for analysis, it appears that the UNESCO-WTA Tour programs focus mostly on developing skills and capacity and possibly touch on the power dynamics at work. As a result, their programs fail to foster empowering situations.

It is also important to note from the previous chapter that empowerment comes with preloaded notions of what the end result should look like, and that in practice it benefits very few while reproducing marginalizing structures (Heywood & Dworkin, 2003). Empowerment comes with a litany of political rhetoric that feeds into neoliberal ideologies such as individualism and self-determination.

Arguably, the idea of giving power to someone assumes that they were powerless to begin with, denying them agency and obscuring the power relations that exist within certain contexts to make them appear ‘powerless’ (Lennie, 2001).

McWhirter's (1991) understanding of empowerment focuses on empowerment as a process, which relates to Coalter's (2007) argument that we need to better understand the processes that facilitate change. By contrast, the United Nations Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) focuses on empowerment as an outcome and looks for measurements that are *associated with* empowerment. The GEM uses the following indicators as measures of gender empowerment: percentage of total seats in parliament held by women; percentage of total female legislators, senior officials and managers; percentage of female professional and technical workers; and ratio of estimated female to male earned income (UNDP, 2007/2008). This illustrates how the development community continues to use simple numerical data as indicators of gender equity and fails to provide more context specific data such as violence against women, women's rights and cultural expectations.

The UNESCO-WTA programs have undoubtedly created some empowering situations through general awareness about power dynamics and developing certain skills for enhanced individual agency; nevertheless, they lack the appropriate understanding, resources and control to fully create situations of empowerment. This program objective is a significant indicator that little research has been performed prior to program implementation. Moreover, the lack of attention paid to males and the social construction of what it means to be a 'man' may leave women thinking that equality is something to be earned rather than a power relation to be negotiated. In these programs, empowerment becomes enacted through enhanced awareness, education, increased participation and access (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.a-e).

Providing alternative spaces for skill acquisition and discussion can be very useful for both individual psychological empowerment as well as collective autonomy. Yet as Stromquist (2002) suggests, educational programs must focus on challenging existing patriarchal ideologies and consider the geopolitical contexts. It is unlikely that knowledge will empower unless it is linked to power structures such as patriarchy, sexuality and colonialism (Stromquist, 2002). Therefore, the UNESCO-WTA Tour programs designed to create awareness and facilitate training and education must consider the socio-cultural context of the areas in which they are working and how their program may either challenge existing power relations or strengthen the status quo. Unfortunately, there is little evidence provided in the PIPs that indicates emphasis has been placed on dismantling the larger structures that create gender oppression. What is also often overlooked is that empowered individuals or communities may use their newly acquired knowledge to make choices that are neither preferred nor beneficial (Coalter, 2007).

Empowerment creates a paradox of enhanced agency and a predetermined notion of how that agency is to be used. Therefore, the assumption that empowered individuals will use their knowledge, skill and agency in the manner intended by the program is dependent on much more than individual desire. Perhaps after the training sessions are completed the women will lack the economic resources or legislative power to facilitate large-scale change, or fear community backlash against their new attitudes and beliefs. Individual change does not mean institutional change, which is the overall goal for gender equity (Rao & Kelleher, 2005). Creating awareness and self-efficacy are stepping stones for greater social change, but

institutional change is required for sustainable gender equity. Institutional change requires acceptance by wider society to alter informal norms and practices, in tandem with formal laws and policies to eliminate discrimination against women (Rao & Kelleher, 2005). This relates back to Jahan's (1995) agenda-setting approach to gender mainstreaming, but may be applied to any form of equitable practice that seeks to challenge hegemonic norms. I suggest we begin to shift our thinking from facilitating neoliberal notions of empowerment and self-efficacy to enhancing agency in order to expose the power relations that articulate to create privilege and oppression.

UNESCO and the WTA's attempts to empower women through the provision of traditionally male opportunities (in sectors such as education, science, culture and politics), inadequately addresses the needs and capabilities of women making them passive recipients in the development process (Rathgeber, 1995). The increased focus on women's capabilities rather than their vulnerabilities, although monumental in many respects, still exists within and is controlled by hegemonic forces (Murphy, personal communication, February 16, 2011). Empowerment has become a political project and an effect of global neoliberal capitalism. The intention of giving women agency assumes they had none to begin with, and in the end uses empowered bodies as symbols of capitalist expansion. The intent to empower is consistent with Orientalist discourse in that the Orient/women from the Two-Thirds World become passive recipients in an expanding modernizing project.

Critical assumption: The participation of women in formal politics is an important element of gender equality and of the promotion of female leadership.

UNESCO Education Program Specialist, Robert Parua, made the following statement at the announcement of the UNESCO-WTA Tour program in Jordan, “[u]ntil women are represented at leadership and decision-making levels, and until they benefit from equal rights and treatment in all spheres of public life...we cannot claim that women are full and equal citizens” (UNESCO, n.d.f). Comments like Parua’s are based on recommendations from the *Beijing Platform for Action* to “fast-track” gender equality, gender quotas and the general trend of increasing women’s political representation in decision-making positions. Gender quotas have become a popular method for world governments to show their support for gender equality, and thus political representation is seen as a necessity for women’s equality (Peterson & Runyan, 2010). This critical assumption has been most specifically applied to the UNESCO-WTA Tour programs in China, Jordan and the Dominican Republic because they focus on women in political spheres (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.c/d/e); even so, it is a fundamental belief behind every UNESCO-WTA Tour program that increasing the presence of women is essential to the success of gender equality.

Technical solutions for gender inequality such as increasing the presence of women in organizations and gender awareness training are not the defining mechanisms of change for political change or women’s empowerment (Otto, 1996; Tiessen, 2007). These strategies actually “tend to repeat many of the mistakes of the past, borrowing heavily from the problematic logic put forth by the Women in

Development (WID) school,” (p.20) which basically followed the guideline of “add women and stir” as a solution to gender inequality (Tiessen, 2007). The assumption that the few can represent the many (Peterson & Runyan, 2010) illustrates the inability of gender mainstreaming to fully question and understand how and if women can be spoken of as a singular group (Hankivsky, 2005). This is a case in point of devaluing the intersectionality of identity as well as Orientalism in practice, whereby acting beyond familiar boundaries leads to a manipulated representation of universal truth and arbitrary distinctions.

The technical measurement of gender mainstreaming as a process is apparent in the monitoring and evaluation of the UNESCO-WTA Tour programs. Evidenced by the outcome/impact indicator for each program, specific attention was paid to: the *number* of legal reform initiatives and *number* of legislative changes in Jordan (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.d); the *number* of women belonging to civil society organizations and political parties in the Dominican Republic that adopt the guidelines for implementing a gender approach to political participation (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.e); the increased *number* of females involved in community affairs and local politics in Cameroon (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.a); the *number* of rural women involved in local affairs in China (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.c); and increases of 20% in school enrolment and attendance rates by disadvantaged girls in Liberia (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.b). Each ‘output/impact indicator’ relies heavily on quantifiable measures of program success; however, even though numbers can be a strong indicator of success (e.g. number of immunizations provided), they may overestimate the amount of change or provide a superficial reading of that change. Increasing the

presence of women in arenas where they have historically remained absent does not guarantee gender equity. Using South Africa as an example, where women's political representation in parliament has climbed to approximately 30%, South African women continue to be treated as second-class citizens and the country itself to be known for brutal violence against women (Tiessen, 2007:117). Another example relevant to this partnership is Liberian president Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, who was elected in 2005 as the first female president in Africa. In theory, her selection should stand for nation-wide gender equality, yet Liberia remains rife with gender inequities as Liberia's *Family Code* affords few rights to women (e.g. married women have no parental authority), violence against women is common, female genital mutilation is still practiced and tradition continues to favour the rights of men (Social Institutions and Gender Index, n.d.). Despite the phenomenal achievement of women in South African politics and Liberia's choosing of a female president, their increased political representation and power in decision-making has failed to translate into widespread gender equality (Tiessen, 2007).

Cornwall (2007) highlights that the development mantra of getting women into groups to 'magically' transform and mobilize them to fight for collective interests and social justice is a trap that many programs fail to avoid. Arguments such as more women in political arenas will represent women's interests (Cornwall, 2007), and women will make decisions that favour women (Baden & Goetz, 1997:13) are assumptions that overstate the similarity of women and ignore the differences between them (Peterson & Runyan, 2010). Mohanty (1995) labels this practice as 'feminist osmosis', whereby *females* and *feminists* become lumped into the same

category under the assumption that all women resist in the same manners and for the same reasons. 'Universal sisterhood', as Mohanty (1995) calls it, performs an erasure of differences among groups of women such as class, sexuality, race, age and able-ness. Postcolonial feminist analysis questions what erasures are performed when all women are lumped into the same category, but perhaps a simpler question that should be posed is whether or not the physical presence of women is necessary, or should be necessary, for their interests to be represented (Walby, 2005). Thus, the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership's assumption that women in politics is required for the promotion of gender equality (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.c/d/e) reproduces the idea that to be a woman is to be a member of a single identity experienced similarly by all members. It is this type of unsuccessful logic that creates ineffective programming and paradoxically may be extremely successful at keeping marginalized women along the sidelines. Similarly, the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership may fail to bring many women into the mainstream and potentially solidifies their positions along the sidelines of development through the assumption that increased participation of women in politics will result in gender equality.

Another reason the assumption that all women support gender equality is problematic is because women, like many men in power who work to maintain their dominance:

also benefit when they hold positions of power. Senior women in bureaucratic organizations may promote the status quo to protect themselves and maintain their own personal power in relation to other women. (Tiessen, 2007:110).

Consequently, when the UNESCO-WTA Tour program in Jordan promotes women's legal literacy as a solution to gender inequality and expects institutional sponsorship from female Members of Parliament and Ministers it is based on the assumption that the current women in power support the idea of having more women in power (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.d), which realistically creates more competition for a limited number of positions. This assumption is contingent upon two factors: (1) that these women are available and, (2) that they would *want* to participate. Moreover, it must be acknowledged that women who enter politics often avoid making women's issues a significant part of their campaigns because men have "convinced women that talking about women's issues is of little importance" and that gender issues will reduce their credibility and popularity (Htun & Jones, 2002:48). Therefore, when United Nations Secretary General, Ban-Ki Moon states "[w]omen are likely to put gender issues on the agenda, set different priorities and possibly bridge the political divide more effectively" (United Nations, 2009c), this is indicative of a gender mainstreaming discourse that has substituted fact for fiction. It is a grand assumption that these women will carry on the crusade of gender equality after the completion of UNESCO-WTA Tour support without the proper motivation, sustainable measures, resources, and social/political/economic capital in place to continue promoting gender equity.

Critical assumption: Women will receive the necessary support from their communities to participate in the project.

As young women transition into their roles as adults, programs that target the empowerment of women and girls also attempt to shift the existing hierarchical power balance, and may put young women at risk of violating cultural norms and expectations (Salem, Ibrahim & Brady, 2003). In each of the PIPs, community acceptance and participation is highlighted as a possible barrier to success in a variety of manners:

- Liberia: girl's family and breadwinning responsibilities allow them to attend and remain in school (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.b)
- Dominican Republic: women receive the support of their families, organizations and political parties for their participation (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.e)
- Cameroon: communities are willing to participate and support the project (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.a)
- China: communities are willing to participate in the research (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.c)
- Jordan: the project is able to offset potential community opposition to women's training (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.d)

Brady (2005) acknowledges that the lives of young women in 'developing' nations become gradually directed towards more traditional notions of womanhood, such as focusing on issues of the home and tending to the family. A period termed "gender intensification" by Salem, Ibrahim and Brady (2003), defines the post-pubertal phase

where “conformity with codes of propriety and modesty are critical to ensuring marriageability and maintaining the political standing of male kin” (p.177). Brady (2005) argues for the necessity of ‘safe spaces’ in order for the development of girls and women. These spaces need to be considered culturally acceptable (i.e. to parents) while free from parental control, easily accessible and well known to potential participants, free from male intrusion and any harm, and provide general privacy and confidentiality (Brady, 2005). As young women in Two-Thirds World are often under the watch of the entire community, they may risk severe consequences if their actions “appear too bold or immodest, or if they challenge the sources of community power openly” (Salem et al., 2003: 178). From the PIPs it does not appear that creating safe spaces was a significant concern for each program based on the mitigation strategies deployed (to be discussed further); however, as this analysis does not include any field observations the lack of safe spaces remains a postulation. Yet the fact that community support is categorized as a critical assumption (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.a-e) should give weight to this partnership’s negligent community appraisal.

Scheyvens (1998) explains that empowerment can take both subtle and subversive forms, and that it is important to understand how each tactic may elicit different responses from the surrounding community. Subtle attempts for women’s empowerment “can result in strong undercurrents of change without being too confrontational; so they do not attract unnecessary attention and opposition to the change which is taking place” (Scheyvens, 1998:249). For subtle empowerment strategies to have the most impact, a comprehensive understanding of the local

cultural norms and practices is necessary (Tiessen, 2007). Subversive strategies, on the other hand, provide opportunities to tackle negative gender attitudes and provide political empowerment. These strategies fall under a more 'revolutionary' approach and can create openings for transformation, which appears to be the route chosen by UNESCO-WTA Tour programs. Yet, these tactics may also be perceived as a threat to the status quo because they are overt attempts to push the gender equality agenda. Third-wave feminism has proven revolutionary in that it has opened many doors for female expression; however, it has also falsely constructed the illusion that gender equality has been reached by certain women of the One-Thirds World, such as the PGEs. By stating that the players of the WTA Tour had to overcome challenges to be successful and that the WTA Tour offers the "highest level of sport" (WTA Tour, 2009c) implies that its players have conquered gender inequality, and consequently are realizing the rewards of their efforts. The players of the WTA Tour are certainly privileged over many other sportswomen, yet, as has been discussed, still receive unequal treatment in comparison to male tennis players. The UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership programs qualify as subversive strategies because they overtly challenge traditional notions of women's roles, and consequently invite conflict from those who currently benefit from the status quo.

Parpart, Rai and Staudt (2002) acknowledge that working-class women of the Two-Thirds World often do not have the flexibility of resources and time to participate in collective action, or that their participation comes at disproportionately high costs.³⁰ The target women for gender equality initiatives can often be described as those who experience "time poverty" due to their multiple roles and

responsibilities (Clisby, 2005). Therefore, despite attempts by programs to make their initiatives more accessible to potential participants, these women must perceive themselves to have free time, while also being perceived by others to have free time (Clisby, 2005). Furthermore, even though many women feel that they lack spare time for political matters, commonly associated as a male domain, their positions as community organizers/managers are often overlooked (Clisby, 2005). This is important for the UNESCO-WTA partnership to understand because their programs concentrate on empowering women in traditionally Western ideas of political involvement rather than working to facilitate gender equity within each specific community context.

The UNESCO-WTA Tour programs approach community acceptance and approval as if it is merely a logistical concern, rather than a necessity. In Liberia and the Dominican Republic, programs have identified accessible scheduling as mitigation strategies, such as starting school after work and market hours in Liberia (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.b). In spite of that, scheduling is only relevant if the potential participants consider themselves to have free time. Furthermore, the Liberian program planned to provide informal childcare for students (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.b), but given that childcare is often considered one of a woman's responsibilities this may be construed as an inappropriate option and a transfer of obligations. If community members feel that these women should be taking care of their children rather than attending school it may bring backlash upon the women and their families. Moreover, if the school feels the need to provide childcare, that act in itself

implies that these women do not have “free time” as this time would otherwise be spent caring for her children.

Additionally, the program in Cameroon describes encouraging registered marathon participants “to prepare for [the race] at least three months before the event to avoid health failure” (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.a). This mitigation strategy implies not only the perception of free time to train, but also the perception of self-efficacy with regard to physical activity because the PIP makes no mention of organized training sessions leading up to the marathon.

In Jordan, the program aims to use increased promotion among community leaders to mitigate possible community opposition (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.d). Unfortunately, it is difficult to discern what ‘promotion’ refers to, as this could range from simple flyers to informational sessions; nevertheless promotion does not connote a collaborative community process that will facilitate change, rather advertising of what has already been decided.

Lastly, the program in China makes no mention of gaining community support despite its need for communities to participate in research. The mitigation strategy mentioned is to “identify adequate channels to reach out to rural women for qualified research” (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.c); however, reaching rural women will not necessarily reach rural men, which makes it especially difficult to reach the program’s anticipated result of increased gender awareness among both rural men and women. These programs greatly underestimate the significance of community support as an integral component of program success, which speaks not only to

faulty program design and implementation but also to the limitations of gender mainstreaming.

The development of women cannot take place as an activity divorced from community development as a whole. The community must not only be aware of gender initiatives but must also buy into the potential benefits, changes and rationale as to why gender equity is necessary. Community development and female empowerment must take place concomitantly; otherwise, as outlined earlier by Scheyvens (1998), those who currently hold the power may interpret these actions as a threat, which may only bring about conflict and more inequity. There needs to be an increased focus on the structures and social/power relations that tend to keep marginalized groups on the sidelines, in tandem with efforts to transform actual attitudes and behaviours (Coalter, 2007). Through initiatives such as gender mainstreaming, these institutional structures that focus on superficial and integrationist methods of gender equality will continue to perpetuate oppression because they fail to understand that gender equity is anything but a numbers game.

Chapter Summary

In summary, this chapter analyzed the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership's strategy of using gender mainstreaming to attain the greater goal of gender equality. I unpacked the significance of understanding the causal relationship between change and the desired outcome. The partnership's goal of female empowerment and two critical assumptions were examined in order to explain how they negatively affect the success of the UNESCO-WTA Tour programs. Additionally, I discussed

the difference between situations of empowerment and empowering situations, to which I concluded the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership has created some situations of empowerment but has fallen short of creating empowering situations. Orientalism was also unpacked as the knowledge production that keeps women in the Two-Thirds World on the margins of the One-Thirds World. Gender mainstreaming, as a form of Orientalism, is another method of controlling the threat of gender equity through what Said (1978) refers to as an “increasingly profitable dialectic of information and control” (p.36). Through development organizations such as the UN, a one-way flow of information authorizes, constitutes, and reproduces itself in opposition to the chosen beneficiaries. Therefore, the Orientalist construction of gender mainstreaming perpetuates representations of UNESCO and the WTA Tour as benevolent authorities, and their beneficiaries as women that fit into a model of development that requires guidance and instruction.

Chapter 7

Conclusion – The Final Set

The UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership, despite its possibly noble intentions, has provided another entry point into the capitalist system that breeds inequity. The dominant narrative that runs throughout UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership documents is that of a self-authorized social responsibility owed to those in the Two-Thirds World. This partnership, like many, does not seek equitable social conditions but equal outcomes. I advise that both the practice and discourse of CSR need to stringently question their assumptions about social responsibility. I have also raised the question of what it means to be ‘authentic’ in socially constructed societies that have been centered around male norms. I argue that the common thread that ties all of my research questions together is the power of globalization, premised upon individual achievement and capitalist expansion. Women have become integral producers, perpetuators and members of the global capitalist system.

Summary of Results

In the beginning of this thesis I outlined six questions that were to guide my analysis of how CSR is represented as a tool for social change. In this section, I discuss and summarize my findings with regard to each of those questions. My first question was to determine what the ideological underpinnings of CSR were within this partnership. While going through UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership documents, it became apparent that this partnership is premised upon a self-determined responsibility to aid those identified as less privileged. The dominant narrative

(re)produced is that we from the Occident must help those from the Orient in order to improve the condition of all. Another research question I posed was how do the discourses of business affect development initiatives, which I would like to discuss now since it ties in with the ideological underpinnings of this partnership. Narratives put forth by this partnership assume that being socially responsible will result in beneficial outcomes, yet not once are the practices of CSR or gender equality critically questioned. As discussed in the literature review, CSR inherently values the free-market system and thus shapes society in a manner consistent with corporate interests and ideologies (Giulianotti, 2011). Former British politician and advocate for social justice, Tony Benn, eloquently stated that a major downfall of economic language is that it “classifies us according to our money and not our need” (Moore, 2007). For well-intentioned CSR managers, the capitalist free-market system, regrettably, does not value equitable social conditions and therefore reproduces many of the social inequities that CSR attempts to combat (e.g., poverty, hunger, gender inequity). Importantly, Blowfield (2005) has remarked that failing to question the values of CSR has led to faulty development logic premised on standards of Western economic development. Moreover, as has been touched on throughout this thesis, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* is a document closely aligned with Western neoliberal ideology and consequently privileges individual rights (e.g. the right to copyright) over collective rights. CSR proudly attempts to create social improvement under the banner of human rights without understanding the ramifications that have been created by this so-called ‘universal’

declaration such as privileging Eurocentric interests and overlooking cultural relativism.

I do not argue to dismantle CSR as either a business practice or a development tool, but rather provoke CSR managers to more stringently question their assumptions about, and approaches to, social responsibility. I believe the following questions posed by postcolonial theory can easily be applied in the early stages of CSR appraisals:

- Who is the producer of knowledge?
- What is our social location? What is the beneficiary's social location?
- Who becomes empowered and/or marginalized by our efforts?
- Who does this program benefit most?

To objectively answer these questions, CSR managers will need to adopt a more socio-cultural stance, which although not commonly integrated into business thinking, will increase a firm's informed field of vision (Harmon, Crowley, Coakley, Johnson & Southall, 2010). Incorporating public sociology perspectives (Donnelly, Atkinson, Boyle & Szto, 2011) into business practices may allow firms to make better use of their own resources and create less social disturbance.³¹ Speaking of sports specifically, there are few other industries that have the physical, technological, financial and human resources at their disposal and, even though sport will not necessarily 'save the world', it may have the ability to create tangible change in certain social inequities if approached cautiously.

The second research question I posed was directed at unpacking how gender equality is represented by the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership. Analyzed in depth

in chapter 4, it is quite evident that this partnership understands equality of genders as women attaining equality with men. Both UNESCO and the WTA Tour reproduce an outdated understanding of gender that is less socially constructed than it is a biological occurrence. According to this partnership, its creation is heavily premised upon the fight for equal prize money in professional tennis, a fight that has been won in theory, but a reward that has only been realized by a select few. Constantly walking in the shadow of men has manipulated gender equality into a matching game rather than a pursuit of equity. Many of these understandings stem from the discourse of international development, the language of the UN, and the promotion of gender mainstreaming. Gender mainstreaming as a process has reproduced the very barriers that it set out to dismantle because it has failed to de-centre men as the normative gender and account for the intersecting of identities.

Until the concept of gender more appropriately reflects the social constructions that describe men and women, initiatives such as the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership will continue to work for the very monster it seeks to destroy. As Darnell (2009) states, “re-dressing inequities – no matter how successfully – does little to address relations of power” (p.316). Moreover, arguing that women’s rights are human rights gives little credence to the fight for gender equity because in many respects it is questionable as to whether or not women are even considered human:

If women were human, would we be a cash crop shipped from Thailand in containers into New York’s brothels? . . . Would we be sexually and reproductively enslaved? Would we, when allowed to work for pay, be made to work at the most menial jobs and exploited at barely starvation level?

Would we be trafficked for sexual use and entertainment worldwide in whatever form current technology makes possible? Would we be kept from learning to read and write? . . . If women were human, would our violation be enjoyed by our violators? And, if we were human, when these things happened, would virtually nothing be done about it? (Mackinnon, 2006:41)

Sandra Reichel's comment that equality for women should be marked by authenticity is an insightful perspective that may be a powerful starting point for conceptualizing gender equity; however, this raises the question – what does it mean to be authentic? I interpret Reichel's statement not as one of essentialism (i.e. to be an authentic woman), but instead the exact opposite, authenticity as a fluid and negotiated process and not a destination. If authenticity is utilized as a foundation for individual and collective creation it may prove to be extremely transformative.

Arguably, the UNESCO-WTA Tour programs, as they stand, stifle women's authenticity (by any means) by providing courtesy opportunities for women that have been traditionally associated with male forms of success. Thus, gender equality as a discursive practice of Orientalism has already set boundaries of success, whereby to be a woman is fully constituted in advance of her own growth. It is a path that has been managed and outlined for women because, just as the Orient is never to define itself, neither are women allowed to define themselves. The convoluted world of human rights and gender equality has limited our perceptions of what it means to be a woman, and I contend that until being a woman is no longer equated with an inferior status (which in many ways would require a deconstruction of gender as an identity marker), gender equity will remain a point on the horizon to be reached.

The third research question that I posed investigated whether or not the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership's focus on gender overlooked other factors of marginalization such as race, class and sexuality. Echoing the argument of Hankivsky (2005), my research concludes that, much like many other gender equality initiatives, this partnership understands gender as *the* axis of oppression, rather than gender being a component in an interlocking web of identities that determines how and when privilege or oppression are experienced. All women are assumed to experience oppression in the same manners and resist in the same forms. Therefore, it is important that we move away from the idea that women can be spoken of as a homogenous group, because when we speak generally about 'all women' it is difficult to help 'any' women in particular. This construction is consistent with Said's (1978) arguments about Orientalism, in that to speak of all women in the Two-Thirds World as the same person permits gender equality initiatives to speculate, represent, and consequently apply catch-all solutions to women deemed less privileged.

Intersectional analysis is a valuable tool for better understanding people and their circumstances, yet at the same time this does not mean we can ever fully understand the plight of anyone from a distance. The two common mistakes of either speaking on behalf of someone or not speaking at all under the assumption that our difference is too great must be transformed into opportunities to speak and work together. Specifically, with regard to the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership, race, sexuality and class become non-issues in the search for gender equality. To deal with gender as a category unto itself has been unpacked as extremely

problematic and ineffective because people do not fit into singular categories. In the same way Elizabeth Pisani's (2008) work on the epidemiology of AIDS brought her to the realization that surveilling the disease required a change from categorizing people's activities in neat boxes into illustrating them as overlapping circles (Pisani, 2008), I assert that future gender initiatives should consider a similar approach, for we are one and all of our identities at the same time. Our gender is informed by our class, sexuality, age, race, able-ness and nationality simultaneously, and at times independently; but to treat one identity is merely addressing a symptom rather than offering a cure.

The fourth research question I posed was what kind of knowledge is (re)produced by the PGE program? It was discovered that promoting the idea of girl power results in success for some women within a patriarchal society, but also results in marginalization and manipulation of most women under a capitalist system that looks for new ways to commodify people. The *Girl Effect* was unpacked as a CSR initiative that attempts to bring more women into the global capitalist system through the mystification of commodification. This mystification makes social relations, such as the responsibility of women from the One-Thirds World to aid women in the Two-Thirds World, seem natural which, as a consequence, masks the power relations that reproduce oppression of women in the Two-Thirds World. My research provides, at best, an introductory look into the effects that globalization has on women of the Two-Thirds World. Mohanty (2003a) argues, "privilege nurtures blindness to those without the same privileges" (p.131); thus we commonly fail to question how our privilege in the One-Thirds World materializes as oppression of

those in the Two-Thirds World, especially for women and young girls. The assumption that young women in the Two-Thirds World are destined to early pregnancy, poverty, and illiteracy without *Girl Effect* projects to save them, is an example of Orientalism producing the Other as eternally powerless and stagnant.

Moreover, it was discussed how using star athletes as role models reproduces their distance from those they attempt to empower. Using famous athletes to 'give voice' performs a pattern of domination in which we only ever receive an interpretation of the truth. Therefore, just as Said (1978) explains the Orientalist as the *writer* and the Oriental as the *written*, the PGEs reproduce this discursive practice by articulating and describing women in the Two-Thirds World, and never do we hear from the women themselves. Following Meier and Saavedra's (2009) work on female role models in sport for development programs, we should move away from the idea that role models are necessary "to inspire and motivate those not represented in desirable professions and places" (p.1172) because superstar role models are often detached from the lived experiences of the women these programs attempt to reach. Yet, as problematic as celebrity philanthropy can be, I argue that we should not discount its power as a mobilizing force.

Understandably, celebrity philanthropy diminishes traditional forms of governance; however, we must be pragmatic about its value and look to engage celebrity activists as, what Meyerson and Tompkins (2007) call, tempered radicals. Tempered radicals are "simultaneously insiders and outsiders" (pg.311) and exist in a marginalized space where their interests or identities conflict with the dominant culture of the institution/organization to which they belong (e.g. feminists in the

military, environmentalist in the oil industry) (Meyerson & Tompkins, 2007). Belonging to groups with contradictory purposes enables the tempered radical to maintain a critical outlook on both organizations (Meyerson & Tompkins, 2007). These individuals possess a great potential for driving social change because they are embedded in neither organization but have the ability to pull resources, legitimacy and contacts from both; thus, I argue that the dedicated celebrity activist, as a tempered radical, may be utilized as an integral force where change is needed. Celebrity philanthropy can be used to engage people in social issues that they, otherwise, may have never considered; and it also draws attention to, or maintains attention on, issues that may easily be forgotten such as the crisis in Darfur (Foreman, 2009).³² It is a power that currently runs without oversight and consequently falls short of its objectives because NGO's/non-profits/governments have failed to create (non-market driven) mechanisms that can translate public awareness into social change. Therefore, increased effort should be directed towards harnessing the power of celebrity athletes/philanthropists to use them as facilitators for awareness, educated dialogue and collective action, rather than as promoters of individual consumption.

The last research question posed was: how must CSR as a development tool adapt to work in different contexts and regions. Upon reflection, this question stands out as positivist in its assumption that CSR has the ability to adapt to different contexts and once adapted will have positive effects. With that said, after having completed my analysis of the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership, I again argue that CSR has the potential to become a valuable tool for development if implemented

with a support system that includes government and civil activities, and not as a stand-alone solution (Blowfield, 2005). I reason that CSR's potential comes from its ability to provide resources and generate action, yet if CSR continues to operate in its current state of authority and market solutions for welfare issues, it may further widen the gap between the privileged and oppressed.

CSR is represented by the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership as a tool of the free-market capable of bringing about social change. It privileges individual success over collective wellbeing and individual change over structural transformation. This is a key point because as King (2011) has noticed, from every American Presidential administration starting from Reagan to Obama, the state has used CSR to redefine the relationship between itself and its citizens pretending as if civil society and the state are not intertwined entities. The question that arises with this representation is - how does global neoliberal capitalism fix the problems caused by global neoliberal capitalism? To say that CSR and large institutions such as sport are mutually exclusive of social welfare may be the position taken by many, yet I argue an equally important question to ask is, what is expected of CSR? Expecting CSR to dismantle the corporate capitalist system is unrealistic, but I reiterate that it may be used as a tactic for grassroots changes to supplement larger state and civil initiatives. I do not believe CSR by itself has the ability to solve the world's problems, but I do challenge that it has the power to make the world better for certain people in certain circumstances.

Tying all of my research questions together to answer how CSR is represented as a tool for social change, I find that regardless of whether I speak of

professional sport, CSR, international development, or gender equality the link between them all is the immense power of globalization for a number of reasons. First of all, professional tennis is a prime example of globalization because it is one of the first modern sports to expand internationally both through its players and competitions (Smart, 2007). Secondly, CSR is ultimately a capitalist project that assists in the production of a global marketplace despite its attempt to provide social welfare. Babiak (2010) acknowledges that sport utilizes CSR as a “prong of global expansion” (p.546), reinforcing its legitimacy as a global actor. Thirdly, whether we speak of international development or gender equality, both are effects of the globalization of human rights, which as has been discussed previously, privileges individualism and the right to operate freely in a market economy. Therefore, as much as the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership is a case study in CSR, my research has exposed its existence as only possible through globalization. This is a significant realization in that globalization, as an amalgamating force, is also hegemonic in its division of privileging “market over state, global over local, finance capital over manufacturing, finances over social welfare, and consumers over citizens” (Marchand & Runyan, as cited in Mohanty, 2003a:247). In our efforts to bring everyone into the same arena we inherently relegate certain populations to the sidelines, which poses an extremely difficult challenge to those trying to create social change. This knowledge should force even the best of intentions under the microscope as we question the value of not only social responsibility and the human rights we privilege so vehemently, but also of the mechanism by which our goodwill is spread.

I envision social change through a postcolonial feminist lens as a restructuring of knowledge production to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the forces that limit transformation, instead of merely including knowledge from the Two-Thirds World. Postcolonial feminism recognizes that *all* women can contribute to social change (Anderson, 2000; McEwan, 2001). It is a transformative process that has no defined end goal but provides a direction in which discourses may be moved towards. Thus, for CSR initiatives such as the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership to benefit from this analysis, they must eliminate any preconceived notions of what success, equality and development entail and begin conceptualizing social justice as a constant negotiation of power balancing.

Limitations

One limitation of this research project was the fact that it was limited to texts attained from the Internet and a few documents provided from the WTA Tour. Unfortunately, either UNESCO and the local implementing organizations were unwilling to actively participate in the research process or I was unable to find contact information for the organization. Therefore current updates about the programs were unobtainable despite many attempts to contact the local organizations. Even though I had limited contact with the partnership, I contend that the documents used for my analysis provide valuable insights into CSR and professional sport.

Using Orientalism as a theoretical framework brings with it certain limitations. From Said's sometimes fluid definition of Orientalism (Ahmad, 1992) to his complete

oversight of the effect of Orientalism on Oriental women (Yegenoglu, 1998), many critics have challenged the discourse of Orientalism. I take this opportunity to touch on two limitations that I find most salient for my use of Orientalism: the binary relationship of Orientalism and the essentialization of the West. Some of Said's critics argue that his complaint about the dichotomous relationship between the Occident and the Orient is reproduced by his own analysis of Orientalism in which his inability to offer any alternatives for this relationship in fact reifies the binary (Ahmad, 1992; Lewis, 2004; Young, 1990). I found a parallel contention with the descriptions of One-Thirds World and Two-Thirds World, which although refer to qualities of life and allow for movement between groups, are terms that still divide the world into two categories of 'Us' and 'Not-Us'. Further, Ahmad (1992) contends that Said's explanation of Orientalism denies any type of agency to the Orient:

But what is remarkable is that with the exception of Said's own voice, the only voices we encounter in the book are precisely those of the very Western canonicity which Said complains, has always silenced the Orient. Who is silencing whom, who is refusing to permit a historicized encounter between the voice of the so-called 'Orientalist' and the many voices that 'Orientalism' is said so utterly to suppress, is a question that is very hard to determine as we read this book. It sometimes appears that one is transfixed by the power of the very voice that one debunks. (p.172-173)

In Said's attempt to protect the Orient and point out the West's wrongdoings, he inherently silences the Orient and privileges the voice of the Occident. Similarly, in my attempt to acknowledge the circumstances of those in the Two-Thirds World, I

also found myself privileging the voices of those in the One-Thirds World because they were the only voices represented. Moreover, in Said's attempt to unpack the power of Orientalism and its effects, he also essentializes Europe and European knowledges as singular entities that are historically contaminated and incapable of changing (Ahmad, 1992). Thus, in Said's explanation of Orientalism, the West becomes constructed as an object to be known and described. To this end, Ahmad (1992) questions: "[in] what sense, then, is Said himself not an Orientalist – or at least...an 'Orientalist-in-reverse?'" (p.183). In the same respect, it was difficult not to essentialize feminists from the One-Thirds World and perform the same reverse-Orientalism that Ahmad speaks of; but, this is where intersectionality proved to be advantageous for the research process because it facilitated recognition of *constructed* essentialism and universalism among women.

Despite the flaws of Orientalism, I maintain that its premise, of a binary relationship in which each attempts to represent the other, is an extremely valuable tool for analysis and explains many of the power relations unpacked in the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership. Said (1978) himself explains that his intention was never to displace this binary relationship with an alternative, but "to describe a particular set of ideas" (p.325). He uses the discussion of Orientalism to raise questions about the human experience, questions which challenge the Occidental way of thinking. My analysis was able to critically question the value and limitations of the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership, which is a product of multiple normative institutions, through Said's illumination of contra-normative thinking.

Contributions to Research

The UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership for gender equality has, to the best of my knowledge, never been researched before. It is a specific, but significant, case study that has provided noteworthy findings with regard to the areas of Orientalism, sport and CSR, CSR and international development, gender equality and the *Girl Effect*. Specifically, my research project has contributed new knowledge in four different respects. First, it has answered Levermore's (2010) call for increased analysis of CSR initiatives put forth by sporting organizations that involve international development. Second, my case study of the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership provides one more piece of the puzzle that Newell and Frynas (2007) call the developmental potential of CSR. This research project has contextualized the difficulties that accompany using CSR as a tool for development rather than as a business tool. Arguably, as a business tool, CSR enables a corporation to take a proactive stance with its customers and potential market pressures; yet, using it as a development tool, corporations often enter distant and unfamiliar geographic and cultural situations, consequently often reproducing social inequities. This brings about questionable practices such as the possible recolonization of certain areas and people that may negate any good intentions. Third, my research has provided a necessary critical evaluation of gender mainstreaming, which answers McRobbie's (2009) call for applying postcolonial feminism to the widely accepted and implemented process of gender mainstreaming. Lastly, it has also contributed to the limited use of Orientalism as a theoretical lens for sports studies demonstrating how knowledge (re)produced at a distance can have debilitating effects on those we have

never met. Orientalism has enabled me to highlight the power relations that articulate the identities of both the privileged and the oppressed.

Recommendations

A number of recommendations flow from my analysis of this partnership for both UNESCO and the WTA Tour, generally for future CSR partnerships of this nature, and for future research. Regarding this specific partnership, I postulate that perhaps a better approach than promoting global gender equality would be to promote *global equity within local contexts*. Given that both UNESCO and the WTA Tour are global organizations, they have the ability to reach various communities through their everyday operations, but applying a universal answer to context specific issues is where much of development work fails. I suggest a more holistic approach to social change whereby UNESCO and the WTA Tour work with communities that seek their support in order to create a dialogue for what an equitable community would look like, and to address the structural access necessary to facilitate improved human agency. This would allow for each community to decide what an equitable solution would entail, while also enhancing the condition of communities in the Two-Thirds World. In this type of collaboration, it must be acknowledged that UNESCO and the WTA Tour come from positions of privilege, yet are not authorities in the local context and instead must learn to work with women from the Two-Thirds World to create sustainable and meaningful change.

Additionally, I suggest that the WTA Tour organize panel discussions during the qualifying weekend of select tournaments with the PGEs to facilitate dialogue

about women's experiences in sport, good and bad (e.g., racism, sexism, homophobia, classism etc.), in order to determine where future changes can be made for the betterment of women's sport and women in general. Also, if the programs in Liberia, Cameroon, Jordan, China and the Dominican Republic are to continue with UNESCO-WTA Tour support then either national level players or coaches from those respective countries should be selected to act as PGEs, or the current PGEs should look to support programs in locations where they frequently visit. This will enable the PGEs to provide more consistent and culturally specific mentorship while also having a stronger understanding of the local context and its structural limitations/strengths. Moreover, the WTA Tour should, if this process is not already underway, begin negotiating for the final match at Grand Slam tournaments. Historically, the men's final has always been the culmination of the major tournaments, symbolizing the "big finish" and also reproducing men's competition as the epitome of elite sport. Alternating men's and women's finals on the last day of Grand Slams would be a simple, yet significant, change to women's sports demonstrating some of the respect that is so naturally afforded to male athletes.

Another recommendation for this partnership is to reconceptualize gender and gender equality. The WTA Tour, as the premier professional sporting arena for women, has the ability and platform to create a discussion of what 'authentic' equality could look like. Despite former WTA Tour CEO Larry Scott's stating that "[WTA players play] a very significant role [in social change] but [the WTA Tour does not] have a political and social agenda" (AFP, 2008), I argue that it should not shy

away from this opportunity. It must break away from the ideas that sports are apolitical and that women are the gender complement to men. Although women's tennis has, thus far, failed to challenge the traditionally male domain of sports, it may have created enough room within the institution to start appropriating spaces for authentically female expressions of athleticism and equity.

Furthermore, I advocate for the corporate sector to adopt a more critical socio-cultural approach with their CSR programs. In other words, CSR managers need to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the social and cultural (e.g. spacial, environmental, political factors) macro-complexities that create, reproduce and alter imbalances of power. These are the forces that affect anyone and everyone and are rarely explicitly noticed. Socio-cultural studies receive criticism for privileging theory over action, whereas the business sector's greatest strength and weakness lies in its ability to take action and create large-scale change. Adopting a socio-cultural, or public sociological, stance will enable corporations to better understand Blowfield's (2005) critique that inequality is not an effect of difference but of hegemonic power. Thus, although corporations may not choose to outright challenge how business operates, they may choose to use CSR to modify their own behaviours and interests. As Blowfield (2005) argues, perhaps CSR's most significant contribution to date has been its ability to create new dialogues and ways of thinking about business's relationship with society; therefore, embracing the sociological and cultural implications of CSR will hopefully enhance future dialogue and applications.

My last recommendation is for corporations and NGOs/non-profits to demand more accountability from each other in order to ensure positive outcomes for their beneficiaries. Corporations must hold their non-profit partners to sound monitoring and evaluation methods that recognize the *mechanisms* of change and NGOs/non-profits must hold corporations accountable for ethical practices (e.g., labour, trade, environmental) that do not reproduce social inequities. Relating to my previous recommendation, understanding the socio-cultural ramifications of CSR activities may better equip corporations to contribute more to partnerships than just financial resources and marketing capabilities. Especially with regard to CSR as a development tool, more needs to be learned about the effects of corporate involvement in development initiatives. Corporations must be wary of the assumption that partnering with an NGO is *equivalent* to social change (King, 2011), and NGOs must fight against the influence of business thinking on development practices. CSR much like anything is not *apriori* good or bad, but instead depends on how its influence and power relations are used. CSR should be embraced as a resource to be used in conjunction with government and civil society and look for opportunities to foster equitable structural access.

Future Research

The questions addressed by this research project have also opened up new areas for exploration. Perhaps the most obvious future research that should branch from this analysis is an evaluation of the effects of the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership in Liberia, Cameroon, Jordan, China and the Dominican Republic. It is a

task that would have been too time consuming and cost-intensive for a Master's project; however, it has the potential to provide valuable insights into the material effects of CSR as a development tool. Another potentially significant research topic that has stemmed from this project is the importance of China to the WTA Tour's operations. China is often the exception in this partnership because it is the only country represented which has well publicized strategic opportunities for the WTA Tour (Associated Press, 2010; Robson, 2009; Rossingh, 2010; WTA Tour, 2010f). Furthermore, it would also be valuable to increase research on the role of athletes and their organizations' CSR activities, or athlete social responsibility (ASR) as termed by Carter (2009). Seeing how Venus Williams was a driving force behind this CSR partnership, I question the support athletes receive from their organizations when pursuing social initiatives. It would be insightful to find out if the PGEs would prefer more hands-on involvement or prefer their role as spokespersons. Moreover, I echo Mohanty's (2003a) call for enhanced understanding from the social location of women from the Two-Thirds World as an entry point for "demystifying capitalism and for envisioning transborder social and economic justice" (p.250). For as totalizing as the globalization of capitalism can be, she argues that with its ability to destroy possibilities, it also creates spaces for new possibilities in its wake. Lastly, I find the exploration of what authentic equality of persons would entail an intriguing project and I contend that analyzing female athletes, who have so openly straddled the constructed gender divide, would contribute valuable knowledge. Especially considering the WTA Tour's claim that it is the leading professional sport for women,

it would be worthwhile to examine exactly if and/or how the WTA Tour directs gender constructions within sport.

Final Words

“Alone we can go faster, but together we can go further.” – African proverb

Using Edward Said’s theory of Orientalism to analyze the UNESCO-WTA Tour partnership for global gender equality has provided many valuable insights into gender equality, CSR, international development and globalization. We must be cognizant of how attempts from the One-Thirds World to ‘develop’ the Two-Thirds World may in fact feed the structures and systems that create inequity. No longer should the few represent the many, but this does not mean that many cannot help a few. The world remains divided not for a lack of goodwill, but for a lack of understanding the complexities of the socio-cultural web we have woven.

Appendix 1 – Table 1: Country Profiles

Country	Geographical Location	Median Age of Women	Fertility Rate (per/woman)	Per capita GDP (USD)	Religious Makeup	Literacy Rate of Females	School expectancy of females	Country History
Liberia (CIA World Factbook, n.d.b)	Western Africa; 19.3borders Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea & Sierra Leone	18	5.69	\$500	40% Christian, 20% Muslim, 40% Indigenous	41%	8 years	Originally a settlement of freed slaves from the US, the war-torn country still faces security and peace issues.
Cameroon (CIA World Factbook, n.d.c)	Western Africa; borders Nigeria, Cha, C. African Rep., Rep. of the Congo, and Eq. Guinea	19.3	4.33	\$2,300	40% Indigenous, 40% Christian, 20% Muslim	59.8%	8 years	Colonized by France & England, the present Cameroon was born in 1961. Relatively stable economy, government and peace.
Jordan (CIA World Factbook, n.d.d)	Middle East; borders Saudi Arabia, Israel, Syria and Iraq	23.6	3.46	\$5,300	92% Sunni Muslim, 6% Christian	84.7%	13 years	Originally governed by Britain, Jordan gained independence in 1947. Has a constitutional monarchy and one of the smaller economies in the M.East.
China (CIA World Factbook, n.d.a)	Easter Asia; borders Mongolia, Russia, Pakistan, Vietnam, Burma etc.	34.7	1.79	\$6,600	Daoist/ Buddhist, 2-4% Christian, 1-2% Muslim, (officially atheist)	86.5%	11 years	Once a leading civilization, China faced civil unrest, famines and foreign occupations throughout 19 th & 20 th centuries. Living standards have improved since 1978; however, the government maintains tight political control.
Dominican Republic (CIA World Factbook, n.d.e)	Caribbean; borders Haiti	25.1	2.76	\$8,300	95% Roman Catholic	87.2%	13 years	Conquered by the Spanish and the Haitians, the D.R. gained final independence in 1865. Civil war and US intervention occurred during the 1960's.
United States (CIA World Factbook, n.d.f)	North America; borders Canada & Mexico	38.1	2.06	\$46,400	51% Protestant, 24% Roman Catholic	99%	16 years	Recognized in 1783 as the United States of America the country has battled through a Civil War and the Great Depression.

*Developed from CIA World Factbook (n.d.a-f) data

Appendix 2 – Table 2: Project Implementation Plan Overviews

Place	Project	Implementer	Purpose	Activities	Expected Results
Jordan (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.d)	Eradication of women's legal poverty	General Federation of Jordanian Women & the Family Guidance and Awareness Centre	Empower women and strengthen their involvement in society throughout their increased legal literacy	1 high visibility launch event; 20 legal literacy capacity building training workshops; 1 closing event	↑ Legal literacy of 400 women; ↑ participation of women in politics; ↑ participation of women in the legal reform process to promote gender equality
China (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.c)	Rural women's participation in local affairs and decision making	All China Women's Federation & the Chinese Women's Movement Magazine	↑ Participation of women in local affairs in rural areas of China, and to promote a more balanced decision making process in rural areas of China	Research on the situation of women's participation in local affairs in rural China in a selected pilot site; produce a publication on stories about 25 successful Chinese women; publish some of the stories in the Chinese Women's Movement Magazine; book launch for the publication	↑ Awareness of the importance of a more gender balanced decision making process; ↑ awareness among rural men and women about gender issues
Cameroon (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.a)	Promotion of gender equality in the North West Province (NWP) of Cameroon	Light Africa	Accompany, support and promote local women's leadership; promote gender equality and empower women	Provision of technical assistance to women's groups and or unions of groups; leadership training workshops; celebrate International Women's Day; organize a female marathon; provide scholarships to female athletes; capitalization of project experiences	Women's group and/or unions renew their executive bureau members; ↑ leadership and organizational capacity of grassroots women's groups and unions in NWP; ↑ gender awareness at community level; ↑ awareness about the role of women as a result of 150 women in a marathon; ↑ presence of female athletes in national sport events (e.g. Mount Cameroon Race)

*Information developed from Project Implementation Plans

Appendix 2 – Table 2 (continued)

Place	Project	Implementer	Purpose	Activities	Expected Results
Dominican Republic (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.e)	Develop political participation of young women in the Enriquillo region	Center of Governance and Social Management and Centre of Gender Studies of INTEC University of Santo Domingo	Develop female leadership through the training of young women pertaining to organizations of civil society and political parties in Enriquillo; promote changes in the evaluation of leadership and political participation of women	1 participative diagnosis of the political participation of women; discussion workshop for 25 young women; meeting of women political national leaders; 1 training course on female leadership for 20 women	Better capacity of leadership for women in Enriquillo region; better institutional capacity of women organizations of the civil society in the Enriquillo region; raise awareness regarding gender issues in the Enriquillo region
Liberia (UNESCO-WTA, n.d.b)	Special Girls Education Initiative	Girls Education Unit of Liberia's Ministry of Education	Ensure that girls have equal access to quality primary and secondary education; and provide encouragement and incentives for girls toward their retention and enhanced performance in school	Reintroduce the night school program exclusively for women and girls in one major public High School	↑ Access to primary and secondary education for disadvantaged girls in the Monrovia area; ↑ completion rates of primary and secondary education among disadvantaged girls in the Monrovia area; a special girls' school operational and the model piloted and ready to be replicated in other schools

*Information developed from Project Implementation Plans

Appendix 3 – Table 3: Host Organization Profiles

Name of Host Organization	Established	Mandate	Misc. Information
General Federation of Jordanian Women (Arab Youth Directory, n.d.)	1981	Improving the status of women in society; training women in voluntarism; training young women in information and communication technologies; raising young women's awareness on issues of politics, sexual and reproductive health.	Covers 86 Jordanian women's organizations throughout 11 local branches.
All-China Women's Federation (n.d.)	1949	To represent and to protect women's rights and interests, and to promote equality between men and women.	The highest level of ACWF governance is the National Congress of Chinese Women.
Light Africa (Etaka, 2009)	Unknown	To promote local development and advocate for the marginalized and minority grassroots people.	
INTEC University – Center of Gender Studies (Instituto Tecnológico de Santo Domingo, n.d.)	1972	The Instituto Tecnológico de Santo Domingo (INTEC) is a private coeducational university founded by young professionals. Offers undergraduate and postgraduate studies.	Began with intent to contribute to the social transformation of the country and improvement of its quality of life. Incorporated legally by means of Presidential Decree.
Liberian Ministry of Education (Li, 2007)	N/A	Government ministry responsible for determining the policies and direction of the educational system in Liberia.	Approx. 50% or more of Liberia's schools were destroyed during civil conflict. Some 60% of teachers have never received proper training.

*Information developed from each respective website

Appendix 4 – Acronym List

AIDS – Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
ASR – Athlete social responsibility
ATP – Association of Tennis Professionals
CARE – Christian Action Research and Education
CDA – Critical discourse analysis
CEDAW – Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CEO – Chief Executive Officer
CIBC – Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce
CNN – Cable News Network
CSR – Corporate social responsibility
DAW – Division for the Advancement of Women
ESPN – The Entertainment and Sports Programming Network
FIFA – Fédération Internationale de Football Association
FIS - Fédération Internationale de Ski
FSC – Forest Stewardship Council
GEM – Gender Empowerment Measure
ICRW – The International Centre for Research on Women
IMG – International Management Group
IOC – International Olympic Committee
MDG – Millennium Development Goal
MPH – Make Poverty History campaign
NGO – Non-governmental organization
PGE – Promoter of gender equality
PIP – Project Implementation Plan
PPR – Principle of public responsibility
SDP – Sport for development and peace
TNC – Transnational corporation
UN – United Nations
UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNDP – United Nations Development Program
UNGEI – United Nations Girl’s Education Initiative
UNIFEM – United Nations Development Fund for Women
UN-INSTRAW – United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
USD – United States Dollar
USTA – United States Tennis Association
WID – Women in development
WTA Tour – Women’s Tennis Association Tour

Notes:

¹ Original 9: Billie Jean King, Rosie Casals, Nancy Richey, Judy Dalton, Kerry Melville Reid, Julie Heldman, Kristy Pigeon, Peaches Bartkowicz and Valerie Ziegenfuss (WTA Tour, 2010b).

² The Grand Slams or major tournaments of the tennis calendar are the Australian Open, the French Open (also known as Roland Garros), Wimbledon and the United States Open (ITF Tennis, n.d.)

³ Neoliberalism privileges free market policies, consumer choice, self-reliance, corporate interests, and small government. It is an ideology that benefits the wealthy to the detriment of those less fortunate and seeks to dismantle social welfare programs. (Chomsky, 1999)

⁴ Globalization is a term with various meanings. It has been explained in economic terms as the “loose combination of free-trade agreements, the Internet and the integration of financial markets that is erasing borders and uniting the world into a single, lucrative, but brutally competitive, marketplace” (Friedman, 1996:A15). Other scholars choose to explain globalization as a process that includes “the compression of the entire world, on the one hand, and a rapid increase in consciousness of the whole world, on the other. Contemporary globalization has produced a global circumstance in which civilizations, regions, nation-states, nations...are increasingly constrained to construct their own histories and identities...In other words, in the contemporary world there is an increasing anticipation and expectation of uniqueness and, thus, variety” (Robertson & Khondker, 1998:28-29). For my thesis, I have chosen to anchor globalization as a term to describe the expansion and infiltration of capitalist economics into institutions and discourses such as international development, sport, and gender equality. I recognize that globalization has strong influences on culture and politics as well; however, because my project is premised upon CSR, which is a business practice, I privilege globalization as an economic phenomenon.

⁵ IMG and Octagon agencies own a combined 80% of WTA events and represent (approximately) 75% of its athletes (Rosner & Shropshire, 2004).

⁶ Global Advisory Board consists of: Darcy Antonellis (President Technical Operation, Warner Bros. Entertainment Inc.), Sir Richard Branson (Chairman & Founder Virgin Group Ltd.), Claude de Jouvencel (Chairman – Wine & Spirits Assoc. of France), Karen House (Former Publisher Wall Street Journal), Billie Jean King (Co-Founder World Team Tennis & WTA Tour Founder), Jay Lorsch (Professor, Human Relations – Harvard Business School), Scott Mead (President & Founder Partner – Richmond Park Capital), Edward Meyer (President & Founding Partner – Ocean Road Advisors), Arnon Milchan (Owner & Founder - Regency Enterprises), Bert Nordberg (President – Sony Ericsson Mobile Communications), Wick Simmons (Former Chairman - International Tennis Hall of Fame), Jan Soderstrom (Chief Marketing Officer – SunPower Corporation), Kimberly Williams (COO, NFL Network). (WTA Tour, 2010h)

⁷ The term ‘Girl Effect’ was coined by Nike and will be further explored in Chapter 5.

⁸ Marx’s original conception of reification was premised upon two aspects: “autonomization of objectivity in unconnectedness with the human activity by which it has been produced”; and, “autonomization of the economic which makes thing-relations of the human relations of production” (Berger & Pullberg, 1965:199). Reification, in other words, creates a social reality that can only be expressed between people via a political economy that is mediated by

commodities (Berger & Pullberg, 1965). Postcolonial understanding of reification has been extrapolated to do less with the political economy and rather the concretization of hegemonic ideas and identity formations (Feldman, 2002; San Juan Jr., 2002). Further extended to feminist postcolonial analysis, I use the term reification to explain the construction and affirmation of women's intersectional identities in the One-Thirds world and Two-Thirds world as fluid and negotiable relations of each other.

⁹ Due to the fact that this research project is a discourse analysis, I was unable to study the materialization of gender mainstreaming.

¹⁰ I have elected to use the terms One-Thirds World and Two-Thirds World instead of the more commonly used labels of developed and undeveloped or high-income and low-income. Although I am not completely satisfied with this categorization, I believe that it best describes the divide experienced by UNESCO and the WTA Tour against their chosen beneficiaries in Liberia, Cameroon, Jordan, China and the Dominican Republic. The terms One-Thirds and Two-Thirds Worlds were created by Esteva and Prakash (1998) as a way to better represent the quality of life experienced by social minorities, who in fact represent the majority of the world. These terms are disassociated from geographic constraints and general prejudices, yet at the same time also perform an erasure of colonization that the terms First-world/Third-world and West/East better acknowledge (Mohanty, 2003a).

¹¹ The terms First-World, Second-World, and Third World came about after the Second World War and were used as geopolitical markers (Nations Online, 2011). First-World nations were categorized by American influence/alliance, capitalist ideology and industrialization (Nations Online, 2011). Second-World nations were those belonging to the former Soviet Union and its satellite countries (Nations Online, 2011). The term Third-World was used to describe any country that did not fit into the First and Second-World category (Nations Online, 2011). Mohanty (2003b) explains the terms First-World and Third-World as a way to attribute value "in a world that appropriates and assimilates multiculturalism and 'difference' through commodification and consumption" (p.505). They are essentialist terms that are outdated and no longer reflect the world's economic, political and cultural circumstances.

¹² The print ad shows three tennis balls centered towards the top of the page with the female symbol in the left ball, an equal sign in the centre ball, and the male symbol in the right ball. Below the tennis balls in large text reads: UNESCO and Sony Ericsson WTA Tour Working Together for Gender Equality. Below that line reads a quote in small text from Billie Jean King, UNESCO Global Mentor for Gender Equality: "There is so much work still to be done when it comes to breaking down barriers to opportunity for women and girls throughout the world, and one of the most effective things we can do is combine our resources, energies and expertise." Below King's quote are five square images running width wise across the page. The far left photo shows Zheng Jie in tennis attire with a small Asian child who is holding a tennis ball. The second photo shows Sania Mirza (not a Promoter of Gender Equality) teaching a young racialized girl a tennis stroke. The third photo shows Billie Jean King at an on court event with children. The fourth photo shows Tatiana Golovin holding a \$50,000 cheque made out to UNESCO from Porsche. The last photo on the far right shows Venus Williams at an event with a number of racialized young girls. Below these photos reads a quote in small text from Venus Williams: "Our goal is to help women and girls break through the glass ceiling. Women deserve the same opportunities as men for leadership in every

sphere.” Below this quote is another sequence of square photos. The far left photo shows racialized women in school desks doing schoolwork. They appear to be Muslim women wearing headscarves. The second photo shows a woman of indiscernible race working in a laboratory. The third photo shows a racialized woman working on a sewing machine. The fourth photo shows a racialized young girl in what appears to be a school setting copying down notes. The fifth photo shows two older Caucasian women working together in a laboratory setting. One woman is using an eyedropper and a beaker while the other woman watches her. The last photo on the far right shows another racialized woman wearing a headscarf doing work on a desk. At the bottom left corner of the print ad reads: For more information on the Sony Ericsson WTA Tour’s partnership with UNESCO, please visit: www.sonyericssonwtatour.com/3/thewtatour/charity. At the bottom right corner is a partnership logo in a box with the UNESCO logo on the left and the Sony Ericsson WTA Tour logo on the right. The WTA Tour denied authorization to include the print ad in this thesis.

¹³ The top four combined events for both the ATP and WTA Tours offer equal prize money (WTA Tour, 2008c). Two of the tournaments being the BNP Paribas Open in Indian Wells, California, which offers a combined total of \$9 million in prize money (BNP Paribas Open, 2011); and the Sony Ericsson Open in Miami, Florida, which awards more money to the female winner than the male winner, \$700,000 versus \$605,500 respectively, but the total amount of prize money available is equal (Sony Ericsson Open, 2011).

¹⁴ Examples of trivializing WTA Tour videos include: “Sharapova talks fashion”; “Kimiko’s age-defying tips”; “Jewelry shopping in Bali”; and “Saturday night plans”. (WTA Tour, 2010i).

¹⁵ Social justice is premised on the assumptions that the state is a well-intentioned actor and that society itself is an interdependent organism. It is a theory closely related to Aristotle’s theory of distributive justice, which believes in fair allocation of benefits and wealth among all of society’s members. (Miller, 1999)

¹⁶ King was outed in 1981 by Marilyn Barnett while still married to Larry King. She would not officially come out until years later and was the first professional sports woman to come out as a lesbian (Walsh, 2007).

¹⁷ Golovin has appeared on the cover of *L’Equipe Feminine* (Craig Hickman’s Tennis Blog, 2007) and French *FHM* (Golovin-Attitude, 2007), and been featured in *Sports Illustrated*’s Swimsuit Edition (2009). Zvonareva has appeared on the cover of the Russian magazine *Pro Sport* (Pontet, 2010), and been featured in Russia’s *Harper’s Bazaar* (Tennis Today, 2010).

¹⁸ Zvonareva is enrolled at the Diplomatic Academy of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs studying international relations and economics (WTA Tour, 2009b).

¹⁹ Williams created a clothing line, started an interior design company, and has recently written and released a book. Williams’ clothing line, “Eleven”, created a special Venus Williams/UNESCO tee shirt from which the proceeds would benefit this partnership

²⁰ Yegenoglu universalizes ‘Western women’ who attempt to perpetuate gender equality in the Two-Thirds World.

²¹ Unfortunately, I was unable to determine if any in-country visits were made by the PGEs, and at this point I am unable to comment fully on the participation of the PGEs with regard to this partnership.

²² Celebrating female athletic achievements has become more commonly accepted in traditionally conservative India. Female Indian tennis star, Sania Mirza, has quickly become an icon and symbol of female independence in India despite several Islamic clerics demanding that she dress more modestly. Mirza has been known to wear t-shirts to press conferences with slogans reading: “Well-behaved women rarely make history” and “I’m cute? No shit”. (Perry, 2005)

²³ Role modeling is widely based on Bandura’s (1978) theory of social learning. Bandura (1978) posits that learning can occur from direct experience or vicariously through observed behaviour. Observation enables the learner to understand certain consequences without having to go through the trial and error stage (Bandura, 1978). However, critical theorists such as Habermas, Hegel and Marx reject the “notion that a transformed consciousness in a specific situation can be expected to automatically lead to a predictable form of action” (Mezirow, 1981).

²⁴ Lockwood, Marshall and Sadler’s (2005) article predominantly compares those from Western European backgrounds to those from East Asian backgrounds, all of who live in Canada. They offer a generalization that is valuable given the lack of research in the area of role models as a whole; however, they also essentialize Western and Eastern cultures without much attention paid to the forces of globalization and immigration.

²⁵ First-wave feminism occurred during the late 19th and early 20th centuries focusing mainly on gaining votes for women. Second wave-feminism, occurred from approximately the 1960’s to the 1980’s and sought to transform the unequal power relations between genders. (Zaslow, 2009). Concurrently, women in sport during second-wave feminism, sought to disprove certain dominant gender notions such as sport masculinizing females and the general disapproval of the female athlete (Hall, 2002).

²⁶ Habermas (1983) defined ‘modern’ as an expression of the “consciousness of an epoch that relates itself to the past of antiquity, in order to view itself as the result of a transition from the old to the new” (pg.3). Modernity, as a branch of Enlightenment, assumes that social and moral betterment will result from advances in modern science and the progress of knowledge.

²⁷ One concrete example of a superficial attempt to foster gender equality is the fact that the Liberian Ministry of Education, which was responsible for implementing the UNESCO-WTA Tour program, has no funds to pay its staff or operate programs. In 2009, UNICEF stopped funding programs through the Liberian Government. (Allen, 2010)

²⁸ The women in development model (WID) was an approach that separated women’s issues from men’s issues and mainly involved adding the word ‘women’ to existing programs (UNESCO, 2002).

²⁹ Seeing how ‘empowerment’ is a word often deployed uncritically, I have chosen to unpack the partnership’s goal of empowering women because it is integral to UNESCO’s gender equality mandate. Also, the two critical assumptions that I chose are the most prevalent assumptions listed in the PIPs. Critical assumption #1 – The participation of women in formal politics is an important element of gender equality and the promotion of female leadership is listed in the following PIPs: China, Jordan and the Dominican Republic. Critical assumption #2 - Women will receive the necessary support from their communities to participate in the project is listed in the following PIPs: Jordan, China, Dominican Republic, Liberia and Cameroon.

³⁰ Parpart, Rai and Staudt (2002) do not offer a definition for the term “working-class women”; therefore, I interpret its reference to label women in the Two-Thirds World whose livelihoods are dependent on manual labour.

³¹ Public sociology advocates for a type of sociology that is more engaged and applied than traditional sociological practices. It “[ventures] beyond philosophy and critique; it must engage in the process of resolution” (Donnelly et al., 2011: 583).

³² Cameron and Haanstra (2008) observed that the Make Poverty History (MPH) campaign, which was heavily premised on celebrity promotion, sought to bring issues such as “global trade rules and practices, Third World debt and the modalities of aid delivery” (p.1484) to the forefront of public attention. Unfortunately, campaigns such as MPH and Product (RED) have also associated social change with capitalist consumption through the purchase of branded products (Cameron & Haanstra, 2008). Yet, I argue that celebrity philanthropy has already proven itself as a mobilizing force (Foreman, 2009); and therefore, the issue is not, necessarily, how to use celebrities to mobilize people, but what is expected of the people once mobilized? I contend that celebrities have done a competent job of highlighting important issues for the public, and that NGO’s and non-profits have failed to capitalize on the momentum created by celebrities by turning to simple monetary transactions that feed the marketization of philanthropy. NGO’s, non-profits and governments must be responsible for setting the expectation that a collective commitment to issues is required in order for a re-balancing of power to occur.

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