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# Intersections of Development, Gender, and Sports

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## Abstract

The concept of Sport for Development (SfD) was developed in the late 20th century. In Japan, the discussion about the contribution of sports to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) began along with the planning for the Tokyo 2020 Summer Olympic and Paralympic Games. This discussion is important considering the new role of sports in the post-COVID-19 society. Although it is said that sports can play various roles in the context of SfD, more rigorous verification is needed to understand the significance of sports at the societal, community, organizational, and individual levels.

The involvement of women in international development has been growing in many sectors. The former United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon said in 2015: "We cannot achieve our 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development without full and equal rights for half of the world's population, in law and in practice."

However, the author has not previously paid attention to grasping SfD matters from gender perspectives, which may be related to the identity crisis or the excessive attention to the other social minorities related to ethnicity, economic poverty, victims of disaster or famine. Although I have ignored my lack of attention to gender perspectives, at the same time, both in field activities and in research, I have questioned why most of my colleagues were cheerful, confident, and male sports persons or male development workers. In the meantime, as my research progressed, I wondered about the necessity of "exposing some of the racialized, classed and gendered silences and invisibilities evident in SDP scholarship and practice" (Hayhurst et al. 2018). The thematic areas of "international development and gender" and "sports and gender" have received significant attention in research during the past 20 years. However, looking back at the research in sociology of sports, gender studies, and development studies, the inclusion of gender perspectives in SfD research is still uncommon. This study examines the conjunction of international development, sports, and gender by evaluating several related hypotheses, setting the Hayhurst et al. (2018) discussion as a focal point, to clarify the vision for an upcoming analysis of field data. Another focus is the inherent power of sports as a tool for development from a gender perspective.

Key words: sports; gender; development; Sport for Development: SfD

# 1. Introduction

In recent years, the concept "Sport for Development" (SfD)—which uses sports as means to solve social issues rather than considering the play and spectatorship value of sports—is being implemented in the policymaking of international sports and development. This field was developed in the mid-1990s globally, and the implementation of "Sports for Tomorrow" in Japan came about during the bid for the 2020 Tokyo Olympic and Paralympic Games, with the aim of sports contributing to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The Japan Sports Agency states that they "raise people's awareness about the potential of sports to contribute to solving diverse social issues as well as encourage recognition of the SDGs and promote changes in perception and behavior." The concept of SfD will gain more prominence when thinking about sports post-COVID-19.

There has been an increase in expectations regarding the role of women in social development across the world. In the field of development, it is said that "the aspirations of development cannot be realized if half of humanity is left behind" (UNDP 2016). Moreover, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) administrator has explicitly stated that it is impossible to achieve the SDGs without addressing gender inequality and discrimination against women.

I think I have unconsciously avoided understanding phenomena from a gender perspective in my SfD research and practice, possibly because I paid less attention to "gender" compared to other minorities affected by ethnicity, poverty, conflict, and famine. It might also be my repulsion to putting all women in the same category. Nevertheless, I do understand that "the apparently gender-neutral 'objectivity' of scholarship has the effect of structurally excluding 'women's experiences'" (Ueno 2013, p.5). While I overlooked the lack of gender perspective, I also found myself wondering why many of my colleagues involved in SfD research and practice on-site in developing countries are "lively," "confident," and "male" development workers and sports related persons. During my research, it became unavoidable to explore the silence and invisibility stemming from minority ethnicity, class, and gender in SfD research and practice (Hayhurst et al. 2018, p.601), to the point where I believed that these groups need to be part of the foundation of SfD discussions.

Gender studies is a field of its own expertise as well as a fundamental perspective important to all researchers and practitioners. Development studies is another area that requires attention and strong commitment from other academic fields. Nevertheless, gender and development have long been peripheral to sports science research, and gender studies has often been ignored even in SfD research, where one would expect a higher affinity. Except for studies by Hayhurst (2014), Chawansky (2011, 2015), and Oxford (2012, 2017), "the postcolonial feminist perspective of international relations theory has not been applied to sports science" (Hayhurst et al. 2018). A question can also be raised on how "[s]ports remains on the

periphery of international relations analysis, and to this day, most publications are by scholars outside of international relations" (Levermore et al. 2013, p.220).

With this theme being increasingly subdivided into smaller categories, knowledge about "development and gender" and "sports and gender" has been accumulated during the past two decades. However, there is only a handful of studies on the topic of sports, development, and gender—not only when we look at policy and practice, but also in the fields of sports sociology, gender studies, and development studies. Therefore, this paper aims to summarize the discussions surrounding the research of Lyndsay M.C. Hayhurst, first to incorporate the postcolonial feminist approach into SfD research and, then, to explore the intersections of sports, development, and gender. In the process, I intend to reevaluate sports as a means of development from a gender perspective and thereby uncover the intrinsic challenges of SfD. However, since this is a vast objective, I will begin by surveying past research on "development and gender" and "sports and gender," and prepare an analytical goal for future fieldwork. I anticipate limited understanding and bias since I will be picking studies from these fields based on my own SfD interests. I want to highlight this weakness and revise my concept flexibly by reflecting on future results of fieldworks and data examination.

## 2. Development and Gender

### 2.1. Gender empowerment

The female perspective in development is said to have begun in the 1960s (Momose 2017, p.115). Women, who until that point might have been the objects of development but not subjects, were "empowered" in connection with the rise of second-wave feminism, where emphasis was given to minorities and the spaces where they could exercise power were expanded. However, in recent years, it has been pointed out that, "[i]f you look at how things turned out, this 'empowerment' quickly became synonymous with projects as women were given small loans and started small business" (Nakamura 2010, p.111), and there was soon a need to reemphasize the concept of gender empowerment in development.

Momose (2017) has followed Tanaka (2002) in compiling changes in the relationship between development and gender, as presented in Table 1. Chronologically, prior to the First World Conference on Women in 1975—which was designated the International Women's Year by the United Nations—"Women in Development" (WID) focused on "Women" as one of the development fields, because women lack education, income, and skills. In the 2000s, WID was reevaluated as "increasing cooperation seeking to improve women's conditions only, not actually rectifying fixed gender division of labor, and not facilitating higher social and economic standing for women" (JICA 2009, p.5).

The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women was

adopted by the UN in 1979 and the subsequent Second World Conference on Women focused on women's employment, education, and health, inspired by "the assumption that if poor women in the third world are encouraged to participate in economic activities, this will naturally lead to a society that is fair to women and efficiently advance development" (Moser 1996, p.104). Referring to Tanaka's (2002) summary of Moser, women were considered "human resources" for development, and there was an emphasis on (1) health and hygiene to support childbirth and childrearing for productive economic activities and reproductive labor, and (2) education to allow women to properly exercise their potential skills. This approach to promote women's empowerment on several fronts was called "Gender and Development" (GAD) and was defined as "understanding gender in the society in question as well as the social roles and mutual relations of men and women, and advancing development that reforms institutions and policies by empowering and giving a social right to speak to both men and women with socially disadvantaged status" (Tanaka 2002, p.28). While this understanding succeeded in expanding sites of female social participation, it viewed all "people" as resources for economic development; furthermore, "most policies do not consider gender equality itself necessary for female 'empowerment' as it is used as an effective means to easily achieve other objectives" (Nakamura 2010, p.112). Amid waves of structural adjustments in the form of effectivization, liberalization, and privatization, the gender empowerment debate occupied a central position in the development field, thus forcing itself into the whirlpool of economic development.

Table 1. Changes of development and gender

| Time | Around 1950 | Around 1970 | Around 1975 | Around 1980 | Around 1985 | Around 1995 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Type of approach | Welfare | Poverty eradication | Fairness | Efficiency | Empowerment | Gender mainstreaming |
| Manifestation | Women should be protected | Women's independence can be achieved through economic independence | Women's social status should be raised to that of men | Women are useful, so they should work | Women's agencies should be respected | Gender-related social structures and institutions should be reformed |

Source: Edited by the author based on Momose (2017)

## 2.2. Gender mainstreaming

In the beginning of the 1990s, "human security" seemed to be in opposition to state security. The international community, after the end of the Cold War, faced global challenges that manifested and deepened in what could not be explained merely in terms of conventional security, such as dismantling of the state, outbreaks of regional conflicts, increasing numbers of internal and external refugees, the spread of infectious diseases, climate change, and large-scale natural disasters. These crises are not easy to solve for any country or region

alone; hence, as it became difficult to emphasize the state as a unit, the concept of "human development" focusing on the UN development planning that prioritized "freedom from fear" and "freedom from poverty" emerged. People are placed at the center of human development, and the essence of development is considered to be efforts to broaden individual choice, while economic development, that had previously been central, has now been incorporated as an element of human development. As the development jurisdiction shifted continually, "gender mainstreaming," which was built upon the GAD initiative, was proposed at the 1995 World Conference on Women in Beijing, and subsequently became a central concept in the field of development and gender. Gender mainstreaming is "the process of examining the different effects on men and women that initiatives may have in all areas and on all levels, including legal, policy, and program. It is a strategy of investing female and male interests and experiences in a series of processes that include policy formulation, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation in all areas of politics, economy, and society so that inequalities do not become fixed and women and men gain benefits equally. The ultimate goal is achieving gender equality."[1] According to Tanaka, gender mainstreaming is "a process of promoting women's participation as well as having all parties involved critically analyze, assess, and restructure the current organizational and institutional framework itself for the sake of promoting gender equality in development assistance" (Tanaka 2004, p.21). This viewpoint thus becomes important in the discussions surrounding gender in SfD as well.

Gender mainstreaming goes beyond just development and peacebuilding: "it is expanding as a sphere of practice and research that covers themes previously unthinkable, such as the trafficking of women and children, violence against women in conflicts, and disaster recovery from gender and diversity perspectives" (Tanaka 2019, p.10). Furthermore, it is said that "we are still only in the process of seeing how universal gender mainstreaming can become" (Momose 2017, p.124). Since the development field incorporated the gender perspective relatively early and has consistently discussed gender based on trends in the international community, it could be said that development and gender are increasingly overlapping. However, it is not easy to adopt a gender perspective in the field considering each country's historical, social, cultural, and religious backgrounds; so, it is important to continue these discussions carefully and realistically at the policy level as well as in practice.

### 3. Sports and Gender

*3.1. Sports and gender research*

Studies on women and sports discuss sports-related challenges unique to women, such as the influence of the menstrual cycle on training, female athlete triad,[2] and post-childbirth recovery. In recent years, the relationship between competition results and irregular or absent menstruation, stress fractures, anemia, menstrual pain, and other impacts of the female body

on sports activities have also been researched.

Another important theme is the research on how sexuality has been handled at international sports competitions in recent years. The issue of the South African runner, Caster Semenya, led to calls for the World Athletics to repeal the regulation that "female athletes with high values of the male hormone testosterone are restricted from international events."[3] Semenya's claims had been dismissed in both the Court of Arbitration for Sport and the Federal Supreme Court of Switzerland. A symposium titled "Gender Binary and Hyperandrogenism Regulation in Sport" at the Yokohama Sport Conference held in September 2020 revealed that several athletes had been eliminated from competitions following sex testing, which ascribes sex based on hormonal levels. Unfortunately, this issue is not currently widely known among sports scientists and people working with atheletes.

Hall et al. (2001) has categorized the analytical methods of sports and gender research as (1) category research, (2) distribution research, and (3) relationalist analysis. Category research is a technique that "quantifies sexual and ethnic differences and studies them empirically" (Hall et al. 2001, p.23), covering such subjects as, participation in sports and competition results. It pays attention to not only physical strength, speed, and other aspects of physical ability, but also considers participation, nervosity, immersion, and such mental or biological differences. As stated by Hall, "[t]his research is interested in differences between categories like women and men, black and white, indigenous and non-indigenous, and seeks to explain those differences through biology and socialization" (Hall et al. 2001, p.24).

Distribution research examines distribution ratios for sports resources, which means that it "scrutinizes the distribution of media, sponsors, coaches, opportunities to compete, etc." (Iida 2018, p.194). It has promoted reform in the field of sports by demonstrating the reality of gender inequalities and contributing to improving women's sports environments. Meanwhile, it has been said that "although effective in uncovering the inequalities between the sexes, it does not clarify why such inequalities come about" (Iida 2018, p.194), thereby having a tendency to make light of the social, cultural, and systemic contradictions that determine unequal access to resources by treating them on a case-by-case basis or tacitly accepting them as difficult to improve.

Relationalist analysis "sets out from the hypothesis that sports were created historically as something that benefits and helps groups of power in society, being constructed socially and regulated culturally" (Hall et al. 2011, p.24) and is based on "the idea that modern sports were formed by men as a mechanism and institution for giving rise to an ideology that says that there are natural differences between the genders and that women are inferior to men" (Iida 2015, p.14). Since physical differences between men and women are "natural," differences in rules and events between the two are also considered "a matter of course," but "the fact that men's performance is (apparently) superior is only because the rules were designed according to male characteristics like physical strength and applied power […] [Moreover,]

the seemingly physical superiority of men tends to be taken as proof that there are also gender differences between men and women" (Okada 2010, p.7); thus, female avoidance of participation in sports "is not due to biological meaning but cultural meaning" (Hargreaves 1994, p.217). Additionally, the gender divide is and has been inherent in the creation of sports as a social activity by ignoring "the diverse and continuous sex of reality and dividing people into either category of being men or women" (Iida 2015, p.17).

### 3.2. Gender trouble

Butler (1990) argues in her book, *Gender Trouble*, that "sex," which is a biological difference, is regulated by "gender." The performative theory proposed by Butler greatly rewrote gender studies and is said to have been very impacting in various fields. It not only reinforced the relationist analysis of what Iida called "diverse and continuous sex" in the field of sports but also overturned the assumptions of category and distribution research. From a structuralist approach, Inaba (2005) explains, "the sex difference of 'physical strength' and 'ability' that we see in sports do not only contain elements acquired and expanded later in life, but these differences in 'physical strength' and 'ability' are really individual differences that cannot be explained by sex" (Inaba 2005, p.60), thereby once again questioning how "sex" and "the body" are understood as fundamental concepts in the fragmented branches of sports and gender studies.

At the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Summer Olympic Games, the number of events where women could participate was finally the same as for men—28 events—and 48.5% of the total participating athletes were women, thus the number of women participants was approximately equal to that of men if we see only the number. However, a variety of issues affecting women has become known since then, such as a limited number of female coaches and officials, sexual harassment, and fewer opportunities to participate in sporting events due to lifestyle changes. Nevertheless, research on sports and sexuality has been advancing, especially in Europe and North America, and thus, "the boundary called sex that has been drawn in sports is gradually losing its appearance and meaning as a 'line' in some situations" (Japan Society for Sport and Gender Studies 2016, p.2). In recent years, sexuality studies have not only discussed LGBTQ+ and sexual minorities in sports but have also raised questions on sexual dichotomy that earlier discussions about women and sports had been based on, thereby analyzing the relationship between sports and gender from a different viewpoint and unintentionally revealing invisible aspects of sports, such as neocolonial properties and the marginalization of minorities. Sports and gender studies in recent years have outgrown "women's sports" and have broadened their scope to "criticize and dismantle existing sports structures and continuously ask how to create a sports culture where 'all people including women' can participate without having to face violence, oppression, and discrimination" (Itani 2018, p.177).

There has been an increase in sports and sexuality studies since this broadening as the

movement for sexual minority rights in the international community has grown stronger, thereby facilitating discussions on "seeing and being seen" through the analyses of media representation. Going beyond the conventional relationship between "men who see" and "women who are being seen," new themes have been emerging, such as "women who consume and 'see', men who are 'being seen'" (Yamaguchi 2010, p.39), in a manner that aligns sports with the sexuality debate in contemporary society. Inaba elucidates that these developments stem from "alternative perspectives that seek to overcome the heterosexism of sports head-on as well as 'disturb' the existing order from 'within' as utopia cannot be found 'without'" (Inaba 2005, p.65). These perspectives are often criticized because they are alternative and new, but "they are promoting a mood that makes people reevaluate the indispensability of gender and sexuality studies and the importance of thinking about the body, impacting many fields" (Okada 2010, p.12). SfD can be considered as one of the fields thus impacted, since there has been a rapid increase in studies surrounding SfD and gender in recent years, mainly among young researchers.

### 3.3. Sports as a male sanctuary

There has been a focus on sports as a medium to express masculinity and a mechanism to present male gender roles and superiority. In addition to the observation that "sports affirm society's gender roles that make men the subjects and women auxiliaries, which underlines this mechanism of society" (Sasanuma 2005, p.52), exhaustive discussions have come about regarding "the incidental and arbitrary nature of the man/woman dualism, which has the power to maintain heterosexualism" (Itani 2012, p.42) and the "power" of sports in relation to "displays of legitimacy" and discrimination.

Dunning argues in *Sport Matters* (1999) that because contemporary society does not permit direct and physical violence, "some sports—in addition to occupations like the military and the police—represent enclaves for the production and reproduction of traditionally male habitus where physical bravery and strength is used and displayed for the sake of legally expressing male aggression" (Dunning et al. 2004, p.407), thus indicating the raison d'être of sports as proving and enhancing masculinity. Kaizuma (2019) builds on the discussions about "sanctuary for masculinity" and "toxic masculinity" to claim that "sports is an experience to acquire 'a body useful in competition' outside the military" (Kaizuma 2019, p.44) amid increasing intensification of market competition in the recent years, thereby exploring sports as a place of learning where workers (and reserves) acquire economic competitiveness. Moreover, as sports "grows bigger as a business in consumer society, which makes it difficult to revise the myth of male superiority that is inherent in sports […] the cycle of 'sports yield more profit by remaining male-centered' serves to preserve the connection between sports and masculinity" (Okada 2012, p.53).

Sedgwick et al. (1985) argues that male bonding or homosociality is based on a powerful

misogyny and homophobia so that "homosexuals are actually subjected to discrimination in modern society and even more fiercely so in the world of sports" (Okada 2012, p.53). It means that sports cannot only be explained as a simple structure where the center is occupied by men and the periphery by women, since there is a need to recognize how sports facilitate and propagates power, discrimination, and inequities. It has also been pointed out that if sports rank human biological differences and "is a cultural device for visualizing bodies, then the broad definition of bodily attributes diversity may also lead to sports 'visualizing' that diversity as well" (Saka 2020, p.166). Parallel to sports and sexuality studies, the "power" contained in sports could, therefore, be reassessed to present a structure of injustice that stems from the broad definition of bodily attributes.

## 4. Gender in Sport for Development

### 4.1. SfD and gender

There has been a longstanding history of SfD; it is difficult to specify when SfD started, but the most prominent example would be the Commonwealth Games,[4] where European countries with former colonies in Africa have been taking in top athletes, dispatching coaches, developing facilities, and engaging in similar activities for several years. This support came to be included in the context of "international cooperation" in the past twenty years or so and seen as SfD or "Sport for Development and Peace" (SDP). Suzuki et al. (2015), who investigated Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) working on SfD, identifies the period of 2005 to 2010 as the time when SfD "became mainstream" and "entered a virtuous cycle that promotes quantitative expansion through a circular flow from 'the field to policy' to 'policy to the field'" (Okada 2015, p.107). Meier (2005), who oversaw sports at the Swiss Academy for Development and was one of the pioneers of the SfD field, was possibly the first to discuss gender within the trend of SfD expansion. She demonstrated the relationship between SfD and gender, as seen in Figure 1, and conducted important analyses, especially regarding "4. Gender equity, sports and development" and "5. Socio-cultural context." Women's participation in sports rapidly increased in developing countries from the 1990s, but this tendency was limited to particular women of the social elite, partly in opposition to the trend in development to listen to people's voices on the ground. Thus, the goal of SfD practice was not gender equality in sports, but the more realistic trajectory of gender equity[5] through sports.[6] This goal moved beyond simply realizing women's participation in sports, and framed gender equity as an SfD initiative (Sancar et al. 2005).

Meanwhile, Meier contributed to the existing debates in developed countries to argue that "when conducting sustainable sports programs that aim for gender equity, we have to consider access to and use of resources, power dynamics, and local socioeconomic and cultural factors that include various gender roles" (Meier 2005, p.8) and presented multiple examples to

display the challenges involved in realizing gender equity in an area of SfD that has regional and economic inequalities.
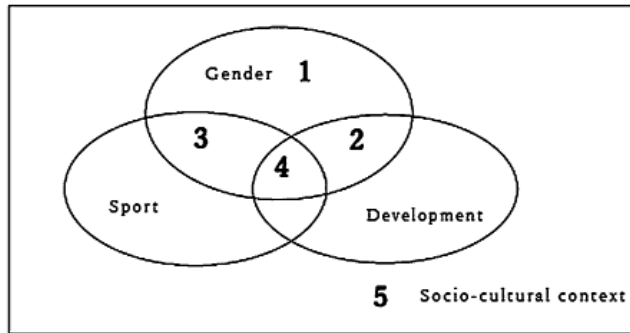


Figure 1. Gender, sport, and development

Source: Meier (2005), p.5

### 4.2. More gender programs in SfD

SfD continued to grow from the late 2000s and through the 2010s. Since it leaned toward quantitative expansion, it was said to (1) prioritize reasoning of the assistance recipients, (2) partake in an uneven distribution of opportunities due to dependence on mega events, (3) excessively make sports a "tool," and (4) be biased toward soccer (Suzuki et al. 2015). Additionally, about 52% of the areas of activity were in African countries (Levermore et al. 2009) and most activities centered on the participation of boys and men, with girls and women taking part only to achieve balance. Giulianotti (2011), who was engaged in the early practice and research of SfD, mentions that sports is often influenced by the relationship between local culture and society in numerous ways, and hence, inherent power inequalities are directly reflected in SfD programs. In the field of development during this time, it was popular to reflect local opinions and conduct participatory development; so it would not be difficult to understand that local "views on gender" were decidedly projected under SfD programs.

While development in general focused on the economic aspects, the goal of SfD activities for women had been shifting toward increasing knowledge about health and hygiene, reproductive health, and preventing early-age marriage and pregnancy. There had also been efforts to ensure that sports become a "safe space" for oppressed women who were in need of protection (Spaaij et al. 2014). This step was expected to "have the power to reform society beyond sports by overturning what is considered 'normal' and exists by challenging gender norms" (Saavedra 2009, p.127), but women in SfD were used in third-wave feminism along with the discourse that women are "victims" who need to be "empowered" through sports participation (Chawansky 2011). Therefore, most of SfD associated with gender did not go further than (1) protecting women since they are socially vulnerable and ensuring them equal sporting rights as men, and (2) promoting women's empowerment in gender division of labor. Thus, women in SfD did not move beyond being either "permitted" to participate in programs

or "empowered" in programs reserved only for women (Chawansky et al. 2016).

In addition to investigating the outcomes of SfD for women, a principal research interest has been gender equality in existing SfD practice (Pelak 2005; Forde 2008; Saavedra 2009). While conducting distribution research as defined by Hall, amid the trends of GAD and gender mainstreaming in the development field, the introduction of a gender perspective was emphasized when using "sports," which has strongly been associated with masculinity. However, introducing a gender perspective does not mean that women participate in SfD activities in a similar manner to men or that men and women play together as part of the SfD practice. Moreover, even if women are empowered by taking part in programs that use masculine "sports," they rarely have opportunities to make use of the outcomes when they return to their societies and families. Although SfD had brought gender-related issues to the fore, the onus of solving these issues fell on the women, hence, the combination of SfD and gender itself was considered as possessing logical contradictions and structural limitations (Oxford 2017).

### 4.3. Research progress

Gender in SfD has not been identified as a concept fundamental to all activities or to adjacent fields, such as "peacebuilding", but to issues or project targets, such as "health," "children," or "persons with disabilities" (SDP IWG 2008). "Programs for women" and "women's participation in programs" were evaluated as part of SfD studies and these subjects never left the domain of SfD, so there had been little intention to contribute to fields such as sports science, development studies, or gender studies. However, in the 2000s, active efforts were made to generalize the cases that had accumulated, and scholars began to examine SfD as a social phenomenon using the social systems theory (Massey et al. 2015), actor network theory (Darnell et al. 2018), and servant leadership theory (Peachey et al. 2017) among others.

Hayhurst et al. (2018) analyzed SfD programs based on the postcolonial feminist theory and pointed out that SfD with neocolonial properties have not generated sufficient social and economic impact as have other development programs. This perspective supported the arguments of Donnelly et al. (2011), who built a ground-breaking argument by analyzing SfD from a neoliberal perspective, which reassessed the need to use sports as a development means from a gender standpoint. The relationship between imperialism, neocolonialism, and sports complicates the situation even more for those already marginalized (Sykes 2017), and it is said that "our society has already created a system based on that gender organization throughout the long modern era, so it is not easy to break free from those values" (Okada 2010, p.15). A pessimistic view would say there is no way to escape the contradictions of introducing a gender perspective in SfD and making modern sports a development means, but inculcating an optimistic view by addressing the "negative aspects of development" inherent in sports could allow us to explore new ways for sports to exist. Hayhurst et al. (2018) state that "deepening

our understanding of international politics through the lens of postcolonial feminism may help us 'rewrite' the story of SDP through more comprehensive, attentive, and rich discernment that is sensitive to gender, ethnicity, class, and international interactions" (Hayhurst et al. 2018, p.602). This point of view suggests a possibility for SfD and gender studies to become mutually complementary lenses, and analyzing through these lenses could contribute to the low politics of the international community.

Miyawaki (2013) argues that the "very 'worldview' (of where we live) is an extremely androcentrist product that has been collected from male informants in local society by male anthropologists" (Miyawaki 2013, p.43). In other words, SfD can be understood as activities that help expand, spread, and legitimize that local "worldview" through sports, which too boldly represents the same worldview. In order to introduce a gender perspective in SfD, clarification on whether gynocentric sports and worldviews are possible must be provided. If these are not possible, the need to use sports as a development means and the need for SfD to take on gender norms must be carefully reassessed.

## 5. Conclusion

This paper surveyed existing literature on "development and gender," "sports and gender," and "gender in SfD" that focuses mainly on women, but it is understood that men, LGBTQ+, and sexual minorities also fall within its scope. The fields of development, gender, and sports have developed without any strong associations among the three, but they seem to have started intersecting in recent times. The exploration of why sports is said to mirror society and the efforts to become aware of and get rid of oppression in sports are important topics for development and gender too, but this is a budding area of research, and I hope to see rigorous discussions in the future.

Gender studies in SfD have raised questions about the raison d'être of SfD itself in recent years, and has also argued that "women, sexual minorities, and people with disabilities are still discriminated against and marginalized in sports, but the status of gender in sports is complicated by the complex entanglements of non-gender factors such as politics, culture, and economy" (Yamaguchi 2010, p.50). Through this study, I reaffirm the urgency of introducing SfD as the link between sports and gender. Although this field is becoming increasingly complex, I believe that there is no way around devising self-restraining measures. Moreover, it is important to ask broader questions about sports, sexuality, racial discrimination, and neocolonialism when thinking about SfD and the unique value of sports in developing countries.

There is a need to relentlessly question for whom and for what sports are, rather than blindly singing the praises of the benefits of sports and promoting women's participation. Scrutinizing the effects of sports in the social context would be helpful in unlocking future

SfD development. It is evident that a gender perspective holds a unique value in this endeavor.

**Notes**

1) UN Economic and Social Council, "Resolution 1997/2: Agree Conclusions."
2) The female athlete triad is a state of chronic lack of energy that occurs when low body weight, absence of menstruation, and osteoporosis coincide.
3) Jiji Press September 9, 2020, "Semenya Lawsuit Fails: New Regulations that Limit Participation in Athletics." https://www.jiji.com/jc/article?k=2020090900631&g=spo [9/11/2020].
4) The Commonwealth Games is an international competition with participants from countries and areas that belong to the Commonwealth of Nations. These games held in different locations once every four years and include sports that have been played primarily in the Commonwealth countries, such as netball, cricket, and squash.
5) Gender equality means everyone is treated equally regardless of gender and it is "quantitative" equality. A simple example is the idea that the male-to-female ratio should be similar across various occupations and roles. Gender equity takes into consideration differences between the sexes and means treating people in a way that they feel "equal," thus striving to achieve equivalent "quality."
6) For example, ensuring that programs for women start when they are able to take a break from house chores or including female instructors, coordinators, and coaches.

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