Gender, Physical Education, and Sport

Bringing forward Rwandan girls' perspectives on their lived experiences of physical activity and sport in secondary schools

Lysanne Rivard

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Faculty of Education, McGill University

Montreal, Canada

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<div align="center">CONTENTS</div>

AKWOF   Association of Kigali Women in Football

AKWOS   Association of Kigali Women in Sports

CEDAW   Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

CIDA-PSU   Canadian International Development Agency-Project Support Unit

CRC   Convention on the Rights of the Child

EFA   Education for All

FAWE   Forum for African Women Educationalists

FPAR   Feminist Participatory Action Research

FIFA   Fédération International de Football Association

IMF   International Monetary Fund

IPSD   International Platform on Sport & Development

HIV an AIDS Human immunodeficiency virus and Acquired immune deficiency syndrome

KIE   Kigali Institute of Education

MDG   Millennium Development Goal

MIGEPROF   Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion

MINEDUC   Ministry of Education

MINISPOC   Ministry of Sports and Culture

NGO   Non governmental organization

NYBE   Nine Year Basic Education

OVC   Orphans and vulnerable children

PAR   Participatory Action Research

PASS   Physical activity and sport in school

PES   Physical education and sport

PESS   Physical education and school sport

RIWAS   Regional Initiative for Women Advancement in Sports

UNDP   United Nations Development Program

UNESCO   United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF   United Nations Children's Fund

UNOSDP   United Nations Office for Sport for Development and Peace

SDP   Sport for Development and Peace

SDP IWG   Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group

SGD   Sport, Gender, and Development

ABSTRACT

Significant headway has been made to identify girls' barriers to participation in physical education and sport in the Global South and to stress the importance of adapting programming to better meet girls' needs. Building on these achievements, scholars call for innovative approaches to enable girls' active involvement in programming and policy development and evaluation. Hence, this study documents Rwandan girls' perspectives on their lived experiences of physical activity and sport in a secondary school context and asks the following question: How can the experiences of girls in the Rwandan secondary school context be better integrated into the decision-making process to improve the physical activity and sport programming they experience? Using the visual participatory method Photovoice, 196 secondary schoolgirls 11-to-18 years of age photographed their issues of concern and suggestions to improve their experiences of programming. Then, to bridge the gap between girls and decision-makers, I produced a photo-report of the girls' priorities and recommendations which served as an interview and visual research dissemination tool with the girls' physical education teachers, gender and physical education experts, and three ministry representatives in Education, Sports and Culture, and Gender and Family Promotion. Findings indicate that girls understand key issues of concern and are interested in physical activity but face gendered difficulties with the current sport-based programming. To improve their experiences of physical education and sport, they suggest non sport-based physical activities that are adapted to their fitness levels and that are not masculinizing. At the same time, the decision-makers highlight the lack of understanding of the role of physical education and sport in Rwandan schools and society as an ongoing challenge for programming across the country and discuss efforts implemented to transition the programming from an elite sport model to "sport for all" activities accessible and beneficial to all students.

RÉSUMÉ

La recherche sur les programmes d'éducation physique et de sport pour les filles dans les pays du Sud a pu identifier les obstacles auxquels les filles font face lorsqu'elles participent aux activités physiques et sportives. Elle a également souligné l'importance d'adapter le curriculum afin de mieux répondre à leurs besoins sexospécifiques et contextuels. En s'appuyant sur ces leçons tirées, les chercheurs souhaitent désormais mettre en œuvre des approches novatrices permettant aux filles de partager leurs idées et de contribuer au contenu et à l'évaluation du curriculum, ainsi qu'aux politiques d'éducation physique et de sport dans les pays du Sud. De ce fait, la présente étude cherche à colliger ce que les jeunes Rwandaises pensent de leur programme d'éducation physique et de sport à l'école secondaire et pose la question suivante : Comment l'expérience vécue par les filles dans le contexte de l'école secondaire rwandaise peut-elle être mieux intégrée au processus décisionnel afin d'améliorer le curriculum d'éducation physique et du sport? À l'aide de la méthode participative visuelle de la photovoix, 196 élèves de l'école secondaire âgées de 11 à 18 ans ont photographié leurs préoccupations et leurs suggestions pour améliorer le curriculum. Ensuite, afin de combler l'écart entre les filles et les décideurs, j'ai produit un reportage photo présentant les priorités et les recommandations des élèves. Celui-ci a été utilisé comme outil visuel d'entrevue et de diffusion de la recherche auprès des enseignants en éducation physique des filles, de spécialistes genre, d'experts en éducation physique et de représentants du ministère de l'éducation, du ministère du sport et de la culture et du ministère de la promotion du genre et de la famille. Les résultats indiquent que les filles comprennent bien les préoccupations clés en matière d'éducation physique et de sport et qu'elles sont intéressées par l'activité physique à l'école. Toutefois, elles font face à des difficultés sexospécifiques liées au curriculum axé sur le sport. Afin de mieux profiter et de prendre plaisir à l'éducation physique, elles suggèrent des activités physiques non sportives adaptées à leur niveau d'aptitude physique, sans pour autant

remettre en cause leur féminité. En parallèle, les décideurs mettent en évidence l'incompréhension des autorités scolaires, des parents et de la société rwandaise face au rôle de l'éducation physique et du sport à l'école secondaire. Ceci représente un défi important pour l'intégration et le financement des programmes d'éducation physique et de sport à l'échelle du pays. De plus, les décideurs discutent des efforts déployés pour transformer le curriculum actuellement axé sur le développement du sport d'élite à un curriculum qui encourage le « sport pour tous ».

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CHAPTER 1
**Gender, Physical Education, and Sport in the Global South: A debate transitioning from
"Where are the girls in physical education and sport programming?" to
"Where are girls' voices?"**

Access to quality physical education and sport programming is a human right enshrined in

UNESCO's 1978 International Charter of Physical Education and Sport and UNICEF's 1989

Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNESCO, 1978; UNICEF, 1989). The UNESCO charter

states that physical education and sport programs must be developed in accordance to

participants' needs and personal characteristics, as well as institutional, cultural, socio-economic,

and climatic conditions of each country (Article 3.1), and contribute to personal development and

wellbeing (Article 3.2). Even though physical education curricula is predominantly centered on

sport-based activities (Kirk, 2012), opposing international trends over the past 20 years have left

physical education programs and community sport programs in distinct conditions. On the one

hand, sport programming in a community setting in the Global South has received considerable

international attention and funding through the growing Sport for Development and Peace (SDP)

movement. Heavily funded by private international sport federations and businesses, such as the

Fédération International de Football Association (FIFA) and Nike, Inc., SDP advocates for the

use of sport and physical activity as development tools in myriad fields, ranging from health and

safety to peace and reconciliation (Donnelly, 2008; Kidd, 2008; Levermore & Beacom, 2009).

Starting in 1994 with the non governmental organization (NGO) Olympic Aid (Right to Play,

n.d.), it has since obtained international recognition in 2005 with the creation of the United

Nations Office for SDP (UNOSDP) and the first International Day of Sport for Development and

Peace held on April 6th, 2014. On the other hand, physical education is, on a global scale, in an

alarming state with experts decrying the lack of funds and lack of educational value attributed by

Ministries of Education worldwide, resulting in either crippling programming cuts or removal

from the curriculum (Hardman & Marshall, 2005; Shehu, 1998; UNESCO, 2012). At the same time, solid research supporting the benefits and value of physical education is well established and growing (UNESCO, 2011). SDP, however, as a fairly new field of development work emanating mostly from the competitive professional sports domain, is heavily criticized for the significant lack of research supporting programming success claims (Coalter, 2010; Giulianotti, 2004). Nonetheless, community sport activities continue to be internationally recognized and privately funded for their contribution in reaching various development objectives, while physical education, which is overwhelmingly sport-based in its implementation, is struggling for acknowledgment and basic operational funding (Hardman & Marshall, 2005).

Though, in many regards, the fields of community sport programming and physical education are facing different obstacles, both have been strongly criticized for the remarkable absence of programming and curricula for girls. Indeed, girls in many developing contexts must overcome important gender barriers to participate in both sport and physical education (Hardman & Marshall, 2005; Pelak, 2005). Some of these barriers include: the burden of domestic chores (Elliot & Lemaire, 2007; Meier, 2005; Saavedra, 2005), the obligation to wear skirts (Elliot & Lemaire, 2007), the belief that girls cannot play sport (Elliot & Lemaire, 2007; Meier, 2005; Pelak, 2005), the lack of skills (Elliot & Lemaire, 2007), the lack of role models (Meier, 2005), the lack of access to menstrual hygiene products (Saavedra, 2009), and poverty, which limits access to proper nutrition, free time, and equipment (Meier, 2005; Pelak, 2005; Saavedra, 2005). Overall these barriers have a great impact on girls' ability to access and enjoy physical education and sport. In addition, the masculinization of physical education and sport is a strong detractor for many girls who are afraid of or not interested in challenging gender norms (Brady, 2005; Kay, 2009; Larkin, Razack, & Moola, 2007).

In response to this criticism, SDP and UNESCO, the main international development organization overseeing physical education, have taken several measures to better understand and meet girls' particular needs and constraints. The SDP movement created Sport, Gender, and Development (SGD), a sub-chapter to oversee and promote the development and implementation of programming targeted to and tailored for girls and women. Working towards Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 3: *Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women*, SGD strongly advocates for girls' participation in physical activity and sport as a way to help break down restricting gender norms and stereotypes (UNOSDP, n.d.). This type of programming generally uses sport activities as a platform to communicate information that can protect and better the lives of girls, such as issues related to health, HIV and AIDS, and gender-based violence (e.g. Association of Kigali Women in Sports, Rwanda, 2007), and to build leadership skills through the organization of sport tournaments and the management of sport leagues (e.g. Mathare Youth Sports Association, Kenya, Brady & Banu Khan, 2002). As for UNESCO, the organization established the Observatory of Women, Sport, and Physical Education to promote "... quality [Physical Education] programmes notably through [Education for All]" and to "support ... research within the field of women's sport" (UNESCO, n.d.). Furthermore, Commission III on Women and Sports put forward a variety of recommended actions, including the gathering of scientific support for the long-term benefits of physical education for girls (UNESCO, 2004).

These much-needed efforts to draw attention to and gather support for girls' programming were important. However, since programming for girls in developing countries remained scarce, SGD was strongly criticized for basing its claims of 'empowerment through sport' largely on Western[1] studies of girls and physical activity (Brady, 2005). Under fire with growing criticism

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[1] The term Western is used to refer to countries situated in the North Western hemisphere and whose political, economical, and socio-cultural discourses and influences shape international

for the lack of research supporting the use of sport as a development tool, the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group published in 2007 a detailed report containing literature reviews and analyses (SDP IWG, 2007). Following their review of the literature on SGD, Larkin, Razack, and Moola (2007) concluded that in order to support such claims about SGD's potential, "efforts must be made to understand the meaning and purpose of sport and physical activity in the lives of girls and women in particular local contexts, so that programming reflects the diverse needs, perspectives and motives of participants" (p. 110-111). Subsequently, the International Platform on Sport & Development (IPSD) updated their Sport and Gender Thematic Profile in 2009. Drawing on research conducted in both Western and developing contexts, the IPSD stated its position advocating for the role of sport in helping to achieve the following development objectives: women and girls' health and wellbeing, self-esteem and self-empowerment, social inclusion and social integration, challenging and transforming gender norms, and leadership and achievement. The IPSD stressed the need to understand and adapt programming to local contexts, with specific attention to socio-economic context, social-cultural context, safety, material resources and infrastructure, local definitions of masculinity and femininity, and the lack of female role models (IPSD, 2009). Lastly, the IPSD identified the following issues of concern to be taken into account for the success of "gender equity through sport" programming: claiming space, access to resources, structures and leadership, choice of sport, traditional games and competition, didactical considerations, providing incentives, and using a holistic approach for stronger long term impacts of programming (IPSD, 2009, n.p.).

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development actors, agendas, and programming. I recognize the contested nature of this term (Willis, 2005).

Similarly, drawing on research from both Western and developing contexts, UNESCO published in 2012 an advocacy brief entitled "Empowering Girls and Women through Physical Education and Sport" to bring together the latest academic research and policy recommendations (Kirk, 2012). Although the brief distinguishes the unique benefits of a developmentally appropriate physical education program implemented by trained teachers from other physical activities, such as manual labor or informal physical play, sport-based physical education, which is the most popular type of curriculum, is also identified as being a significant barrier for girls and is heavily criticized for "...cater[ing] only [to] a minority of already sport-competent children, the majority of whom are typically boys, and offer little more than confirmation of incompetence and failure for the majority" (p. 3).

As a result of SGD and UNESCO-led efforts and research targeting women's participation in sport in development settings (Straume, 2012), headway has been made in raising awareness of the importance to adapt programming to local contexts and personal physical abilities in order to better meet girls' needs and concerns. Further building on these noteworthy advances, critics of both SGD and physical education are now drawing attention to the top-down programming development and implementation approaches, typical of many development programs, which exclude or bypass the beneficiaries. In both fields, critics are calling for the use of research methodologies that will enable recipients' active involvement in the development, implementation, and evaluation of programming, as well as policy development (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011; Guest, 2009; Kirk, 2012; Nicholls, Gils, & Sethna, 2010). Indeed, the 2012 UNESCO brief argues for the direct involvement of "the three broad levels of policy and strategy, on the professional and institutional, and on the personal and social levels," stressing the importance of academic expertise, local, and family support in programming for girls (Kirk, 2012, p. 9), as well as "girl-led action" as part of innovative approaches to transforming girls'

experiences of physical education and sport (Kirk, 2012, p. 10). Thus, involving girls in the process of improving their programming experience is of timely importance.

In summary, the debate on community sport and physical education in the Global South, first concerned with the inclusion of girls, evolved to adapt programming to the local context and is currently concerned with the active inclusion of girls in setting programming activities and objectives. This study, then, seeks to address this gap in programming approach by contributing a methodological process that can, in a developing country's physical education context, collect and disseminate girls' feedback and suggestions for improving their experiences of programming to key decision-makers, both at the school level and at the policy level.

1.1. The Case of Rwanda

Rwanda was selected for this study as it represents an interesting case for both SGD and physical education for girls. Following the 1994 civil war and genocide, Rwandan civil society and the social fabric of the country underwent dramatic changes. An overhaul of major policies pertaining to all sections of society was realized as part of peace and reconstruction efforts, including gender equality and education. Indeed, the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) developed a new physical education curriculum in 1997 based on the 1978 UNESCO charter (MINEDUC, 1997; MINEDUC, 1998), a girls' education policy in 2008, and is working towards meeting MDG 2: *Achieve Universal Primary Education* and MDG 3: *Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women*. Aikman and Unterhalter (2007) observe:

> This has been the case in several countries emerging from socio-political upheavals, such as post-revolution Mozambique and post-genocide Rwanda. The experience of these countries suggests that where a process of more general transformation is underway, coinciding with a drive for equality, policy makers have an opportunity to accelerate progress towards gender equality in education. (pp. 62-63)

Girls in Rwanda face the gender barriers listed above in order to access physical education and sport. Both are considered masculine activities and the physical education curriculum

6

continues to be heavily sport-based in its implementation. However, notable progress is being made at the community level and in some schools. For example, the Association of Kigali Women in Sports (AKWOS), which is the first sport organization for women and girls in Rwanda, has been spearheading programming for girls at the community level throughout the country since 1997 and is working within an SGD framework. As for physical education, since 2003, a Bachelor degree in Physical Education and Sport is available at the Kigali Institute of Education (KIE). The number of graduates, both male and female, is increasing every year from 11 graduates in 2006 to 134 students enrolled in 2012. Furthermore, the Ministry of Education is implementing nation-wide measures to promote "sport for all" in schools and to encourage girls' participation in physical education at the secondary school level, such as a national televised campaign (P. Rwigema, personal communication, April 9, 2012). Added to these measures is the current governmental push encouraging all Rwandans to take part in physical activity with Friday afternoons dedicated to sport and physical activity (A. Bizumuremyi, personal communication, April 3, 2012).

As such, the social and policy climate is ripe for addressing girls' experiences of physical education and sport in Rwanda and for finding ways to ensure girls' voices are heard and integrated into program development and implementation processes.

1.2. Research Focus

The study seeks to document Rwandan girls' perspectives on their lived experiences of physical activity and sport in a secondary school context and to communicate the latter to key decision-makers who can improve programming in this setting. Thus, the research question is: How can the experiences of girls in the Rwandan secondary school context be better integrated into the decision-making process to improve the physical activity and sport programming they experience? The research project attempts to develop a participatory approach adapted to gather

multiple voices and implemented in combination with an accessible research dissemination tool to help integrate girls' perspectives into decision-making processes. The intention of the thesis is to explore how girls can contribute pertinent knowledge to help programming better address their needs, concerns, and priorities and how an adapted participatory method can be a powerful research and dissemination tool. The research project was guided by the following parameters: 1) the call for innovative participatory research methodologies in the areas of physical education, sport, and development, 2) the need to bring forward girls' voices in gender, education, and sport, and 3) the formulation of my own "middle of the road approach" in seeking to balance participatory objectives by engaging participants in a more meaningful manner than typical quantitative research methods and working with local decision-makers who can impact change at a broader social level.

1.3. Positioning of the Researcher

The following is a description of my personal experiences with physical activity and sport that have come to influence how I perceive and attribute meaning to my engagement in these activities throughout my life. I also briefly explain my epistemological positioning in relation to this study.

      1.3.1. Personal experiences with physical activity and sport.

Physical activity and sport have and continue to play a significant role in my life. Growing up across the street from a large city park, my days were filled with physically active games played with neighborhood friends. When old enough to join organized activities, I tried several sports before finding what was to become my part-time occupation for eight years: recreational competitive gymnastics. Although I took part in a competitive sport, what I enjoyed the most was simply being physically active. Learning and practicing new skills, whether a back-walk-over on the high beam or figuring out a way to get across the park's play structure without touching the

ground, was always an intrinsic motivation for me. I was never told that I could not or should not take part in an activity because I am a girl, and indeed, most of my park playmates and all of my fellow gymnasts were girls. I simply participated in the activities that I enjoyed, my primary concern being whether it was fun or not. Today, my main motivations to engage in physical activity and sport remain the same: for fun, for the challenge of learning new skills, and for an overall sense of physical and psychological wellbeing.

While my experiences of physical activity and sport in a community setting as a girl were positive, this was not always the case in a physical education setting. For the majority of my elementary school years boys outnumbered girls, and the physical education curriculum was heavily sport-based and taught by teachers who were not trained in physical education. Even though I was an active and physically fit child, as the smallest person in my class, I had difficulty keeping up with the sport activities, and I never stood a chance against the boys. Fortunately, my physical education classes at the secondary school level were much more pleasurable. A female and trained teacher led all-girl classes and introduced a variety of sport and fitness challenges. Every student had a different background of experiences in physical activity and sport and the teacher strongly promoted participation and learning new skills. Although I was still the smallest in my class, and I still struggled playing basketball, field hockey, volleyball, and baseball, I thoroughly enjoyed track and field, gymnastics, and the fitness challenges. Because I was given the opportunity to participate and to further develop my skills in all of these activities, I learned to take pleasure in all of the sports.

Nonetheless, I recognize that my lifetime of positive experiences in physical activity and sport is not reflective of many girls' experiences or personal interests. Being fast, flexible, strong, and agile from a very young age and having access to a variety of activities made it much easier and rewarding for me to engage in physical activity and sport. It is also important to note that I do

not have an academic background in Kinesiology, Health Sciences, or Physical Education. With an undergraduate degree in Psychology and a master's degree in Child Study, my interests lie in the social-cultural environments that shape personal experiences of physical activity and sport. I am an advocate of taking part in physical activity and sport that are adapted to one's level of ability and interest for pleasure and wellbeing as defined and experienced by the individual.

1.3.2. Epistemological positioning.

To align with the objectives of the research and scholars' current reflections in the fields of SDP, SGD, and physical education for girls in sub-Saharan Africa, I draw from postcolonial feminism, feminist participatory research, and girlhood studies as theoretical frameworks with methodological implications.

1.4. Organization of the Thesis

In this first chapter I have introduced and outlined the research topic and project. Chapter Two maps out the theoretical framework and methodological approach guiding the research. The chapter incorporates SGD literature, physical education literature, and girlhood studies literature and focuses on girls' education and development in a sub-Saharan African context. The chapter ends with an argument for the use of an adapted participatory approach in this study. Chapter Three provides social-cultural information on girls' education and physical education and sport (PES) in Rwanda, as well as a general description of the physical activity and sport programming implemented in the participating schools. Chapter Four follows with a justification of the two selected methods: 1) Photovoice and 2) semi-structured interviews with decision-makers using girls' photographs and responses, and ends with a detailed description of how the latter were adapted to and implemented with the research participants and context. The results and analysis of the Photovoice activity with girls are then presented in Chapter Five, while Chapter Six presents the results and analysis of the interviews with the decision-makers. Finally, in Chapter

Seven, I end with a discussion of the key findings, contributions to new knowledge, limitations of the study, implications for further research, and final thoughts.

CHAPTER 2
Theoretical Framework and Methodological Approach

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework and methodological approach structuring and guiding the research. I begin with a brief synopsis of the colonial history of physical education and sport (PES) in sub-Saharan African countries to demonstrate how current programs continue to be shaped by remnants of exclusionary and top-down colonial practices. In response to these ongoing practices, scholars of PES in sub-Saharan Africa call for a contextualization of policy and programming to better reflect and adapt to African socio-economic and cultural realities. In a separate line of literature, SDP scholars also critique the exclusionary and top-down practices implemented by community sport organizations and call for the decolonization of programming structures and research methodologies in community sport and development. As a result, both SDP and African PES scholars seek to ensure that programming is adapted and relevant to local participants and contexts. In order to do so, they argue that participant feedback and priorities need to be heard and integrated into research and program development, as well as evaluation. In an attempt to decolonize SDP research and programming and to specifically target girls' needs and concerns, SGD scholars suggest postcolonial feminism as an analytical framework. Postcolonial feminism is subsequently my theoretical starting point to help identify and define a methodological approach that 1) values participants' voices in research and 2) helps programming better integrate participants in the processes to identify needs, concerns, and priorities.

To further examine voice in relation to girls and PES, a brief overview of literature on gender and education as well as sport and physical education in sub-Saharan Africa is presented. Research in both fields of study highlights ongoing African and Westernized practices that exclude and silence girls. To help counter these practices, scholars from multiple disciplines

seeking to bring forward girls' voices suggest the use of participatory methodologies in research and programming. Accordingly, to concord and align with the value postcolonial feminism attributes to voice and the calls for the use of participatory methodologies, I look at feminist participatory research to provide guiding methodological principles to conduct research centered on voice. Through a brief overview of feminist participatory research literature, gaps and issues of concern are raised in relation to working specifically with girls. In response to these concerns, feminist scholars of girlhood studies, a relatively new and growing area of study, are developing girl-centered research and programming in an effort to 1) better understand girl-specific issues, 2) bring forward girls' voices, and 3) value girls' agency. Therefore, a girlhood studies theoretical framework and methodological approach are retained for this study.

2.1. Physical Education and Sport in Sub-Saharan Africa: Calls for the contextualization of programming

Originating in early 19th century Britain, organized sport and game culture was developed to meet British society's growing need for an urbanized and disciplined workforce to fuel the Industrial Revolution. Evolving into codified sports such as football, rugby, tennis, and track and field (Augustin, 2010a), the sport and game culture became a cornerstone of the public school system educating Britain's ruling class and future colonial officers, administrators, and missionaries (Perkin, 1989), before spreading to other European countries (Augustin, 2010a). Once integrated into their education system, British and European colonial powers implemented sport activities in colonial schools as part of their civilizing mission throughout their sub-Saharan African colonies (Augustin, 2010b; Dumont, 2006), such as Rwanda (Bale, 2002), South Africa (Cobley, 1994), Tanzania (Ndee, 1996), Sudan (Sharkey, 1998), Malawi (Hokkanen, 2005), Madagascar (Combeau-Mari, 2011), Congo-Brazzaville (Martin, 1991), Benin, Congo, Niger, and Senegal (Gouda, 2010). Colonial powers imposed Western modern forms of PES and systematically

erased and replaced pre-colonial African physical culture and traditional physical training (Amusa & Toriola, 2010; Bouzoungoula, 2012; Gouda, 2010; van Deventer, 2002). For instance, Dumont (2006) explains how French colonial authorities typically used physical education activities to assimilate and civilize local populations: "Physical education ... [was used to] teach the rules of physical and social hygiene, to inculcate "good habits," and served as the platform from which the "primitives" could envisage accessing Civilization" (p. 88, own translation). British powers sought to instill Christian moral development through sport, which, according to Guest (2009) were efforts to "develop a native form of 'muscular Christianity'" (Guest, 2009, n.p.). Indeed, Scottish missionaries in South-Central Africa used sport activities, such as cricket and football, to attain missionary objectives: "The clear purpose of these events was Christian proselytism. In addition to contest and relaxation, the missionaries used the opportunity to promote the establishment of new mission schools in the area" (Hokkanen, 2005, p. 751).

In the late 19th century, the sport culture implemented on the African continent was influenced by the advent of the modern Olympic Games and the Olympic Movement. The latter promoted Olympism, a philosophy originally conceived and spearheaded by Pierre de Coubertin, which advanced Eurocentric values and definitions of personal development and civility through the practice of sport (Guest, 2009). As the Olympic model of competitive sport culture and organization continued to evolve and spread across the world throughout the 20th century, a Westernized sport model was imposed on pre-independence African colonies and promoted as being acultural and apolitical. Gouda (2010) explains:

> The ambition of international sporting authorities, notably the International Olympic Committee, to develop sport as a universal cultural model, transferable to any country, consequently led to the erasure of sport as a "site" of economic, political and social issues. Thus, the only model implemented in Africa was the elite performance sport model proposed by the Olympic Charter, which by declaring sport as above politics and religion (and up until recent years, above the economy), had introduced the idea that sport could be conceived outside of social constraints. (p. 152, own translation)

As such, post-independence sub-Saharan African countries inherited a sport model irrelevant to local cultural values and customs (Amusa & Toriola, 2010), managed through a top-down organizational approach and structure, geared towards developing competitive talent, accessible only to a negligible minority in urban settings, and excluding women and girls (Gouda, 2010). Nevertheless, in the 1960s, newly born countries seeking to build and define a national identity and to enter the world stage joined the International Olympic Committee and other Western sport organizations and federations (Bouchet & Kaach, 2004) in order to demonstrate their "maturity and civility" (Bouzoungoula, 2012, p. 59). Ironically, as Bouzoungoula (2012) explains, "In their search of a national identity and international prestige, they imitated a sport model developed for other peoples, other cultures, other economies" (p. 59, own translation). With the primary objective of using sport as an international platform on which they could stand and shine, many governments invested in competitive sport in the hopes of producing high performance athletes, thereby overwhelmingly relegating "sport for all" and physical education objectives to rhetoric (Baba-Moussa, 2003; Bouchet & Kaach, 2004; Bouzoungoula, 2012; Gouda, 2010; Tamoufe Simo, 2004).

Acknowledging decades of ill-adapted, underfunded, and inaccessible sport and physical education policy and programming, contemporary scholars of PES in sub-Saharan Africa call for a contextualization of programming and policy to better reflect and serve African socio-economic and cultural realities (Amusa & Toriola, 2010; van Deventer, 2002), as well as a revitalization of indigenous physical activities and physical education (Roux, 2009; Shehu, 2004; Wane & Bouthier, 2011). To render PES relevant and beneficial to participants, scholars seek to better understand context specific perceptions of and barriers to current sport and physical education programming, physical activity, and recreation. Studies include the status and importance

attributed to PES in South African white and urban schools in comparison to black and rural schools (Amusa & Toriola, 2006), social barriers to and lack of facilities for sport participation in Botswana (Amusa, Toriola, Onyewadume, & Dhaliwal, 2008), secondary school students' perceptions of PES in South Africa (Surujlal, Shaw, & Shaw, 2007), poverty and urbanization restricting access to PES in African communities (Travill, 2003), and primary school teachers' perceptions of PES in South Africa (van Deventer, 2011). Gender is also addressed, for instance, in Jones, Bester, Solomon, and Humphreys' (2007) study on the impact of PES on female students' health and Kagwiza, Phillips, and Struthers' (2005) study on the physical activity levels of urban Rwandan women.

2.2. Sport for Development and Peace: Calls for the decolonization of programming

As described above, many sub-Saharan African countries inherited a legacy of PES programming typically composed of culturally incongruous activities imbued with colonial ambitions of assimilation and civilization, utopian egalitarian objectives, and lofty ambitions of international political prestige. It is in this context that SDP programs promoting sport as a tool for development enter the international development scene in the 1990s. At the time, a contemporary "functionalist view of sport" resurfaced in European countries, which sought to "continually [connect] participation in sport to another 'purpose'" (Donnelly, Atkinson, Boyle, & Szto, 2011, p. 595). Similar to colonial objectives seeking to instill European norms of civility through sport, this approach draws from Victorian British public school ideology and is heavily focused on a 'sport for good' model (Kidd, 2011) through its use of "sport to change the individual" (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011, p. 298).

In addition to their critique of SDP programs' objectives, scholars also drew attention to the international development global structures within which SDP/SGD Northern-based organizations operated (Coalter, 2008; Giulianotti, 2004; Kidd, 2008), specifically the North-

South power imbalance in terms of agenda and activity setting, actors implementing the activities (Northern volunteers), and funding (Darnell, 2009; Hayhurst, 2009). In their analysis of SDP/SGD hierarchical programming structures, a group of scholars pointed towards the above-mentioned colonial origins of sport, physical activity, and physical education in order to highlight what they considered to be SDP/SGD's problematic contribution to the modus operandi of international development (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011; Guest, 2009; Guilianotti, 2011; Hayhurst, 2011). In tracing the evolution of the use of sport as a development tool from its colonial roots to its contemporary SDP form, Giulianotti (2011) categorizes three main phases: 1) Sport, Colonization and 'Civilization' (late 18th to mid-20th century), 2) Sport, Nationalism, Post-Colonialism, and Development (1940s to the 1990s), and 3) SDP (mid-1990s to today). During the first phase, as described above, colonial powers implemented Western-style sport activities in order to civilize and control local populations and in the process "purposively eradicated or systematically co-opted [local physical activities] into colonial sporting models" (p. 210). The second phase, taking place during independence movements in Africa, saw the creation and implementation of professional sports development programming, in line with other "modernization policies favored by ... the IMF and World Bank" (p. 210). Last, building on the Olympic Movement's discourse of the universalism of sport and the emerging sports infrastructure in developing countries, the current SDP phase seeks to bridge international sporting organizations (e.g. FIFA) with formal international development structures (e.g. United Nations agencies) in a systematic manner through sport for development policy, funding, and programming.

As the popularity of SDP grew over the past decade, academic criticism increased as well. Because there was a significant lack of data evaluating, monitoring, and analyzing programming in education settings (Hardman & Marshall, 2005) and in community settings (Coalter, 2010;

Donnelly, 2008; Guest, 2009; Höglund & Sundberg, 2008; Kay, 2009; Kidd, 2008; Levermore, 2008), as well as a significant lack of research on non-sport related physical activity and play (Kidd & MacDonnell, 2007), SDP has been heavily criticized with making claims of evangelistic proportions by presenting sport as a panacea for a myriad of development problems (Burnett, 2009; Coalter, 2010; Giulianotti, 2004) and for promoting sport as apolitical, ahistorical, and inherently good (Armstrong, 2004; Black, 2010; Donnelly, 2008; Kidd, 2008; Levermore, 2008; Saavedra, 2005, 2009). In fact, there is a clear contrast between the colonial elite's use of sport driven by "exclusion, elitism, militarism, ethno-political tension" (Armstrong, 2004, p. 475), and racism (Kidd & MacDonnell, 2007) and contemporary SDP discourse of development, peace, and physical wellbeing. As a development approach spearheaded and funded by sport organizations, SDP was also criticized for resting on and being promoted by strong international lobbies and donor interests (Coalter, 2010; Hayhurst, 2009) rather than being the result of local needs assessments and collaboration with local partners (Kidd, 2008; Guest, 2009). Organizations were accused of being foreign driven and managed, and for implementing foreign developed programming in a highly hierarchical manner (Giulianotti, 2011). The lack of communication between donors and recipients (Darnell, 2009; Donnelly et al., 2011) and the donor driven interests leading to culturally irrelevant programming (Guest, 2009), particularly alarmed critics. Kidd (2008) summarizes:

> Whereas the best community development is 'needs- and asset-based', i.e. premised on the expressed needs and available resources of the local population, articulated during a careful, consultative joint planning process, much of SDP is donor-defined, planned and conducted with missionary zeal. Sadly, the single-minded purpose and confidence that sport instills in champions, a commendable attribute when transferred to many other settings, militates against inter-cultural sensitivity and needs-based programming in development. There is a fear that SDP simply imposes the values of the first-world middle class on the disadvantaged of the [Low and Middle Income Countries]... (n.p.)

Reflecting on the criticism that significantly challenged the very foundations of SDP, Darnell and Hayhurst (2011) argue that, although SDP may have good intentions to use sport as a development tool, the movement "is not immune from the post-colonial, feminist and post-development criticisms of the past three decades" (p. 184). These criticisms have led to growing accusations of SDP employing exclusionary and top-down programming development, funding, and implementation practices. Although SDP is a newcomer to development, it is operating within the broader structures of the international development field and as such, "is not immune to the significant and problematic power relations" (Nicholls et al., 2010, p. 256) of the latter. These accusations are targeted to SDP's top-down hierarchical funding mechanisms and programming structures that marginalize and subjugate local experiences of and attitudes towards SDP programming (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011; Nicholls et al., 2010), thereby satisfying mostly policy-makers' and funders' objectives and concerns. Furthermore, Hartmann and Kwauk (2011) criticize SDP in its use of sport "to resocialize and recalibrate individual youth and young people that, in turn, serves to maintain power and hierarchy, cultural hegemony, and the institutionalization of poverty and privilege" (p. 291).

As a result, critics call for the decolonization of SDP (Coalter, 2010; Giulianotti, 2011; Nicholls et al., 2010; Saavedra, 2009). According to Darnell and Hayhurst (2011):

> ... this means that it is continually important to ask who is being 'empowered' through sport and who is being marginalized by such interventions, and to understand how those on the 'receiving end' of SDP policies and programmes are able to challenge and resist the 'development solutions' and 'techniques' prescribed for them. (p. 186)

Alternative critical analytical frameworks for SDP, to date, include public sociology (Donnelly et al., 2011), Freirian critical education (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011; Spaaj & Jeanes, 2012), and feminist and participatory research (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011). The latter center on the use of postcolonial theoretical frameworks and research methodologies that enable a better

understanding of participants' experiences, as well as their active involvement in program and policy development, implementation, and evaluation (Kidd, 2011). Indeed, in one of the few SDP Southern-based field studies to date, Lindsey and Grattan (2012) remark that the dominance of Northern-based research, in terms of data collection, analysis, and research on Northern-developed programming, "serves to highlight limitations of the research methodologies enacted within the field of sport-for-development that may reflect practical challenges faced by those undertaking such research" (p. 95). The authors conclude that there is a "significant need for methodologically justified research that seeks to understand sport-for-development from the perspective of actors in the Global South" (p.96) and that this "may require the adoption of alternative research methodologies to those commonly utilized to date within the field of sport-for-development" (p. 107). Also, what is imperative is the fact that Lindsey and Grattan's (2012) Southern-based study in Zambia researched both community and school settings, underscoring the variety of ways in which sport and physical activity is delivered and experienced locally. In an effort to move the debate beyond the North-South divide and to open up new research possibilities, Darnell and Hayhurst (2012) are strong proponents of participatory action research in order to "reinvigorate the SDP research agenda in a more positive, socially charged and meaningful way" (p. 120) while contending that the latter be framed within "postcolonial, hegemonic approaches to researching SDP, particularly since there remain few examples of these types of studies that consider the perspectives of all stakeholders in the aid chain in truly participatory and collaborative ways" (p. 120). The authors conclude that the "time is ripe to pursue such an agenda" (p. 120). This argument is also supported by Levermore and Beacom (2012) who assert that:

> Further research and writing on the subject can only be meaningful if it engages more effectively with all stakeholders involved with the development process. This means listening to the voices of communities where sports-based interventions are being

considered, as well as the views of policymakers and funding bodies working in Northern and Southern policy arenas. (pp. 134-135)

2.3. Towards New Approaches to Physical Education and Sport in Sub-Saharan Africa

In calling for a contextualization and decolonization of programming, scholars of PES in Africa and SDP scholars both raise an overlapping concern in seeking to better understand context specific experiences of programming and to integrate beneficiaries' feedback into programming development and implementation. In order to do so, new methodological approaches and tools are currently needed in this field of study to gather and bring forward participants' perspectives and issues of concern. Hence, there is a theoretical and methodological focus on voice, and in particular, practical ways of bringing together the multiple voices involved in shaping PES in Africa, that is, program beneficiaries, implementers, developers, and policy-makers.

In an effort to bring forward participants' voices, that is, to provide platforms and opportunities for participants to speak and to be heard, and to analyze SDP/SGD programming from their perspectives, postcolonial feminism is suggested in the SGD literature as a theoretical framework and is thus the starting point to help identify and define a methodological approach for this study. The following section briefly describes the value of voice through a postcolonial feminist lens. The relevance of this framework for this research is then supported by examples from gender and education literature as well as PES for girls literature which highlight present-day African and Westernized practices that continue to exclude and silence girls.

2.4. Postcolonial Feminism: Valuing voice

Postcolonialism defines and analyzes colonization as a discourse developed and implemented by Western hegemonic powers. This discourse imposes a Western/Eurocentric norm (Spivak, 1988), homogenizes non-Western peoples (Mohanty, 1988), and fosters a negative Othering (Mills, 1996). To deconstruct this discourse, postcolonial scholars seek to: 1) problematize and

destabilize dominating Western/Eurocentric perspectives and assumptions to respect non-Western/European cultures and values, and 2) challenge the positioning of "the North as advanced and progressive and the South as backward, degenerate and primitive" (McEwan, 2001, p. 94). According to McEwan (2001), the Western/Eurocentric norm is challenged by the agency of non-Western peoples, the recovery of marginalized voices, the identification of needs and objectives, authority, and representation. The agency of non-Western peoples is respected through the recovery of marginalized voices that challenge dominant ways of speaking and writing. Through these different ways of speaking and writing, diverse viewpoints, needs, and concerns destabilize definitions, conceptualizations, and understandings of development. These alternative perspectives thus serve to undermine authority figures and social structures and to break down representations of passivity and victimhood.

In line with its critique of dominant Eurocentric norms of development, postcolonialism is also critical of Western feminist views of women living in or from non-Western contexts. Scholars point to the homogenization of non-Western women (Mohanty, 1988), the assumption that they comprise a stable, universal, and apolitical category (Grewal, 1998), and that they support the same political project against "the same universal forms of oppression" (McEwan, 2001, p. 96). Furthermore, postcolonialists strongly critique the use of a care discourse (Narayan 1995) that assumed the superiority of Western practices and values (Mohanty, 1988) and sought to "rescue 'Other' women" from inferior social, political, and economic conditions (Grewal, 1998, p. 511). Postcolonial critiques therefore also seek to subvert dominant Western feminist ideology by bringing forward the heterogeneity and difference of women living in or from non-Western contexts.

Building from these postcolonial criticisms of feminism, postcolonial feminism seeks to shift the locus of power of speech, representation, authority, agency, and the construction of

identity from dominant Eurocentric colonial discourses of Western values and norms to women living in or from non-Western contexts. This is achieved by creating spaces and opportunities for marginalized women to speak, to speak back, to speak with, and to "allow for competing and disparate voices among women" (McEwan, 2001, p. 101). In turn, these voices help to create new relations of power by bringing forward and allowing for other ways of being, doing, knowing, and conceptualizing development. According to Hayhurst (2011) postcolonial feminism:

> ... foregrounds intersectional analyses that reconstruct how race, class, sexuality and nation interact to frame social institutions, and offers an anti-colonial approach to social science by locating identities and power relations within interlocking oppressions. (p. 536)

Hayhurst, MacNeill, and Frisby (2011) employ a postcolonial feminist lens to critique SGD policy and programming in an attempt to address representational and material issues, as well as power dynamics. Citing a significant lack of "sports feminist literature from outside the One-Third World" (p. 356), the authors provide three reasons for their selection of a postcolonial feminist theoretical framework in this field of study. First, there is a considerable chasm between sports feminist literature and international development literature, as well as a lack of SDP research incorporating a gender-based analysis. Second, the authors argue that the risks women and girls face when challenging social and gender norms through their participation in sport and physical activity are too significant to ignore. And third, girls' and women's material constraints to sport participation must also be taken into account. Through a postcolonial feminist lens, the authors challenge dominant discourses in an effort to create space for the inclusion of programming participants' voices in policy development and implementation. This is achieved by not seeing participants as victims of their culture and not essentializing girls' and women's lived experiences of sport and physical activity in order to contextualize and diversify the latter. The *Go Sisters* project in Zambia, where 5000 girls take part in physical activity, is provided as an

example. The project, implemented by Edusport and UK Sport International since 2005, is

described as follows on the UK sport international website:

> This programme aims to contribute to the achievement of the MDG3 in Zambia -
> promoting gender equity and empowerment - by increasing the number of girls in the
> target communities adopting leadership roles at the community and district levels. It
> will train 1,750 girls as peer leaders/educators who will in turn cascade their life
> skills and knowledge on health and girls' rights issues to a further 25,000 youth
> through workshops, sports leagues, tournaments and festivals. In addition, over 100
> peer leaders will have improved employment and life opportunities through
> completing secondary education, HEI scholarships or EduSport internships. ... The
> programme focuses on advocacy and empowerment through training in leadership,
> life skills and promotion of women's sport as a vehicle for development. The
> formation of action teams and community committees allows female peer leaders to
> take on positions with decision making responsibilities with the support from their
> parents and communities. (n.d.)

The authors' postcolonial feminist analysis of the programming reveals how Westernized

development objectives set by the United Nations' MDGs and corporate social responsibility

agendas of multinationals gradually take over the original programming objectives set by the

girls. Consequently, by replacing girls' objectives, they are "ironically at odds with the United

Nations' own goal of promoting gender equity and empowering women" (p. 360). The analysis

also reveals how:

> ... the reproduction of neocolonial discourses urging girls to take power over their own
> health is being emphasized at the expense of redressing the broader determinants of
> health, reclaiming indigenous games or producing new sport traditions, and enhancing
> the political-economic status and safety of girls and women in Zambia. (p. 361)

As a result, even when sport and physical activity programming is developed and implemented

specifically for girls and where girls do participate, there remains significant problems in relation

to relevancy and lack of consultation of girls. In conclusion, the authors call for the use of

participatory action research (PAR) to decolonize SGD discourse and programming for girls. The

authors believe that by bringing forward girls' voices, their concerns, constraints, and objectives

towards physical activity and sport can then be heterogenized and materialized.

As highlighted above, practices that exclude girls continue to be a problem for SGD programming. The following two sections draw attention to similar types of exclusionary practices that are also common to PES settings for girls and typical of the broader field of gender and education in sub-Saharan Africa. Authors in this area of study also decry the lack of girls' voices.

2.5. The Issue of Voice in Gender and Education in Sub-Saharan Africa

Scholars studying gender and education in sub-Saharan Africa and other developing contexts seek to identify and address gender inequalities in education in terms of access to and experiences of schooling. Colclough, Al-Samarrai, Rose, and Tembon (2003) classify three main analytical frameworks that inform work in this field: 1) the rights-based approach, where education is promoted as a right, 2) the capacity and capabilities approach, which focuses on developing individual competencies and aptitudes, and 3) education's role in development at a societal level. According to Leach and Humphreys (2007), the dominant discourse influencing gender-based analyses of education positions poverty and culture as the main gender barriers to girls' education and positions girls as victims of the latter. As such, the objective of gender parity between boys and girls in education has generally been framed as and measured by quantitative evaluations of enrolment rates, attrition rates, and exam results, as defined and promoted by MDG 2 and MDG 3, with very little work focusing on the qualitative experiences of girls' schooling (Aikman & Unterhlater, 2007; Jones, 2011). According to Monkman and Hoffman (2013), the consequences have a direct impact on policy and programming:

> Since the most available and globally comparative data measures the numbers of girls and boys in school (access, enrollment, attendance rates, etc.) and compare them (gender parity), efforts focused on increasing enrollment and parity are emphasized, as seen in EFA and the MDGS. Girls' education policy stumbles, however, in addressing patriarchy, gender bias in teacher attitudes, cultural practices and beliefs that privilege boys (or girls in some areas), or other complex issues that are not easily measurable. (p. 78)

Scholars have thus recently begun drawing attention to the quality of the learning and teaching environments by being critical of girls' education as "generally hailed as an unequivocal good" (Jones, 2011, p. 386), and seeking to better understand and bring to light complex gender dynamics that directly impact girls' experiences of education (Aikman & Unterhlater, 2007; Jones, 2011; Monkman & Webster, 2015). As a result, the MDGs, working within a rights-based framework, have come under fire for their top-down exclusionary approach (DeJaeghere, 2012) that works towards externally set goals and objectives rather than supporting bottom-up transformative social justice approaches to gender and education (Olowu, 2012). According to Unterhalter (2012a), the MDGs "reproduc[e] information, authority and policy which enforces boundaries, rather than facilitating flows of ideas, reflexive engagement with context and challenges to existing sites of power" (p. 270). In conjunction with this argument, Olowu (2012) makes the case that women and men need to "own the gender equality project in such a way that oppressive patriarchal structures of traditional African societies are questioned openly" in order to work towards MDG 3 in sub-Saharan Africa (p. 104).

In an effort to move beyond the top-down rights-based approach and to better understand girls' lived experiences of schooling, researchers acknowledge and recognize schools as sites that replicate "social inequalities" (Kabeer, 2005, p. 17) as well as "power relations between the sexes in society" (Colclough et al., 2003, p. 155). Scholars working within a feminist framework focus on the patriarchal structures of power and control and advocate for an intersectional analysis of and approach to gender equality in education (Sandler & Rao, 2012). In addition, much work has been done in identifying traditional discourses and stereotypes that shape gender relations and promote exclusionary practices of silencing girls in a school context (DeJaeghere, 2012; Kabeer, 2005; Kamwendo, 2010; Sajan Virgi, 2012; Unterhalter, 2012b). A gendered division of labor,

early marriage, pregnancy, initiation ceremonies at the age of puberty, a culture of subservience, and sexual harassment from male peers and teachers all have a negative impact on girls' academic achievement potential by positioning them solely as future home-makers (Colclough et al., 2003; Kamwendo, 2010). Indeed, Kabeer (2005) indicates how deeply ingrained these traditional discourses are by highlighting the role that policy-makers play in replicating them within an education context:

> Policy makers often continue to see the benefits of educating girls and women in terms of improving family health and welfare, rather than preparing women for a more equal place in the economy and society. Women's lack of skills partly explains why they continue to be confined to the poorer paid and more casualized forms of paid work. (p. 18)

In education settings, teachers, parents, and peers stereotypically portray girls as less intelligent and shy (Sperandio, 2000), quiet (Colclough et al., 2003; Kamwendo, 2010), passive (Aikman, Unterhalter, & Challender, 2005), and naturally inferior to boys (Aikman & Unterhalter, 2007), thereby "creating a culture of low self-esteem and low aspirations" (Kabeer, 2005, p. 17).

Several solutions are suggested in order to address these issues and transform gender dynamics, including: 1) working within existing development structures and objectives (Sperandio, 2000), 2) re-thinking and changing these structures and objectives (Sandler & Rao, 2012), 3) working at the societal level (DeJaeghere, 2012; Kamwendo, 2010; Olowu, 2012), and 4) working at the individual agentic level (Kamwendo, 2010; Leach & Humphreys, 2007). Mainstream development addresses gender equality by targeting schools as potential sites for transforming attitudes and perspectives through their "rules and regulations, ... philosophies and mission statements, ... [and] leadership opportunities," as well as providing examples of various career opportunities for girls and encouraging female teachers to be role models for their students (Sperandio, 2000, p. 64). Working with a critical feminist lens, Sandler and Rao (2012) challenge the conventional "discourse of gender mainstreaming that presents gender transformation as a do-

able, 'technical' problem that can be overcome with sufficient determination and commitment"
(p. 559). They call for a re-evaluation of typical gender mainstreaming strategies and agendas
defined and implemented by development organizations and a better understanding of the
"deeply held cultural norms, attitudes, and behaviors that perpetuate gender discrimination" (p.
560). In line with this, researchers highlight the work that needs to be done at the broader societal
level, such as looking at the way children are raised at home and how they interact with their
parents (Olowu, 2012), discussing gender dynamics with "respect and social esteem"
(DeJaeghere, 2012, p. 360), and integrating girls in the labor economy once they graduate from
school (Kamwendo, 2010). Finally, girls' and boys' agency in taking on and/or resisting
traditional gender discourses is recognized and serves to highlight how students can navigate
through multidimensional and opposing discourses (Kamwendo, 2010; Leach & Humphreys,
2007).

 With the increasing literature on girls' lived experiences of education and the multiple
factors that shape the latter, scholars are drawing attention to the importance of including and
listening to girls' concerns, especially what they are looking to receive through their education
and how it can best serve their future interests (Aikman & Unterhalter, 2007). However, as
Kamwendo (2010) comments, "research that includes the views of young people in Africa ... is
relatively scarce ... as it is assumed that their opinions are represented by those of adults 'who
know better'" (p. 434). This particularly affects girls who occupy the lowest social status, and as
such "are often not consulted or even asked to participate in civil society, nor in research about
their lives" (Sajan Virgi, 2012, p. 107). Exclusionary practices that silence girls are present in
education settings and research in development, even as they seek to include girls' voices and
participation. DeJaeghere (2012) reflects:

In education institutions, voice is often understood as and measured by women's participation on school councils or parent-teacher associations, and parity in representation of women teachers. Girls' voice is restricted to measures of parity of participation in schooling. These approaches to women and girls' voices in education are associated with their representation and actions that redistribute resources, such as allocating a quota for girls' enrolment. While voice and participation in political or educational spaces are touted as important for transforming inequalities, the analytical use of voice is most often limited to representation and redistributive approaches to equality (Fraser, 1996) ... Girls and boys are, however, the key participants in education and their voice and recognition in public debates and dialogue about gender equality and education warrant further consideration. (pp. 359-360)

Calls for the inclusion of girls' voices and participation in curricula and policy development are being made, with particular attention to recognizing and respecting girls' diverse needs, concerns, and interests (Aikman & Unterhalter, 2007; Aikman et al., 2005). Participatory research with girls on issues in and around school, such as poverty (Sajan Virgi, 2012) and water management (Thompson, Folifac, & Gaskin, 2011) are contributing concrete examples of how girls can successfully participate and be heard in public debates on issues of their concern. Finally, scholars are advocating for partnerships and dialogue between all levels of education stakeholders: students, teachers, parents, communities/villages, policy-makers, curriculum planners (DeJaeghere, 2012; Stambach, 2000), as well as researchers (Aikman & Unterhalter, 2007), government officials, and donor experts (Aikman et al., 2005). Indeed, Jones (2011) concludes, "there is a pressing need for policy-makers to ... gain insight into the specific, fundamental day-to-day challenges that girls face..." (pp. 410-411). However, Unterhalter (2012a) warns that participation is "not a technical fix that stands apart from an approach to challenging existing directions on classification and framing in policy and practice" (p. 270). Furthermore, while acknowledging that policy-makers should listen to children's voices, Unterhalter (2012b) advises that they also need to be aware of the power dynamics and social-cultural contexts that shape these exchanges and as such, influence the type of knowledge children choose to share or to hold back from adults.

2.6. The Issue of Voice in Physical Education and Sport for Girls in Sub-Saharan Africa

In literature on PES for girls, historical evidence highlights colonial practices that excluded girls from participating in PES, while analysis of contemporary programming also points to practices silencing girls from having a say in the programming they were experiencing. Interestingly, the following examples differ from the gender and education literature described above as they point to the Western origins of exclusionary and silencing practices, rather than the African traditional discourses and stereotypes of girls. For instance, Gordon (1998) describes how current gender inequity in PES in Zimbabwe stemmed from the British education system and values implemented during colonization where "participation in sports was considered essential for males, with rugby being considered the most 'masculine' and 'virile' of all the sports (p. 54). Indeed, Burnett (2001) explains:

> The gendering of many popular contemporary forms of sport has its roots in the late 19th century in Britain from where it was transported to different colonial settings. A Victorian version of masculinity that celebrated competitiveness and physical prowess, was developed in boys' public schools through active participation in structured games and competitive sport (Hargreaves, 1994). Women's participation in physical activity was constrained by 'the myth of frailty' that in many patriarchal societies has informed ideas about women, gender relations and participation in sport. (p. 71)

As for a more contemporary example, Straume (2012) analyzes the Sport for All programming implemented in Tanzania in the 1980s by the Norwegian Sports Development Aid Programme. She critically examines how programming targeting women and girls' participation in sport not only took a top-down approach but also ignored women and girls' issues of concern. Although girls and boys in Tanzania had equal access to physical education throughout primary school, women were traditionally excluded from sport participation as the latter was seen as an activity for children and men. However, the author provides the counterexample of netball:

> One exception was the participation in the popular game of netball, a sport for girls and women only, introduced when Tanzania was under British colonial rule in the post-World War 1 era. The Tanzanian Netball Association CHANETA, established

in 1966, was an active participant in promoting woman sports, and netball was widely played throughout the country. In fact, Massao and Fasting states that 'Netball was almost as popular for women as soccer was for men. Nearly all primary schools in Tanzania had a netball court and the identification of good netball players began at primary schools.' (p. 1584)

Subsequently, women's participation in sport, although not fully accepted by Tanzanian society, did increase throughout the 1970s and 1980s, before decreasing in the late 1980s as a result of the financial crisis. Rather than building on the pre-existing sport culture in Tanzania, the Norwegian Sports Development Aid Programme sought to implement the Norwegian model of women's sports. The program not only implemented activities that were culturally insensitive and embarrassing for women (dancing and stretching), it ignored the fact that sport participation was not a priority for Tanzanian women and thereby sought to create the need for sport.

What is of particular significance when examining girls' voices in PES in a developing context is that key SDP/SGD authors have only recently started addressing this issue, after nearly a decade of SDP research. They are now starting to critique the much lauded 'girls' empowerment through sport' mantra by asking basic questions, such as "To what extent do the benefits of sport vary among girls and women of different cultures?" (Kidd, 2011, p. 607). Donnelly et al. (2011) further reflect:

> Analyses of some gender-based interventions, intended to support 'the girl effect' or female empowerment through sport and physical activity programmes, show them to have unintended consequences. These have resulted from assumptions, made by NGO workers and volunteers from high-income and more gender-equitable countries, that empowering girls and women through sport is good and that all girls and women must want to be more equal – or at least 'equal' in a way that is understood by the volunteers. Such assumptions may be interpreted as neocolonialist if projects have been initiated without adequate consultation or regard for local culture and the current status of gender relations. As a consequence, girls may be punished for behaving in inappropriate ways by participating in sport. (p. 598)

Indeed, safety issues, such as physical and sexual harassment, abuse, and violence (Meier, 2005; Saavedra, 2005) are a significant concern for girls taking part in these activities when they

challenge gender norms. Girls face personal risks and costs when going against gender stereotypes, and thus can be placed in disempowering situations through physical education and sport.

As we can see, much work remains in ensuring programming is not only beneficial to girls' wellbeing, but that the definition of what is considered to be beneficial is grounded in girls' own perspectives, concerns, and socio-cultural context. Scholars studying PES in sub-Saharan Africa outside of an SDP framework have already begun documenting learners'/participants' perspectives and lived experiences of programming, either in a school context (Edoh, 2012; Ndlangamandla, Burnett, & Roux, 2012; Nolan & Surujlal, 2011; Surujlal et al., 2007) or a community context (Amusa et al., 2008). However, studies specifically targeting girls' experiences are fewer and speak to the need of better understanding their particular perspectives and issues of concern. Indeed, Jones et al. (2007), who studied South African secondary schoolgirls' experiences of physical education and school sport (PESS) and the impact of the latter on their health, conclude that "unless one understands the particular relationships which female learners have with PESS and their own vulnerabilities to risk taking behaviors, PESS will fail to fully address the needs and interests of female learners in this regard" (p. 172).

Since attributing value to girls' voices has become a significant concern in several areas of literature exploring various angles of PES for girls in sub-Saharan Africa, the next question to be addressed is how to access girls' voices in a way that is mindful of the critical issues raised in the literature presented thus far. Recent literature is looking at evaluating girls' programming and their experiences of the latter, however, traditional methods, such as questionnaires with pre-determined questions and answers (Bianchi & Dirkx, 2012) and focus groups combined with interviews analyzing discourses of agency and empowerment through sport (Friesen, 2013) are still privileged. Seeing as the overarching conclusion is the need to integrate participants into

programming development and evaluation through the use of innovative participatory methodologies, I turn to feminist participatory research to provide methodologies developed specifically to bring forward participants' voices.

2.7. Accessing Voice

Feminist participatory methodologies seek to access and bring forward grounded, contextualized, and heterogenized voices by recognizing women as a diverse group with various needs, concerns, and priorities (Cornwall, 2003). They draw from the longstanding methodological philosophies, traditions, and frameworks of Action Research (Reason & Bradbury, 2008), Rapid Rural Appraisal/Participatory Rural Appraisal/Participatory Learning and Action (Chambers, 1997; Cornwall, 2003), Participatory Evaluation (Greenwood & Levin, 1998), Participatory Action Research (PAR) (Hall, 1984; Rahman, 2008; Swantz, 2008) and Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR) (Frisby, Maguire, & Reid, 2009; Maguire, 1987). The objective of feminist participatory methodologies is to actively engage marginalized populations throughout the entire research process in order for their issues of concern and analyses to drive the research questions as well as the resulting production and implementation of concrete and practical knowledge. In other words, practical knowledge is recognized as legitimate scientific knowledge (Gélineau, Dufour, & Bélisle, 2012) that is co-constructed between participants and researchers who seek to identify relevant and significant problems and applicable solutions (Anadón & Couture, 2007) to bring about social change (Couture, Bednarz, & Barry, 2007). What is particular to a feminist approach to participation is that research tools are developed to build upon and contextualize women's individual lived experiences and expertise within broader and oppressive social structures of sexism, racism, classism, and heterosexism to politically challenge these influences that negatively impact women's lives (Maguire, 1987; Reid & Frisby, 2008; Yoshihama & Carr, 2002). As such, participation is defined and experienced through a 'learning by doing' approach

where women, through collective and reflexive group work, develop their own theories in relation to personal issues of concern and link the latter to broader social structures (Frisby et al., 2009; Frisby, Reid, Millar, & Hoeber, 2005; Maguire, 1987). In return, the close examination of collective problems becomes a "catalyst for action" (Reid et al., 2006, p. 322). Various types, levels, and degrees of participation and action are recognized and respected (Frisby et al., 2005; Maguire, 1987; Yoshihama & Carr, 2002) in the belief that individual "life changes, if taken collectively, can eventually lead to structural and policy change" (Reid, Tom, & Frisby, 2006, p. 327). Modesty and caution in goal setting are strongly recommended to participants and researchers (Reid et al., 2006).

Scholars in this field have identified several challenges that arise when implementing feminist participatory methodologies. First, working with small groups of participants, participatory methods generally require several sessions of activities over a long period of time where participants actively define, lead, and implement the research agenda (Frisby et al., 2005; Lykes, 1997; Maguire, 1987; Yoshihama & Carr, 2002). Thus, because the reflexive and grounded action-oriented process cannot be rushed, feminist participatory methods are very time consuming and demanding for researchers and participants who must juggle multiple commitments and responsibilities (Frisby et al., 2005; Maguire, 1987; Tanguay, 2010; Yoshihama & Carr, 2002). As a result, long-term participatory methodologies are more expensive (Couture et al., 2007). Second, participation in projects that challenge patriarchal systems and/or powerful male leaders/family members (Cornwall, 2003; Williams & Lykes, 2003; Yoshihama & Carr, 2002) and/or dominant social systems upon which certain women depend (Reid et al., 2006) can also entail personal costs and put women at risk. They may also feel pressure to apply research results (Tanguay, 2010). A third concern when implementing a feminist participatory methodology is how to link "individual and local actions to larger social change agenda[s]" in

order not to romanticize participation (Reid & Frisby, 2008, p. 102). To address this issue, Reid and Frisby (2008) strongly recommend the "development of strategies and programs based on real life experiences rather than theories or assumptions, providing an analysis of issues based on a description of how women actually hope to transcend problems encountered" (p. 98).

2.8. Girls' Voices and Agency

Although much participatory work has been done with women, the targeting of girls as a separate group with its own needs, issues, and priorities that differ from those of women, is a relatively new feminist theoretical and methodological concern. Girlhood studies seeks to fill this gap by applying and adapting feminist knowledge and participatory methodologies to better understand the lived experiences of girls and better meet their specific needs and concerns (Brown, 2008; Helgren & Basconcellos, 2010; Jiwani, Steenbergen, & Mitchell, 2006; Mitchell & Reid-Walsh, 2010). As such, voice and participation are foregrounded, with a particular attention to girls' agency in order to demonstrate that young girls can actively participate in research, voice their concerns, and contribute relevant and practical knowledge and analyses. The strong focus on girls' voices and agency (Gonick, Renold, Ringrose, & Weems, 2009) has grown from an effort to move beyond the typical academic and programmatic categorization of girls' as either vulnerable or victims of their environments and societies or dogmatic and superficial discourses of girl power (Willis, 2009; Leach, 2010). In a development context, there continues to be a double-marginalization and victimization of age and gender as girls are often lost in the much-used phrase of 'womenandchildren' (Croll, 2006; Helgren & Vasconcellos, 2010; Kirk, Mitchell, & Reid-Walsh, 2010; Sohoni, 1994) or 'womenandgirls' (Kirk, 2008). This has led to the dominant discourse that girls in developing countries are passive, voiceless victims of oppression and in need of protection (Kirk & Garrow, 2003; Kirk et al., 2010; Switzter, 2010). To counter these discourses and approaches to research and programming for girls, girlhood studies

foregrounds heterogeneity in voice and agency by defining 'girlhood' as socially constructed, continuously negotiated and changing, and comprised of a myriad of gendered experiences shaped by personal and socio-cultural discourses of femininity intersecting with, for example, race, class, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality, religion, and ability (Aapola, Gonick, & Harris, 2005; Bettis & Adam, 2005; Forman-Brunell, 2010; Helgren & Vasconcellos, 2010; Jiwani et al., 2006; Willis, 2009). From this perspective, 'listening to girls' voices' is defined as creating, within research and community projects, social spaces for girls to speak about and for researchers to listen to their concerns and ideas (Brown, 2008; Moletsane, Mitchell, Smith, & Chisholm, 2008), and agency is defined as girls constructing, negotiating, and resisting girlhood within the constraints of dominant discourses of femininity and intersections of race, class, culture, and sexuality (Gonick et al., 2009; Leach, 2010; Willis, 2009). In turn, girl-centered research methodologies seek to promote girls' political rights; foreground power, age, reflexivity, and intersectionality; and encourage researchers to work with girls rather than on them (Mitchell, 2011; Mitchell & Reid-Walsh, 2009).

Although the academic study of girlhood in developing countries is a relatively new and growing field of research (Kirk et al., 2010), much research tends to focus on girls' perspectives and agency in their day-to-day lived experiences of gendered discourses and social expectations, for instance, sexuality and religion in India (Chakraborty, 2012), agency, gender, and sports in Namibia (Friesen, 2013), sexual abuse and schooling in Rwanda (Gerver, 2013), empowerment and education in Uganda (Jones, 2011), Maasai schoolgirls in Kenya (Switzer 2010), and sexual health in Uganda (Waite & Conn, 2011). There are however some interesting examples of girls actively taking part in the policy-making process. Recognizing that most girl-friendly teaching practices do not take into account what girls themselves actually consider to be girl-friendly approaches, Kirk and Garrow (2003) present an example from the Forum for African

Women Educationalists in Uganda to demonstrate how girls can work side-by-side with women policy-makers, thereby actively contributing to their experiences of formal education. The authors put forward a "conceptual framework for a 'girls in policy' approach ... with the understanding of policy development as a cyclical process that involves stages of research, dialogue, negotiation, action plans, implementation and evaluation" (p. 5) and with girls involved in the process as "knowers," that is, as experts in their own lived experiences of education (p. 6). However, the authors also observe and warn, "traditional power inequalities between children and adults, and the different expectations of their roles in societies and communities, cannot easily be reversed" (p. 11). Thompson et al. (2011) provide another example where students, boys and girls, participated in a water management project in Cameroon where they not only shared their analyses of water problems and their suggestions for improvement with key decision-makers in their community, but also changed local practices:

> The competing participants shared their complex understandings of the water crisis, basing this on their lived experiences. Addressing important issues such as health and hygiene, daily household management, and students' academic performance associated with fetching water, they produced sophisticated analyses of the social, cultural and economic impacts of the water crisis. ... The school competition was also a great success in creating awareness among and influencing the decision-makers. ... Prior to the competition, members of the jury were unaware of how the water crisis was affecting young people's sexual behavior. This new knowledge surprised the jury and led to action: most significantly, the water utility agreed to make the water schedule public and a radio station volunteered free advertisement slots to announce the schedule. (p. 120-121)

As we can see from both examples, girls can actively participate in and contribute to the development of programming content and practices that directly have an impact on their day-to-day lives.

2.9. Contribution of this Research: A "middle of the road" approach to balance participatory objectives with broader social impact

As described above, feminist participatory research contributed to the development of theoretical frameworks and methodologies to gather and bring forward voices of marginalized populations, including girls. Methods are designed to collect rich qualitative, personalized, and context-specific data that foregrounds the heterogeneity of women and girls' lived experiences and concerns (Cornwall, 2003; Mitchell & Reid-Walsh, 2009; Reid et al., 2006). Although they are successful at gathering multiple voices, the difficulties of implementing these methods, as listed above, are well documented. Of particular concern for this research are the difficulties of transferring research results from an individual/local scale to larger segments of society (Reid & Frisby, 2008) and adapting data gathering processes to respect participants' constraints and concerns while reaching out to decision-makers (Gervais & Rivard, 2013). Consequently, this research attempts to develop a modified participatory approach grounded in individual experiences but directly reaching out to different stakeholders in order to have a broader social impact. Thus, this study seeks to contribute to the literature on innovative context specific approaches to bridging the gap between girls and decision-makers (DeJaeghere, 2012; Kirk & Garrow, 2003; Sajan Virgi & Mitchell, 2011; Thompson et al., 2011). The research model takes up Reid and Frisby's (2008) recommendation of building programs on life experiences and on what the participants hope to achieve and seeks to answer Waite and Conn's (2011) timely and apropos question and concerns:

> Can decision makers learn from such non-traditional research? It is always a
> challenge for participatory research to be taken seriously by decision makers because
> it is based on the voices of, and the knowledge of, the subjects of research;
> particularly if they are those who are not normally heeded as in this case. These types
> of outputs are often not regarded as a legitimate basis for making decisions. (p. 129)

2.10. Summary

In response to SDP, SGD, and PES scholars' call for innovative participatory research methodologies to contextualize and decolonize PES programming, this study first draws from postcolonial feminist theory to value marginalized voices and from feminist participatory methodologies to help bring forward these voices. To then make the link with and specifically focus on girls' voices, girlhood studies is selected as the theoretical framework and methodological approach for the research. Before describing how the data collection method was adapted to this study, the following chapter provides a summation of the Rwandan education sector to better understand the research participants' context and current PES programming.

CHAPTER 3
Educational Context of Rwanda

An overview of the Rwandan education system is presented in this chapter, with a particular focus on girls' education and PES. I begin with a summary of the colonial education system developed and implemented by the Catholic Church and the Belgian administration. I then present the post-independence education reforms and objectives of the Rwandan governments. In this sub-section, I highlight how the Church, the Belgian administration, and the post-independence governments shaped girls' education programming as well as PES activities. The events of the 1994 genocide are briefly addressed through their impact on the Education Sector. The post-conflict reconstruction and development period is then divided by decade, that is, from 1994 to 2004 and from 2004 to 2014. Both sub-sections begin with the changes to, progresses, and challenges of the Education Sector, followed by the state of girls' education and physical education, and end with a brief overview of community sport for girls programs to better contextualize girls' access to and experiences of PES.

In an effort to provide a concise overview of the Rwandan educational context tailored to the particular areas of interest for this study, this chapter draws from the work of key authors who are recognized experts in their field or who have produced significant comprehensive reports or publications. The most widely recognized and complete body of knowledge describing and analyzing the Rwandan education system pre- and post-independence is the work of Pierre Erny (1974, 2001, 2003). To describe the impact of the 1994 genocide on the Education Sector and the efforts undertaken to rebuild in the aftermath, I draw from Obura's (2003) 244-page UNESCO report titled *Never again: Educational reconstruction in Rwanda*. The present-day developments and challenges are cited from the 2011 World Bank Rwanda Education Country Status Report (210 pages) titled *Toward Quality Enhancement and Achievement of Universal Nine Year Basic*

Education, An Education System in Transition; a Nation in Transition. Bigirimana's (2009)

master's thesis on gender and education in Rwanda informs the section on girls' education, while

the post-genocide realities for girls are described in detail by Gervais, Ubalijoro, and Nyirabega

(2009) in their article titled *Girlhood in a Post-Conflict Situation: The case of Rwanda*.

As for the history of PES in Rwanda, sources are extremely scarce. Indeed, the study of colonial

physical education programs is, according to Dumont (2006), "a relatively recent field of study,

often separated from the history of physical practices [and] ... isolated from political and

geographical realities" (p. 85, own translation). Scholars have thus only recently begun to research

this area. The work of Bale (2002) provides a detailed description of pre-colonial Rwandan body

culture and the advent of colonial PES, while reports and publications from present-day

community sport organizations as well as information gathered throughout my interviews with

Rwandan PES experts inform the current developments in PES. Finally, various reports from the

Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) are cited throughout the chapter.

3.1. The Education System from the 19th to the 20th Century

The following brief historical review of the education system from the 19th to the 20th century is

organized along the following themes: Pre-colonial Rwandan society, the influence of the Catholic

Church, school for girls, post-independence education, and PES.

Prior to the arrival of colonial powers, Rwanda was a kingdom composed of three

hierarchical social castes/classes (Gasanabo, 2004) that shared an animist religion and the

Kinyarwanda language (Mgbako, 2005). The Tutsi were the royal and aristocratic minority class

(Bale, 1996) that derived its economic and political power from its ownership of large amounts of

cattle (Gasanabo, 2004). They ruled over the agriculturalist and pastoral majority named Hutu

and the hunter-gatherer minority named Twa (Gasanabo, 2004). In 1897, the Rwandan royal

court signed a pact with the Germans that, unknowingly to the court, included a protectorate

through which Rwanda lost its independence (Minnaert, 2008). The first missionary post and school where opened in 1900 by the Roman Catholic White Fathers (Minnaert, 2008) to evangelize the Rwandan population (Mujawamariya & Ship, 2005). After the Germans lost World War 1, the Belgians were assigned to oversee the Rwandan territory in 1916 (Rumiya, 1992). The Belgians officially granted permission to missionary schools (mostly Catholic) to educate the local population in 1925, and by 1946, the Rwandan vicariate operated as a de facto Ministry of Education with Belgian government subsidies (Erny, 1974). The objective of schooling remained the same: to eradicate traditional beliefs and to provide a Christian moral education (Erny, 1974). Post-independence, Canadian missionaries, with the support of the Canadian government, played a significant role in the development of higher education in Rwanda, including the founding of the National University of Rwanda in 1963 by Father Georges-Henri Lévesque from Laval University (Gendron, 2007).

The Catholic Church first sought to proselytize the Hutu peasant majority through a basic primary education taught in Kinyarwanda (Erny, 1974). Seeing an opportunity to increase their social standing, the Hutu enthusiastically sent their children to primary school (Erny, 2001). As a result of the mass education/proselytization approach of the Church, an impressively high percentage of school-aged children (45%) were in school by the mid 1940s (Erny, 2001), including girls. Although girls were also sent to school, they attended in significantly fewer numbers than boys, since Rwandan gender roles defined women and girls as intellectually and physically weak, who did not have the right to speak, and whose responsibilities were limited to the domestic environment (Bigirimana, 2009). Further inhibiting girls' access to school was the Catholic Church's own belief in the inferiority of women and its ban on mixed-sex schools (Gaparayi, 2012). Girls were only to be educated by nuns, whom priests heavily outnumbered (Erny, 2001), thereby greatly limiting girls' access to education. Catholic White Nuns arrived in

1909 and the first primary school for girls was opened in 1934 (Gaparayi, 2012). The first

secondary school for girls opened in 1939 with the objective of training future Rwandan nuns and

teachers, as well as future spouses of the newly educated Rwandan elite (Mujawamariya & Ship,

2005). Although girls did have access to primary, post-primary, and secondary schooling, the

education they received differed from the education delivered to boys as it was believed that they

would not be able to keep up with the same curriculum (Erny, 2001). Girls' curricula was thus

heavily practice-based and home-oriented (Bigirimana, 2009). Gaparayi (2012) further explains

the status of girls' education within the colonial education strategy and objectives:

> The deliberated policy based on paternalism privileged a substandard education to
> train auxiliaries of the Belgian administration, that is, colonial assistants; and since
> women were considered as inferior beings, ... they were limited to practical and
> professional training in home economics schools, social care homes, community
> centres, [and Catholic] Action Movements, ... where they learned how to read the
> bible, to count, to pray, and to practice, as was expressed in colonial missionary jargon
> the 'good manners and domestic virtues' such as dietetics, sewing, gardening,
> childcare, embroidery, hygiene, and small stock raising. (pp. 75-76, own translation)

Rwanda gained its independence from Belgium in 1961 with a new government headed by

the Hutu majority (Vidal, 1971). At the time, the state of the inherited Education Sector was as

follows:

> ... Rwanda was thus largely, but superficially educated at the primary level; the
> majority of secondary schools were still in the development phase and implemented
> programmes from Belgian Catholic schools; the near totality of institutions were in
> the hands of dioceses or religious societies; only the training of clergy was pushed
> for from the early stage to completion and, without adequate secondary and tertiary
> education, the major and minor seminaries served to train the first generation of
> officials. (Erny, 1974, p. 710, own translation)

A Ministry of Education was created in 1962 and passed laws regulating the national education

system (MINEDUC, 2003), including compulsory and free primary education (Erny, 1974) and

the sanctioning of mixed primary schools (Erny, 2003). Since the majority of the existing schools

were built, owned, and managed by the Catholic and Protestant churches, the government and the

churches agreed to co-share responsibility, with the Ministry of Education covering salary and other costs, and the churches overseeing managerial and administrative tasks (Obura, 2003). These schools were named assisted schools (or government aided) and operated alongside official government schools (Obura, 2003). The objective of the new government was a rapid expansion of primary education in order to ensure that every Rwandan child was literate (Erny, 1974). However, because of a significant lack of teacher training and resources, the primary education system had again expanded quantitatively but was still lacking in terms of quality in 1964 (Erny, 1974). Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, several forms of post-primary programs for girls were developed and tested, all based on family and home management and with the objective of training future wives and mothers (Erny, 2003). At the secondary level, in 1972-73, girls represented 43,5% of the student population (Erny, 2003).

The colonial education system had been a politically contentious issue in the years leading to independence as proportionally more Tutsi children accessed secondary school and higher education and occupied important administrative positions (Nzabalirwa, 2009). The education system was thus accused of maintaining and strengthening the socio-political hierarchy (Erny, 1974). With the First Republic government seeking to promote the emancipation of the Hutu population, a quota system was implemented in schools with the following proportions that were meant to reflect the existing proportions of the population at large: 85% Hutu, 14% Tutsi, and 1% Twa (Gasanabo, 2004). In order to circumvent this measure, Tutsi parents invested in and developed a private school system (Erny, 2003).

By the early 1970s, the post-independence education system was very expensive for the Rwandan state to operate (Bugingo & Sinibagiwe, 1980). The Rwandan government faced three significant problems. First, the curriculum remained embedded in the colonial system of evangelization and social stratification and thus was completely disconnected from and irrelevant

to Rwanda's agriculture-based economy (Erny, 2003). Second, the agricultural-based economy was under considerable strain since a major overpopulation problem greatly limited access to land (Erny, 2003). And third, the combination of an irrelevant curriculum and a strained economy left many youth unemployed (Bugingo & Sinibagiwe, 1980). Because the vast majority of students who finished primary school did not pass the examination to access secondary school, they could not find work in either the public or private sector. Indeed, in 1973-74, only 7,4% of the student population passed the examination to receive their certificate of primary education and were eligible to secondary school programs (Erny, 2003). The partially educated and unemployed youth were considered to be a threat to social stability (Bugingo & Sinibagiwe, 1980).

Intermittent waves of massacres of Tutsi occurred in 1959, 1963, and 1973, resulting in hundreds of thousands refugees in neighboring countries (Kagabo & Vidal, 1994). The First Republic ended in a coup d'état in 1973, which marked the beginning of the Second Republic. Concerns over the mass of primary-educated unemployed youth continued and in 1977 and 1978, a reform was proposed to develop post-primary education options adapted to Rwanda's rural economy (Bugingo & Sinibagiwe, 1980). Mixed secondary schools were sanctioned in 1980 (Mujawamariya & Ship, 2005) and by 1987-88, private secondary schools outnumbered public schools 2:1 in the Kigali region, this included 14 private schools and 7 public schools (Erny, 2003). However, at the time, Rwanda had one of the lowest secondary and university attendance rates in Africa (for male and female students), that is 1,8% and 0,2% respectively (Erny, 2003).

3.1.1. Physical education and sport.

Dating back to the sixteenth century, Rwandan body culture was composed of customs and activities practiced by elite young men at the royal court. Known as *intore*, these young men were called to court to "undertake 'manly' and military training," which consisted of various "manly

arts and corporeal skills" (Bale, 2002, p. 34). The objective of the training was to transform the

intore into "competent soldiers and athletes" (p. 34) and focused on a variety of activities, such as

"poetry, panegyrics, dancing, self-defense, self-control, fighting, spear throwing, running and

gusimbuka," (p. 35) a form of high jumping, as well as "foot racing [and] archery" (p. 37).

Although focused on military training and athletics, these activities were non-competitive and also

served ritualistic purposes. Young women and non-elite young men were excluded from these

corporeal traditions (Bale, 2002). With the increasing Belgian colonial presence during the first

half of the 20th century, Rwandan court traditions were slowly abandoned as the Roman Catholic

missionaries and the Belgian administrators "gradually came to ignore indigenous corporeal

activities" (Bale, 2002, p. 47). According to Bale (2002), the abandonment of traditional body

cultures "coincided with the growing adoption of European sports" (p. 48). Indeed, as early as the

1920s, schools were introducing European sport activities and physical training. By the 1950s,

football "had become the nation's most popular sport" (Bale, 2002, p. 48) and missionary schools

had fully integrated European physical activity and sports in the curriculum. In 1972, the

Secrétariat d'Etat à la Jeunesse et aux Sports was created to promote sport and the arts to youth

and to open sport and recreation centers throughout the country (Erny, 2003).

3.2. Education During the Time of the 1994 Genocide

In the immediate aftermath of the 1994 genocide, women bore the brunt of the post-

conflict survival and reconstruction period as they represented 70% of the Rwandan population at

the end of the war (Gervais, Ubalijoro, & Nyirabega, 2009). The strategic use of rape to infect

girls and women with HIV and AIDS (Gervais et al., 2009) resulted in a post-genocide female

infection rate of 66.7% (Feliciati, 2006). Furthermore, rampant sexual violence, including sexual

aggression and forced prostitution, affected 30% of girls and women between the ages of 13 and

35 and left victims with "severe health complications, with unwanted children born of rape, with

HIV and AIDS, social isolation and ostracization" (Obura, 2003, p. 52). The systematic killings

of men and boys also left a significant number of women and girls as heads of households,

estimated at 34% (Obura, 2003). Subsequently, many girls took on the responsibilities of

"provider and protector" for younger siblings (Gervais et al., 2009, p. 15). Citing a 1997 study,

Human Rights Watch (2003) reports that "80% of girls acting as heads of households had been

sexually abused or forced to fend against sexual abuse," while a 2001 study "demonstrated that

sex played such an important part in the way children on their own lived that it had become ...

almost tolerated by rural society" (p. 53, own translation). Orphaned girls often found work as

domestic servants and were also extremely vulnerable to physical and sexual abuse (Human

Rights Watch, 2003). Girls in these situations stopped attending school and did not acquire labor

skills to participate in the economy, thereby further entrenching them into poverty (Gervais et al.,

2009). As women and girls were forced to take on activities that were traditionally for men,

associations of women were created for local women to help each other rebuild their lives

(Mujawamariya & Ship, 2005; Schindler, 2009). However, as girls' social status is lower than

that of women, the majority of girls did not benefit from these associations (Gervais et al., 2009).

Although these dramatic circumstances opened up social-cultural space that lead to some

flexibility in gender roles and access to economic activity (Gervais et al., 2009), these changes

were mostly restricted to urban educated middle-class women (Schindler, 2009).

Formal schooling in Rwanda stopped abruptly in April of 1994. During the conflict,

approximately 65% of schools were damaged and education infrastructures, including the

MINEDUC building, the National Archives, the National Library, and local education offices

were targeted, pillaged, and damaged (Obura, 2003). Teachers were also victims and perpetrators

of the genocide. Obura (2003) explains:

Teachers symbolized the elite and the educated in Rwanda. They became a particular target during the genocide. Teachers were also perpetrators of the genocide ... Teachers turned against other teachers, neighbours and pupils. Pupils did the same. The result was unimaginable terror and shock; and the total erosion of faith in the education system. (p. 48)

3.3. Post-conflict Reconstruction of the Education System: 1994-2004

A new government and a new Minister of Education were instated on July 18, 1994 (Obura,

2003). The condition of the Education Sector between July and September 1994 was as follows:

Almost one-quarter of schools were still occupied by refugees returning from Congo and Burundi, by military forces or displaced people ... All of the schools had been looted and pillaged (p. 47) ... only 45% of qualified teachers remained in the primary system ... [and] only one-third of teachers were qualified at the secondary level (p. 48). ... The surviving components of the system included dispersed documentation on curriculum and syllabuses, examples of textbooks, the physical shell of the Ministry, some provincial and commune education offices, and some schools. There were some ministry officials and some teachers; but no children. (Obura, 2003, p. 55)

The re-opening of primary schools in September 1994, only two months after the end of the

genocide, took significant social mobilization and strenuous ground work by the Minister and his

staff to reach out to broken communities and to convince teachers, school authorities, parents,

and children that it was safe to go back to school. As Obura (2003) reflects:

It has to be appreciated today how very difficult it was for parents to believe that it was safe to bring their children back to school in late 1994. The school system had been used to divide children, to teach them prejudice and hate, and it had been the scene of genocide. Local leaders had called people to schools, public buildings and churches 'to keep them safe', and the people had been massacred there, by teachers, priests, local leaders, neighbours and by fellow pupils. (p. 57)

An added significant difficulty was the fact that, due to the massive influx of returnees from

neighboring countries, many children had been previously educated in various education systems

and spoke a variety of languages (Obura, 2003). After opening primary schools, the MINEDUC

ensured final-year secondary students graduated and became primary school teachers (Obura,

2003).

In 1998, the MINEDUC released a Sector Policy for the post-genocide emergency context with the objective of dismantling the previous education system and instating new educational values and goals (MINEDUC, 2003) to help foster national unity, reconciliation, and social cohesion (Obura, 2003). The government recognized the role of education in developing human resources for economic and social growth and in promoting values of peace, tolerance, solidarity, justice, human rights, and responsibilities (MINEDUC, 2003; Nzabalirwa, 2009). The ethnic quota system was abolished and replaced with a merit-based examination system (Nzabalirwa, 2009). Discrimination and ethnic identification of teachers and students became illegal (Obura, 2003).

Five years later, the MINEDUC published another Sector Policy in order to transition the Education Sector from post-conflict emergency to a development strategy aligned with the national development plan elaborated in Vision 2020 (MINEDUC, 2003). The objective of Vision 2020 for the Education Sector is "to provide Universal Primary Education (UPE) by 2010 and subsequently Basic Education for All (EFA) by 2015" (MINEDUC, 2003, p. 6). The main priorities are "... reducing gender inequality in education; the provision of textbooks and relevant curricula at all levels of the system; the training of more teachers particularly at primary level; and the provision of HIV and AIDS education to all children from an early age" (MINEDUC, 2003, p. 6). Obura (2003) summarizes the main changes to the new curriculum: "... the emphasis on eliminating discrimination, the inclusion of peace education, the introduction of English throughout the primary cycle, the incorporation of three languages into the primary curriculum from the first grade, and the adoption of sex education and AIDS-awareness education" (p. 96). In order to help families living in poverty access primary and secondary education, a Genocide Survivors Fund was created to dispense bursaries that covered the costs of basic needs and schooling supplies (Obura, 2003). However, many difficulties were encountered in implementing

the program, such as inadequate funding, certain public schools charging higher fees but not providing more services, a biased recipient selection process, an exclusion of orphans, and school authorities refusing access to children whose funding was not received by the school on time to help cover school costs, such as meals and clean drinking water (MIGEPROF, 2006).

In 2004, the World Bank published a report evaluating the progress and challenges of the education system's recovery. Drawing from data collected in 2001, the World Bank reports a rapid growth in enrolments at the primary level, higher than the average for low-income African countries. Secondary education marked a 20% growth in the number of students since 1996, which was lower than the average for low-income African countries. Nevertheless, according to the World Bank, "Rwanda's education system compares favorably with that of other low-income countries in Africa with respect to access by different socioeconomic groups, especially at the primary level" (World Bank, 2004, p. 3). At the secondary level, a significant success is the equal participation rates for both non-orphans and orphans (World Bank, 2004).

Although participation rates at the primary level were historically high and were estimated at 90% in 2001, two significant problems persisted: extremely high repetition rates, estimated at 34% in 2000 (World Bank, 2004), and an extremely high pupil-teacher ratio of 57 to 1, one of the highest in the world (World Bank, 2004). Another issue identified by the World Bank (2004), which is reflective of Rwanda's historically elitist secondary school and higher education system, was the inequitable public funding of higher education, to the detriment of the primary level:

> Primary education, which is so fundamental to development, now receives only about 45% of public current spending on education, whereas higher education gets nearly 40%. The strong focus on higher education, which currently serves only 2% of the population in the relevant age group, has predictably inequitable results. First, Rwanda's unit costs in higher education are among the highest in the world today and are about 75 times the unit costs in primary education. Second, the best educated 10% in a cohort claims more than 70% of the cumulative public spending on education received by that cohort. It is thus no surprise that Rwanda's system is one of the least structurally equitable in Sub-Saharan Africa. (p. 5)

The World Bank also noted the important economic contributions of Rwandan households to education, the growing role of private education institutions at the secondary and higher education levels, and the inequitable distribution of resources to schools across the country favoring urban schools in the capital and "... giving rise to highly disparate learning environments" (p. 6).

3.3.1. Girls' education.

In 1995, the government embarked on a nation-wide gender promotion campaign by creating new gender-focused institutions, such as the National Women's Council and the Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion, and by mainstreaming gender in government institutions, post-genocide policy documents, and all development sectors (Bigirimana, 2009). The Constitution recognizes the equality of women and men before the law and allocates at least 30% of decision-making government positions to women. Gender and education were promoted through the following 11 government protocols developed between 1998 and 2004:

Table 1

Gender and Education Protocols

Year	Protocol
1998	Study of the Education Sector
1998	Plan of action for Education in Rwanda (1998-2000). Recovery and development
2000	Vision 2020
2001	The process of integrating gender into the new constitution
2001	National Gender Policy (first version)
2002	Poverty Reduction Strategy
2003	Education for All. Action Plan
2003	The Constitution of Rwanda
2003	Law No 29 of 30/8/2003 relating to the organization and functioning of preschool education, primary education, and secondary education
2003	Education Sector Policy
2004	National Gender Policy (final version)

(Bigirimana, 2009, p. 121, own translation)

As a result of girls' historical access to primary education, the country reached gender

parity in education access at the primary level in 1990 (Obura, 2003). The following net

enrolment ratios gathered by Bigirimana (2009) demonstrate how parity or near parity was

maintained as the system was rebuilt:

Table 2

Net Enrolment Ratios

Year	Girls	Boys
1990/1	66,7%	67,1%
1998/9	69,7%	70,2%
1999/2000	71,8%	72,5%
2001/2002	74,9%	74,0%
2002/2003	92,4%	90,1%

Though girls and boys equally accessed primary school, boys consistently outperformed girls in

the end of primary examinations, thereby limiting girls' access to and performance at the

secondary school level and in higher education (Bigirimana, 2009; Obura, 2003; World Bank,

2004). Because public and government-assisted secondary schools were only accessible by

passing the end of primary examination, boys represented close to 60% of the student population,

while in private schools, girls represented close to 60% of the student body (Obura, 2003). The

majority of families wanting their daughters to access secondary education were therefore

obliged to pay for expensive lower-quality private schools. Suggestions were made to lower the

entry score by one point for girls. However, in her interviews with school authorities, Obura

(2003) reports why this suggestion was seen as culturally inappropriate in this context:

> [School authorities] explained that "although it has been recommended by some that
> the entry requirement should be lowered by one point for girls, most people are not
> in favour of this, since it would bring about inequalities." The memory of inequitably
> allocation of secondary places over the past seven decades is still too fresh in
> people's minds to bear the idea of reproducing quotas of some type of affirmative
> action in the education system for any sector of the population, however
> disadvantaged they may be. (p. 169)

A variety of gender barriers in the school context continued to have a negative impact on girls'
performance at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels, such as the attitudes and beliefs of
teachers, parents, and school authorities as well as early marriage, pregnancy, and motherhood
(Obura, 2003). In 1997, a Rwandan chapter of the Forum for African Women Educationalists
(FAWE), a regional NGO, was created to focus on gender barriers in education (FAWE Rwanda,
n.d.). Working with the MINEDUC, FAWE opened a girls' secondary school in Kigali to address
underlying causes of low performance levels by providing a girl-friendly learning environment
(Obura, 2003). FAWE also worked with mixed secondary schools and rural primary schools to
help address gender issues in education.

3.3.2. Physical education.

The MINEDUC developed the Upper Primary Level Physical Education Program and the
Physical and Sports Training Program for the Ordinary Level of Secondary School in 1997 and
1998, respectively. Drawing from and citing the UNESCO 1978 Charter, the Upper Primary
Program states: "Physical Education and sports are essential elements for the permanent
Education within a global system of Education" (section 2). As such, PES are seen as integral to
the overall education of children in Rwanda by contributing to the following: "Improvement of
physical, moral and social qualities; Better functioning of the internal system of the body; and
Enabl[ing] a pupil to use efficiently his/her body" (section 2). Both program descriptions employ
gender-neutral language.

a. Upper Primary Level Physical Education Program (P4, P5, and P6[2]).

The curriculum is comprised of the following activities: basic skills training (including resistance
and endurance), football, sprint, gymnastics, long jump, handball, javelin throwing, volleyball,

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[2] P4, P5, and P6 are the equivalent of primary school grades 4, 5, and 6 in North America. The
official school age is from 7 years to 12 years (MINEDUC, 2013).

53

shot putt, and netball. Several physical, psychological, and social objectives are listed. The program seeks to develop "speed, resistance, endurance, skill, co-ordination, precision, [and] litheness" as well as "courage, loyalty, [and] fair-play" in order to "enable a pupil to use his/her body efficiently in daily practical activities" (section 3). A second objective is to introduce students to competitive sport, as it is believed that through competitions "a pupil will apply notions acquired on peace, unity, and human rights" (section 3). Various psychomotor, socio-affective, and cognitive objectives are also listed in order for students to develop healthy bodies, social, and communication skills as well as knowledge about the body and the different rules of sports and games. Group work is encouraged in order for students to develop a "sense of responsibility" and decision-making (section 5).

b. Physical and Sports Training Program in Ordinary Level (Years 1, 2 and 3[3]).

While the Upper Primary program focuses on using sport and physical play to enhance students' physical, social, and cognitive development, the Ordinary Level training focuses on developing sport skills for competitions. However, the document stresses that the physical training must be fun and enjoyable for students and must encourage them to continue an active lifestyle outside of school. The belief is that an active healthy body will help students in their professional and cultural lives, thereby contributing to the development of the country. The physical abilities to be acquired are "speed, resistance, endurance, force, coordination, suppleness, address, balance [and] dexterity," while the moral qualities are "courage, willingness, loyalty, [and a] competitive spirit]" (section 7). The curriculum of the first year of the Ordinary Level introduces various activities, skills, and rules, while the curricula of the 2nd and 3rd years build on these skills to

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[3] The Ordinary Level Years 1, 2, and 3 are the first three years of the secondary school level, while the Advanced Level Years 1, 2, and 3 are the last three years of the secondary school level. Since the publication of the curriculum in 1998, the secondary grades are now referred to as Lower Secondary and Upper Secondary, with the same first and second three-year blocks. The official age is 13 years to 18 years (MINEDUC, 2013).

further develop expertise in preparation for competitions. The activities are: basic physical training, gymnastics, athletics, running (speed and endurance), jumping (length and height), throwing (weights and javelins), football, volleyball, basketball, and handball. The document ends with a list of recommendations for the MINEDUC to improve the implementation of the curriculum, such as devoting more time to physical education lessons, providing training for teachers, providing secondary schools with materials and equipment, and ensuring that a physical education inspector can evaluate the implementation of the curriculum. The document also recommends that teachers modify their physical education classes during rainy days and discuss with students "the importance of sports in building unity and national reconciliation, the impact of physical activity on the organism, [and] the dangers of sexually transmitted diseases (HIV) to the human being in general and to [sic] the sports in particular" (section 50).

In her report on the reconstruction of the education system, Obura (2003) interviewed boys and girls to document their perspective on and experiences of schooling. Listed in the criteria of "good schools" as elaborated by the children is access to a "variety of sports, for both girls and boys," and listed in the criteria of "bad schools" are schools where "sports [are] given insufficient attention" (p. 178). Obura (2003) cites some of the students interviewed:

> Eugène likes sports and he appreciates the attention to sports in the school, which offers basketball, football and volleyball. Habib, who has just started a senior secondary course in a new (private) school, has many complaints but "despite all the problems here what I like is that they give sports a chance. There are many different games and I love sports." Dorothée is 14 years old, in primary school. She also likes sports and she particularly appreciates the fact that her school organises matches in the district with other schools. "School here is good," said Amos smiling. He is starting sixth grade (P6) this year. "Here I can play volleyball and football and mix with other children. (p. 173-174)

However, it was also noted that participation in sports at school can take time away from studying. A female student comments: "I love sports but I am not doing them for the time being so as to concentrate on my studies" (Obura, 2003, p. 176). Furthermore, teachers interviewed for

the report spoke about the challenges they faced in implementing sporting activities at school, even though they agreed with the objectives elaborated in the curricula described above: "... I have to push most of them to play sports ... you find many of them standing with their arms folded at sports time. They do not want to participate in sports yet it would help them relax and it would be a unifying activity" (p. 185).

Alongside the physical education curricula developed by the MINEDUC, a peace education program was developed in 1997 with the collaboration of UNICEF, which was to be implemented through sport in schools and in communities (Obura, 2003). In the midst of creating new ministries, departments, and structures, the peace education program was divided between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sport (MINISPOC) (Obura, 2003). Unfortunately, details on the development and implementation of the program could not be found:

> Ministry of Youth figures are not available on when this exercise started, and there are no reports on the type of attention given to children, apart from classical sports activities. ... In 2002 it was impossible to trace the development of this programme and we do not know if it is now focused on sports rather than on peace. ... It was difficult to make the distinction between the notion of sports and the notion of peace-building, in the sense that concentrating solely on sports did not stress peace education effectively. (Obura, 2003, p. 69)

3.3.3. Sport and physical activity for girls in post-conflict Rwandan society.

In order to better contextualize girls' experiences of physical education in a secondary school setting, I briefly describe how girls' participation in sport and physical activity was generally perceived in post-conflict Rwandan society.

As mentioned above, girls and women have been excluded from both pre-colonial Rwandan body culture and colonial westernized sport culture introduced through schooling and local sport organizations. According to Felicite Rwemalika, founder of the Association of Kigali Women in Football (AKWOF), when girls did start attending school in larger numbers, many

were sent home to help their mothers while the boys engaged in the physical education and sport curriculum as it was socially unacceptable for girls and women to engage in physical activity (Elliot & Lemaire, 2007). In 1997, Rwemalika, along with eight Rwandan mothers, founded AKWOF to introduce female football in Rwanda after seeing Ugandan women and girls play football (Elliot & Lemaire, 2007). AKWOF faced strong opposition from local women: "It took almost two years for them to convince other mothers to allow their daughters to participate in sports" (Women Win, n.d., p. 28). At the time, the goal of the association was to "mobilize, plan, develop and sustain women football in Rwanda" at a grassroots level in all four provinces of the country (AKWOS, 2007, p. 2) by training female players, coaches, trainers, referees, and match commissioners (Women Win, n.d.). The focus was on developing the same national football structures and programs for girls and women that already existed for boys and men (Elliot & Lemaire, 2007). Along with training women and girls to play in and organize football matches and tournaments, the association worked on making women and girls' participation socially acceptable and respected (Elliot & Lemaire, 2007). Although the association was founded and run by Rwandan mothers, men and women strongly opposed their activities as they were going against a gender norm.

3.4. Present-day: Progresses and challenges of the education system (2004-2014)

In 2006, the Nine Year Basic Education (NYBE) policy was adopted by extending the original six-year primary program to include the first three-year section of the secondary school level known as the *tronc commun* (World Bank, 2011). To increase access to the tronc commun level, the Primary 6 National Examination was abolished in 2009 (World Bank, 2011). The current structure of the education system is as follows: Preprimary (3-6 years old), Primary (7-12 years old), Tronc commun with the O-Level national examination, and Upper secondary with the A-Level national examination (World Bank, 2011). In 2007, the fee-free policy was applied to the

NYBE. In 2008, primary school teachers' monthly allowances were increased and 2,000 extra teachers were hired to reduce the high pupil-teacher ratio (World Bank, 2011, p. 24). English became the teaching language in 2008 (World Bank, 2011). This transition will pose significant challenges in the coming years as teachers will require training to fluently speak and teach in the language and new textbooks in all subject matters will need to be purchased and distributed (World Bank, 2011). According to the latest World Bank report (2011), all school levels are considered "well resourced" in toilets and access to clean water (p. 4) and "... Rwanda now invests nearly 49% of its recurrent education budget on primary education, which is similar to the average of other African countries" (p. 7).

Although significant structural progresses have been made, the Education Sector, which is currently in a decentralization process (World Bank, 2011), continues to face daunting challenges that impact the quality of the education being delivered, such as a low budget allocated to all levels of education (20%) and overpopulated classes (République du Rwanda, 2010). Electricity remains scant in primary schools outside of Kigali and secondary schools are facing an important shortage of quality textbooks and teaching and learning materials (World Bank, 2011). Completion rates continue to be low at the primary level while retention rates actually worsened at all three levels between 2002 and 2008 (World Bank, 2011). A 2005 figure indicated that 26% of children fall into the category of "orphans and vulnerable children (OVC)" due to the ongoing impacts of the genocide (World Bank, 2011, p. 27). Enrolling and retaining OVC children remains a significant challenge. Furthermore, geographical and income disparities continue to negatively impact students' access to and performance in school as the costs associated with schooling remain problematic for many families (World Bank, 2011). The situation for teachers also continues to be very difficult. Lack of in-class training, overwork, low pay, and a very high turnover rate greatly diminish the quality of the education being delivered (World Bank, 2011).

The teaching profession is generally held in disregard as "... the total net basic income of certificate level primary school teachers is far below a living wage [and] ... the net income of a certificate teacher remains almost three times lower than that of other similarly qualified civil servants" (World Bank, 2011, p. 7).

The 2012 Education Statistics Yearbook provides a statistical overview of students, staff, and educational institutions on a national scale. The breakdown of the percentage of the learning population was as follows: 73% primary, 16% secondary, 2% tertiary, and 1% vocational (MINEDUC, 2013).

3.4.1. Primary education.

The percentages for the different types of schools were: 7% private, 26% public, and 67% government aided (MINEDUC, 2013). Orphans represented 12% of the students, with an equal breakdown of 50% boys and 50% girls (MINEDUC, 2013). The following table summarizes key indicators.

Table 3

Key Indicators of the Education Sector

Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Total					
Boys	49.1%	49.2%	49.3%	49.1%	49.3%
Girls	50.9%	50.8%	50.7%	50.9%	50.7%
Gross Enrolment Rate					
Boys	127.3%	127.4%	125.2%	125.7%	121.7%
Girls	128.5%	129.5%	127.6%	128.9%	124.8%
Net Enrolment Rate					
Boys	93.3%	91.6%	94.2%	94.3%	95.0%
Girls	95.1%	94.1%	96.5%	97.5%	98.0%
Completion Rate					
Boys	71.4%		75.1%	67.5%	
Girls	79.8%		81.8%	77.7%	
Transition Rate					N/A
Boys	89.9%	95.8%	96.4%	87.7%	
Girls	86.3%	94.3%	91.1%	84.3%	
Promotion Rate					N/A
Boys	68.7%	73.2%	75.0%	75.6%	

Girls	70.3%	74.3%	76.2%	77.1%	
Repetition Rate					N/A
Boys	15.7%	14.5%	13.5%	13.2%	
Girls	14.9%	13.5%	12.5%	12.2%	
Dropout Rate					N/A
Boys	15.6%	12.3%	11.5%	11.2%	
Girls	14.7%	12.2%	11.3%	10.7%	
Qualified teachers	91.0%	96.0%	98.5%	98.4%	95.6%
Qualified teachers					
Male	89.5%	95.7%	97.2%	97.5%	97.2%
Female	92.3%	96.3%	99.6%	99.3%	94.1%
Primary school leaving examination results: % passed					
Boys	78.6%	72.6%	85.0%	84.1%	84.6%
Girls	70.2%	64.1%	80.7%	81.6%	81.8%

2012 Education Statistics Yearbook (MINEDUC, 2013)

3.4.2. Lower and upper secondary education.

The breakdown of secondary schools was as follows: 16% private, 28% public, and 56% government aided (MINEDUC, 2013). At this level, 27.2% of students are orphans, with girls slightly outnumbering boys with 51.1% vs. 48.9% (MINEDUC, 2013). The following table summarizes key indicators.

Table 4

Key Indicators of Lower and Upper Secondary Education

Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Total					
Male	52.2%	51.0%	49.3%	48.5%	47.8%
Female	47.8%	49.0%	50.7%	51.5%	52.2%
Gross Enrolment Rate				*Lower sec.*	*Lower sec.*
Male	22.0%	26.8%	31.5%	Boys 46.7%	Boys 46.3%
Female	23.4%	25.0%	31.5%	Girls 50.5%	Girls 52.0%
				Upper sec. Boys 22.4% Girls 21.1%	*Upper sec.* Boys 27.5% Girls 26.7%
Net Enrolment Rate				*Lower sec.*	*Lower sec.*
Male	13.8%	12.8%	21.6%	Boys 16.7%	Boys 18.9%
Female	13.9%	13.7%	23.7%	Girls 20.0%	Girls 23.1%
				Upper sec. Boys 6.5% Girls 7.2%	*Upper sec.* Boys 24.1% Girls 26.6%
Transition Rate					N/A

Male	85.2%	88.7%	92.8%	97.8%	
Female	86.9%	91.6%	94.7%	94.0%	
Promotion Rate **Male** **Female**	N/A	N/A	N/A	Lower sec. Male 81.6% Female 80.0% Upper sec. Male 96.1% Female 95.7%	N/A
Repetition Rate **Male** **Female**	N/A	N/A	N/A	Lower sec. Male 5.5% Female 6.0% Upper sec. Male 1.5% Female 1.8%	N/A
Dropout Rate **Male** **Female**	N/A	N/A	N/A	Lower sec. Male 12.9% Female 13.2% Upper sec. Male 2.4% Female 2.5%	N/A
Qualified teachers	57.4%	60.4%	60.0%	64.4%	67.5%
Qualified teachers **Male** **Female**	59.7% 50.3%	65.7% 46.9%	58.7% 63.3%	67.5% 56.2%	71.2% 57.8%
Lower sec. school leaving examination results: % passed **Male** **Female**	86.6% 70.5%	87.5% 73.8%	91.6% 78.2%	89.0% 77.1%	90.1% 80.1%
Upper sec. school leaving examination results: % passed **Male** **Female**	91.8% 85.9%	91.5% 85.9%	90.6% 83.8%	90.9% 83.4%	91.4% 84.4%

2012 Education Statistics Yearbook (MINEDUC, 2013)

3.4.3. Girls' education.

Prior to the release and approval of the Girls' Education Policy in 2008 and 2009 respectively,

Bigirimana (2009) conducted her MA research on girls' education in Rwanda with a particular

focus on the gap between the post-conflict policies addressing gender and education and their

implementation. In the following sub-section, I present the main findings and conclusions that are

relevant to my research before describing the Girls' Education Policy.

In her interviews with school authorities and education experts in Rwanda, Bigirimana (2009) identified persisting socio-cultural gender barriers, especially in the rural areas. According to her interviewees, parents do not value girls' education as much as boys' education because they believe that: 1) educating a girl will only be profitable to the family of her future husband, 2) poor families who cannot afford to educate all of their children will prioritize boys, 3) the gendered division of labor placing the responsibility of house chores on girls, and 4) the stereotypical image of the Rwandan girl and woman as possessing poor intellectual capacity, who is not given the right to speak, and whose role is as of wife and mother. Bigirimana (2009) also observed two primary schools, one urban and one rural. What is of interest for this study is that both schools had separate latrines for boys and girls as well as separate playing fields. However, the physical education course was mixed and the teachers made the girls and the boys play together, irrespective of the type of physical activity or sport being played. The author observed football being played in both schools during physical education class and boys and girls were on both teams.

Concrete implemented policy measures included the following: the Imbuto Foundation bursaries to girls living in poverty and to top performing girls, the World Food Programme's food rations, and the government's catch-up program for girls and women. Identified gaps were the lack of adequate dissemination tools to support awareness campaigns, stereotypes in textbooks and curricula, lack of gender training for in-service teachers, lack of financial support to families to cover costs associated to schooling, lack of communication between decision-makers and teachers, and an insufficient budget allocated to gender mainstreaming. The author strongly criticized the post-conflict gender and education policy efforts for setting poorly defined objectives and implementation strategies. She argues that the objectives were set to meet the international community's expectations and requirements rather than reflect the Rwandan context

and address Rwanda's post-genocide problems. Furthermore, she believed that the lack of

specific follow up indicators to measure progresses and challenges points to the desire to simply

conform to international calls rather than targeting socio-cultural issues, parents' preference for

educating boys, poverty, and taking into account the female majority in Rwanda.

The Girls' Education Policy sought to address some of these issues. It is aligned with the

following national policies and programs: "Vision 2020; Education Sector Policy; Economic

Development Poverty Reduction Strategy; Rwanda Government's Seven year program; The

National Decentralization Policy; The National Gender Policy; The National Policy on Orphan

Children and Other Vulnerable Children; Law on the Rights and Protection of the Child Against

Violence; International Development Goals; Millennium Developments Goals; NEPAD [The

New Partnership for Africa's Development]" (MINEDUC, 2008, p. 6), as well as the Rwandan

Constitution (MINEDUC, 2008). The national post-conflict development road map elaborated in

Vision 2020 promotes "... gender quality and equity through education," seeks to "... support

education for all, eradicate all forms of discrimination, fight against poverty and practice a

positive discrimination policy in favour of women" and seeks to integrate gender "... as a cross-

cutting issue in all development policies and strategies (MINEDUC, 2008, p. 6). For the

Education Sector, the National Gender Policy aims to mainstream gender issues throughout the

education system, including curriculum and policy development, as well as educational

programming (MINEDUC, 2008).

The Girls' Education Policy is also aligned with the MINEDUC's commitment to the

Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), Education for All (EFA), and the MDGs, which

include the universal completion of primary school target by 2015 (MINEDUC, 2008). Indeed,

the EFA goal of "eliminating gender disparities in primary education" in relation to attendance

has been achieved in 2005 (MINEDUC, 2008, p. 7). However, the Ministry specifies that "...

attention [still needs] to be paid to [girls'] needs in relation to teaching and learning practices, curricula and the safety of the school environment" (MINEDUC, 2008, p. 7). At the secondary school level, the Ministry identifies the following issues that need to be addressed: girls' predominance in lower quality private schools vs. boys' predominance in higher quality public schools, high female dropout rates, girls' predominance in female subjects, and a lack of qualified female teachers (MINEDUC, 2008).

The "*overall objective* of Girls' Education Policy is to guide and promote sustainable action aimed at the progressive elimination of gender disparities in education and training as well as in management structures," while the "*specific objectives* ... are to integrate gender issues into national, district and community programs and plans; ... evaluate programs aimed at promoting gender equality in education and training; ... [and] eliminate gender disparities in education and training" (MINEDUC, 2008, p. 1). There are three areas of implementation strategies focusing on access, quality/achievement, and retention/completion. Access strategies "... are directed towards addressing those factors that prevents girls and boys from entering school and towards providing a hospitable environment that encourages them to stay in school" (MINEDUC, 2008, p. 1). They include "... affirmative action to promote education for girls and women and vulnerable groups at secondary and higher education levels" (MINEDUC, 2008, p. 19). Strategies seeking to enhance quality and achievement "ensure gender sensitive curricula focusing on life skills, leadership, etc. for girls to promote self-esteem and self-confidence" and include actions such as implementing "... gender sensitive and child centered methodologies for classroom teaching," "... the development of supportive gender-sensitive learning environments," and "provid[ing] relevant and gender-neutral textbooks that will encourage learning of both girls and boys in all subjects" (MINEDUC, 2008, p. 21). Finally, retention and completion strategies aim to "ensure that the construction or rehabilitation of educational institutions is gender responsive" and includes the

"provision of playgrounds to ensure both boys and girls can freely participate in games and sports," "separate sanitation facilities including washrooms for girls," "avail[sic] emergency sanitary packs including sanitary towels in all schools and washrooms for girls," and "... facilities for disposal of sanitary towels" (MINEDUC, 2008, pp. 22-23). Other measures and areas of intervention include "... targeted subsidies and preferential resource allocations," such as "scholarship programmes to girls from poor families by FAWE and PACFA" (MINEDUC, 2008, pp. 23- 24), the "... protection against physical, mental and sexual abuse" (p. 24), the protection against "... sexual harassment and unwanted sexual advances in educational institutions" (p. 24), community and family sensitization programs, and girls' empowerment programs. As for monitoring and evaluation, a *Girls' Education Task Force* compiles the annual indicators, while FAWE commissions "... a qualitative assessment every three years to supplement the available statistical data" (MINEDUC, 2008, p. 2).

As it will take several years to implement the policy and impact concrete change, the following studies highlight some of the ongoing challenges faced by secondary schoolgirls. Economic security and physical safety remain significant issues of concern for many Rwandan girls. Access to post-conflict reintegration programming is limited and girls are often raped "on their way to and from the fields or school," mostly by their employers or teachers (Gervais et al., 2009, p. 17). Poverty, sexual violence, exploitation, early marriages, and early pregnancies are considerable barriers for girls' access to and completion of school (Gervais et al., 2009). Furthermore, many who were infected with HIV and AIDS during the genocide are now dying and girls are taking over the caretaking responsibilities of sick relatives and/or orphaned children (Gervais et al., 2009). However, even if girls, and especially rural girls, occupy the lowest social status and are excluded from participating in community development, Gervais et al. (2009) argue that "... the experiences of girls and young women in post-genocide Rwanda challenge the

oft-held perceptions by humanitarian and development agencies that they are vulnerable children or victims unable to be involved in community-based training aimed at building the capacities of local communities" (p. 21). Indeed, the authors assert "continued participation of girls in the process of peace-building in Rwanda is vital to the sustainable empowerment of communities and the long-term healing of wounds created by the genocide" (p. 19).

In 2010, a team of young Rwandan researchers conducted a Photovoice case study to highlight the problem of unwanted adolescent pregnancies as a cause of the high drop out rate of secondary schoolgirls (Mutegwaraba & Tuyishime, 2010). Adolescent sexual activity remains highly taboo in Rwandan society, abortion is illegal, and sensitization campaigns mainly focus on encouraging girls to 'say no to sugar daddies' who are characterized as 'older male strangers' (Gervais & Rivard, 2011). The Photovoice case study took place in two secondary schools: one urban all-girl school and one rural mixed school. The students were asked the following questions: What are the causes of unwanted pregnancies? What are the solutions? Identified causes were sugar daddies, parents not wanting to discuss sexual health with their daughters, not having any friends, and teachers exchanging sex for a good grade. The solutions identified were to say no to sugar daddies, to encourage parents to teach sexual health to their daughters, having friends that support and protect, and focusing on the government exams that determine the final grade. Although students acknowledged the influence of sugar daddies, they clearly identified other, and much closer causes, such as parental and teacher influence.

Gerver (2013) further examines the relationship between transactional sex and school fees in Rwanda, that is girls having sex in exchange for the sponsorship of school fees. Currently, lower secondary education is public, but upper secondary education remains private. Although there are measures seeking to expand public schooling to the upper secondary level, as described above, a greater number of girls are already in private secondary education, including the lower

level (Gerver, 2013). Because primary education is free and compulsory, and gender parity has been achieved at this level, girls seeking to continue their studies must look for sponsorships in order to cover secondary school fees (Gerver, 2013). However, even if a girl passes the primary completion exam and is accepted in a free government secondary school, oftentimes these schools are too distant from their homes and parents choose to send their daughters to fee-paying private schools located closer to home or with boarding facilities (Gerver, 2013). The Rwandan government's and academic literature's focus on transactional sex and sugar daddies as explanations of sexual abuse and the promotion of free secondary education is contrasted with the perspectives of Rwandan schoolgirls who are victims of rape:

> While Alice and Cecile focused on their particular options and circumstances after they were raped, the stories written by students emphasised the larger picture of modernity, forgiveness, and inequality, all with little or no choice for the victims. These themes contrast with the themes of transaction, choice, and 'sugar daddies' emphasised in academic literature and government campaigns. ... Yet, Alice, Cecile and the authors of the stories all emphasise a central point: the victims never chose to enter the 'transactional' relationship, yet their vulnerability meant that they could not prove this in court, due to their dependency, distrust in the police, and a newborn baby, which meant that school was no longer a possibility and economic dependency on the perpetrator was even more heightened. (Gerver, 2013, p. 233)

3.4.4. Physical education.

Physical education is not part of the compulsory curriculum at the secondary level (World Bank, 2011). The following information was gathered during an interview I held with a lecturer at the Kigali Institute of Education[4] (KIE) in early 2012. The lecturer (male) has been at KIE since 2002, and has also taught physical education at an all-girls' school for 10 years.

The Bachelor of Education in Physical Education and Sport, housed in the Faculty of Sciences and the Department of Bio-Chemistry-PES, was created in 2003. The degree has a Full

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[4] Founded in 1999, the Kigali Institute of Education is a tertiary level public institution that offers a variety of diplomas and degrees in the following faculties: Education, Science, Arts & Languages, and Social Sciences & Business Studies.

4 year program status with six professors, all male. The first cohort graduated in 2006. There were only 11 students, all male. Each year, an increasing number of students enter the program, including female students. However, male students continue to significantly outnumber female students. In the 2012 cohort, there were 134 students enrolled, including 39 female students (29%). Between 2006 and 2012, a total of 100 students graduated from the program, with a total of seven women. Therefore, as of 2012, there were only seven women qualified to teach PES in the entire country. Currently, few graduates are working in schools and many are working in hotel gyms. The PES program is built on three broad axes: 1) Collective sports: volleyball, basketball, football, handball, and rugby, 2) Individual sports: athletics, gymnastics (floor), and swimming, and 3) Sport science: anatomy, physiology, biomechanics, nutrition, sociology, and psychology of sport. In Level (year) 1, basic fundamental skills are taught for each axis, in Level (year) 2, technical intermediate skills are taught, and in Levels (years) 3 and 4, advanced skills, rules, refereeing, training, coaching, systems, combinations, tactics, and strategies are taught.

Table 5

List of PES Modules 2011

Level	Semester	N	Module Title	Module code	Credits
1	1	1	Fundamental skills of Collective Sports (Foot-ball, Hand-ball, Basket-ball and Volley-ball)	PES 101	15
1	2	2	Fundamental skills of Individual sports (Athletics, Swimming and Gymnastics) & Rugby	PES 102	15
2	1	3	Intermediate skills of Collective Sports 1 (Foot-ball, Rugby) and Physiology of Effort	PES 201	10
2	1	4	Intermediate skills of Individual sports 1 (Swimming and Athletics part one)	PES 202	10
2	2	5	Intermediate skills of Collective Sports II (Volley-ball, Basket-ball, and Hand-ball)	PES 203	10
2	2	6	Intermediate skills of Individual Sports	PES 204	10

			II (Gymnastics and Athletics part two)		
3	1	7	Advanced skills of Collective Sports 1 (Basket-ball and Hand-ball)	PES 301	10
3	1	8	Advanced skills of Collective Sports II (Foot-ball and Volley-ball)	PES 302	10
3	1	9	Sociology and Psychology of Sport	PES 303	10
3	1	10	Sport Management and History of Physical Education and Sport. Statistics for Sport	PES 304	10
4	2	11	Biomechanics and First Aid	PES 401	10
4	2	12	Dietetics and Statistics for Sport	PES 402	15
4	2	13	Advanced skills of Individual Sports (Athletics, Swimming and Gymnastics)	PES 403	15

A. Munyanodga (personal communication, April 3, 2012)

The overall objective of the program is to train physical education teachers at the secondary school level that are capable of structuring physical and leisure activities for youth, and that are capable of training other animators of "sport for all" activities. KIE has one football field, one basketball court, one volleyball court, and one handball court and enough balls for each sport. However, there is a significant lack of equipment for individual sports due to the high cost of the latter. KIE does not have a gym, a pool, or a track field. The program must rent from elsewhere. As a result, athletics are taught at the National Stadium, gymnastics is taught at the Belgian school, and swimming is taught at a hotel pool.

Asked about how female students were experiencing the programming, the lecturer responded that they are treated equally and that they do the same exercises as the male students. The only differential treatment they receive is access to housing on campus, like other female students. According to him, the female students are as engaged and committed as the male students. They have endurance and strength adapted to their size and are evaluated at the same level, even if performance criteria can differ. For example, in a 100m dash, the performance speed differs for male and female students, but they are required to run the 100m. The lecturer

commented that the female students in the program are exceptional in comparison to other girls, but believed this was the result of their commitment and determination to succeed like the boys. As such, they performed the exercises very well. He also remarked that the female students had their own strengths and abilities. For example, they have more flexibility and are stronger swimmers than the male students.

The following is a description of the physical activity and sport programming being implemented in the participating schools at the time of the study in early 2012. The information was gathered during interviews with the schools' Sports Masters. The KIE lecturer commented that there are secondary schools that have stronger PES programs than the ones taking part in the study. I explained that the schools were randomly selected.

The objectives of the PES programming implemented in the participating schools, as described by the Sports Masters interviewed, are for the students to: be healthy, be active at least once a week, be physically fit and less tired, relax, study well, be busy during down times in order to avoid bad behaviors (help with school discipline), socialize with students of different levels, and develop competitive talent to send to clubs and national teams.

Table 6

Weekly PES/PASS Activities

School	Start of programming	Team sports – Optional participation	Other – Mandatory or optional participation	Possible future activities
1	January 2012	Basketball Volleyball Football	Gym tonic (aerobics)	Badminton Woodball
2	2006	Basketball Volleyball Football Karate Cricket	Jogging on Saturday mornings	Table tennis Handball Rugby

3	2008	Basketball Volleyball Football	Physical education curriculum Jogging on Saturday mornings	
4	February 2012	Cricket	Jogging on Saturday mornings Gym tonic (aerobics)	
5	2003	Basketball Volleyball Football Karate Netball	Physical education curriculum Jogging on Saturday mornings Gym tonic (aerobics)	

Although the official curriculum has existed for nearly 15 years, the majority of schools in Rwanda, especially at the primary level, do not have the facilities, equipment, and trained teachers to implement the curriculum. Part of the difficulty is the very low worth and limited funds attributed to this programming by school authorities and parents. Another important barrier is the fact that the KIE physical education teacher-training program was only created in 2003, and has since only produced 100 graduates qualified to teach physical education. However, because the official curriculum was created only three years after the genocide, difficulties in funding and implementation of physical education curricula are to be expected in a post-genocide and post-conflict setting where the entire education system and policy framework were re-done and where many schools are lacking basic school supplies, such as textbooks. In this context, the fact that a physical education curriculum was part of the new education system is already a significant change in and of itself.

Nonetheless, even in a post-conflict and reconstruction context, the significant discrepancies observed between the official MINEDUC physical education curriculum and the reality facing Rwandan schools and teachers mirror the difficulties observed in other sub-Saharan

African countries. During their keynote presentation at the 2nd World Summit on Physical Education in Switzerland, Hardman and Marshall (2005) report the following issues of concern typical to sub-Saharan African PES programming:

> Shortage of facilities and adequately trained personnel are widely reported throughout the continent as are the peripheral value in the curriculum (regarded as non-educational, non-productive use of time and as recreation/play time especially in primary schools) and inadequate monitory inspections in secondary schools (e.g. in Benin, Botswana and Uganda). Generally, priority is accorded to language and mathematics with even meagre physical education resources often diverted to other subjects. In some countries (e.g. Malawi) physical education for girls often suffers from optional status with many preferring not to take part; this situation is exacerbated by a dearth of amenities such as changing rooms. (p. 13)

As such, Rwandan school authorities and the MINEDUC are facing difficulties that are typical of other sub-Saharan African nations.

3.4.5. Sport and physical activity for girls in Rwandan society.

In 2006, after nearly a decade of organizing and implementing football programs for girls and women, AKWOF started to include other physical and sport activities in their programming, such as volleyball, basketball, athletics, tennis, and physical activities for women and girls with disabilities. The organization changed its name to the Association of Kigali Women in Sports (AKWOS, 2007). Their mission thus expanded and the organization now seeks to empower women and girls through sport for social change (AKWOS, 2007). As briefly described above, in the context of Rwanda's traditional gender roles, when girls participate in physical activity, they directly challenge what is deemed to be acceptable, normal, and expected of Rwandan girls (AKWOS, n.d.; Huggins & Randell, 2007). In 2007, AKWOS along with Elliot and Lemaire, interviewed a small number of Rwandan girls and women participating in football programming. Although the girls and women reported enjoying playing football because they developed new friendships, some of the women reported participating in these activities covertly because they were going against a gender norm (Elliot & Lemaire, 2007). The girls and women identified the

most important challenges to their participation in sport as: the burden of domestic chores, not being allowed to wear shorts or pants in rural areas, the general belief that girls cannot play, the lack of skills, and poverty (Elliot & Lemaire, 2007). These are similar to barriers identified in case studies of girls' experience of physical activity in other sub-Saharan African countries (Brady, 2005; Larkin et al., 2007; Meier, 2005; Pelak, 2005; Saavedra, 2005, 2009).

To further develop sport for women and girls in the East African region, AKWOS created the Regional Initiative for Women Advancement in Sports (RIWAS), which includes members from Uganda, Mali, Tanzania, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, and Kenya. In June 2008, RIWAS, along with representatives from the Ministry of Sports and Culture, the Rwanda Forum for Women Parliamentarians, the Rwanda National Police, the UNDP Fund for Women, the Rwanda National Commission on HIV and AIDS, the Olympic committee and several NGOs, held the International Conference on Gender Equity in Sports for Social Change in Kigali, which gave birth to the Kigali Declaration on Gender Equity in Sports for Social Change. The declaration draws from: "... the provisions of the regional and international frameworks for promotion of Gender Equality and Women's empowerment such as the Beijing Platform for Action, CEDAW, Millennium Development Goals, Security Council resolution 1325, the General recommendation on violence Against Women, the CRC, [and the] General Assembly resolution 58/5 that recommends advocacy using sports as a means of promoting education, health and peace" (AKWOS, 2008, p. 1). It seeks to promote "... women['s] empowerment in sports for social change in close partnership with governments, development partners, civil society, and UN agencies" through a holistic approach (AKWOS, 2008, p. 2). With a sport for social change objective, the following issues of concern are listed: cultural barriers to girls' and women's participation in sport, cultural attitudes that lower girls' and women's self-confidence, women's higher HIV and AIDS rates, the lack of women in the science and technology fields, the

higher number of women living in poverty, women's lack of income generating skills, and sexual and gender-based violence. Recommended strategies are identified for the national level, the regional level, and for international development partners. At the national level, strategies include raising funds for community sports for rural girls and women, developing awareness campaigns on the importance of sport as well as the use of sport as a tool for addressing a variety of social issues (women's rights, HIV and AIDS campaigns, sexual and gender-based violence, and "encourag[ing] and support[ing] [the] girl child to go to school and practice sport to acquire knowledge and be able to communicate and build their self confidence" (AKWOS, 2008, p.2). As for the regional level, the declaration calls for training programs and information sharing on women's rights, sexual and gender-based violence, women and leadership, girl child education, and women's economic security, funds and technical support, the development of joint programs, and a RIWAS plan of action. Finally, the international development community is called upon for financial and technical assistance, institutional capacity building, funds for skill development to generate income through sport cooperatives, support for the coordination, monitoring, and evaluation of programs, support to develop documentation on best practices and challenges, and "to financially and technically support initiative for girl child empowerment in sports" (AKWOS, 2008, p.4).

3.5. Summary

Although the post-genocide context fostered positive developments in gender and education and PES at the policy and curricula level, girls continue to face significant gendered challenges to access quality programming and to succeed in school, especially at the secondary and tertiary levels. In the next chapter, I present the data collection process adapted to work with Rwandan secondary schoolgirls.

This chapter describes the methodological design of the research and details the two data collection phases. I begin with a description of the Photovoice method selected to work with girls and to reach decision-makers. I present the strengths and challenges of the method and how it has been put into practice with girls in sub-Saharan African contexts. I then describe the two data collection phases and how I adapted the method to work with this study's participants and context, that is, Rwandan secondary schoolgirls attending urban boarding schools. I then go on to describe how I reached targeted decision-makers through the creation of a new visual tool I term photo-report and how the latter was used both as an interview tool as well as a practical, inexpensive, and accessible result dissemination tool.

4.1. Identifying Methodological Tools to Work With Girls and to Reach Decision-makers

In order to meet this study's objective of documenting girls' feedback and suggestions on their lived experiences of physical activity and sport in a secondary school context and disseminating this information to targeted PES decision-makers, I used a girlhood studies participatory framework which was selected to guide the data collection and analysis. In such a framework, researchers include girls in the research process (Mitchell & Reid-Walsh, 2009) by engaging them in both collecting and reflecting on data relevant to their own lives (Moletsane, Mitchell, Smith, & Chisholm, 2008). To this end, researchers in the field have used the visual participatory method Photovoice to integrate girls in the research process and to gather and share their voices. This method, originally conceived and implemented by two feminist researchers working in a development context (Wang & Burris, 1997), has been adapted and put into practice with girls in various sub-Saharan African settings.

4.2. Photovoice

Wang and Burris (1997) developed the Photovoice method while working with rural Chinese women on health issues. The method is theoretically anchored in Freirian "education for critical consciousness, feminist theory, and documentary photography" (Wang & Burris, 1997, p. 370). It is framed within applied visual anthropology (Collier, 2007; Pink, 2007), image-based research (Prosser, 1998), and arts-based methodologies (Mitchell, 2008) and is one of the key tools in participatory visual methodologies for social change, along with drawing and participatory video (De Lange, Mitchell, & Stuart, 2007). The objective of Photovoice is to enable marginalized populations to bring forward, to reflect on, and to collectively discuss issues of concern through photography (Wang & Burris, 1997). Participants work individually or in groups taking photographs to document what they identify as critical issues of concern. The photographs, the captions, the exhibitions, and the follow-up interviews are then used as evidence to present participants' priorities, expertise, and suggested solutions to various stakeholders (Wang & Burris, 1997).

As elaborated by Wang (1999), the Photovoice method consists of the following steps: 1) selection and recruitment of target audience of policy-makers or community leaders, 2) recruitment of participants, 3) introduction of the method to participants and group discussion, 4) obtaining informed consent, 5) developing a theme to photograph (prompts or questions), 6) distribution of cameras to participants and explanations on how to use them, 7) time period to take photographs, 8) meeting to discuss photographs, and 9) elaboration of dissemination plan to reach policy-makers or community leaders. Facilitators play a significant role in helping participants learn how to take photographs and to create an environment where participants are respected, guided, and encouraged to engage in collective critical reflections and dialogue.

Participants are typically actively involved in the selection, contextualization, and coding of the photographs (Wang & Burris, 1997).

4.2.1. Strengths of the method.

The primary strength of Photovoice is that the production of a photograph and its analysis can help participants look at an issue through new perspectives (Cooper, 2010; Kessi, 2011; Mitchell et al., 2005; Mitchell et al., 2006). In addition, the method is adaptable to a variety of populations, settings, and topics, if the research team has grounded knowledge of the participants and the context (Gervais & Rivard, 2013; Green & Kloos, 2009; Tao & Mitchell, 2010; Umurungi, Mitchell, Gervais, Ubalijoro, & Kabarenzi, 2008). In this regard, Photovoice projects can span several months as part of other participatory research activities (Green & Kloos, 2009; Kessi, 2011; Sajan Virgi & Mitchell, 2011) or can be short-term stand-alone activities (Berinstein & Magalhaes, 2009; Cooper, 2010; Mitchell et al., 2005; Mitchell et al., 2006; Umurungi et al., 2008). Another advantage is the contribution participants can make themselves to the analysis process (Galvaan, 2007). As a result, they do not have to wait "for the research team to come back to give them the answers" in order to take action (Mitchell et al., 2005, p. 268). Finally, researchers have noted the joy (Mitchell et al., 2006) and excitement when participants learn how to manipulate a camera and look at their photographs (Galvaan, 2007; Sajan Virgi & Mitchell, 2011).

4.2.2. Challenges of the method.

Along with the personal time commitment, the potential social risks, and the financial costs for both participants and researchers that can come with longer-term participatory action research projects (as elaborated in Chapter Two), visual research can entail other challenges, notably the ethical concerns raised when working with images, such as consent, ownership of the photographs/data, interpretation and analysis of the images, and reliability of the images

(Karlsson, 2007). To help protect and respect participants' privacy and rights when working with visual methodologies such as Photovoice, Wang and Redwood-Jones (2001) identify the following minimum best practices to be implemented by researchers: training on the power and ethics of photography, a proper explanation of the project's goals and processes, the use of consent forms, and giving back photographs to participants. When working on sensitive topics and/or with participants who are marginalized and/or vulnerable, researchers have developed different ways to collectively discuss how to handle uncomfortable or potentially difficult or dangerous situations that might arise when taking photographs in the community. These measures include self-censorship when taking photographs (Wang & Burris, 1997), group discussions (Wang et al., 1998), role-playing (Williams & Lykes, 2003), participatory discussions specifically targeting practices of risk negotiation (Williams & Lykes, 2003), and staging (Mitchell, 2011). When designing and implementing activities, Wang, Kun Yi, Wen Tao, and Carovano (1998) remind researchers to take into consideration and respect the heterogeneity of groups of participants who have different needs and concerns. Finally, an added cost and time constraint is the access to and management of visual technologies that require purchasing and handling of equipment as well as printing photographs.

In engaging participants to produce their own images and to voice their concerns and analyses, researchers working with the Photovoice method can also face challenges related to the type of participation within the research project as well as participant and researcher expectations of outcomes resulting from participation. Although agency and voice are at the forefront of theoretical and methodological approaches in girlhood studies, Kirk, Mitchell, and Reid-Walsh (2010) identify two issues of concern in relation to agency through participation and bringing forward participants' voices: 1) tokenistic participation and 2) the romanticization of girls' voices. These issues are of particular concern when using Photovoice with children and youth in

a Global South context and in evaluating whether children can be involved in and contribute to the development of policies (Mitchell et al., 2006). Tokenistic participation refers to participation that is surface-based and controlled by the researcher while romanticization refers to the belief that the expression of voice through participation will automatically result in an impact. These concerns are applicable to this study's objective and main challenge of seeking to develop and implement a "middle of the road" approach to both answer scholars' call for an innovative participatory approach and to have a broader social impact. In this study, approximately 200 participants across five schools took part in a single short Photovoice session. In designing the Photovoice session to be one 3-hour workshop where girls worked in groups of three to six to produce group photographs and responses, participation is tokenistic. It lacks depth in relation to the number and duration of the sessions and in the production of group instead of individualized photographs and responses, resulting in more surface-based data. This approach contrasts highly with more typical Photovoice projects that implement several sessions over a longer period of time with small groups of participants in order to bring forward an individual and collective voice and analysis. These long-term participatory projects with Photovoice and other activities implemented with a handful of participants produce rich, contextualized, individualized, and nuanced data. However, rich reports detailing the lives of a handful of individuals can be more difficult to communicate to and be less useful and/or relevant to decision-makers and practitioners who are required to produce and implement policy, programs, and curricula for large segments of the population, such as in an education context. They are also more time consuming to research, produce, comprehend, and integrate for researchers, participants, and decision-makers. Consequently, with the objective of reaching decision-makers who can impact girls' lived experiences of PES in a time efficient, inexpensive, and practical manner, the design of the Photovoice sessions in this study purposefully lacks depth in order to gain breadth and reach out

to targeted decision-makers to communicate girls' priorities. In other words, the purpose of the short Photovoice session, in contrast to a long-term approach, is not to collect rich and in depth data and analysis, but to engage girls in a participatory manner to bring forward their own key priorities with which decision-makers can work to improve programming design and implementation. However, in order for this information to be useful to multiple stakeholders, it must be representative of a larger group of participants. Hence, approximately 20 girls participated in each of the 10 Photovoice sessions for a total of 196 participants. As for the romanticization of the results, or in other words, the expectation that the project will automatically have an impact on programming, both the facilitators and the participants were informed that the objective of the research project was not to immediately change the programming but to ensure that girls' voices, concerns, and priorities were gathered in a timely, practical, and participatory manner with little cost to the participants and directly shared with key decision-makers in an effort to include girls in the decision-making process.

4.2.3. Photovoice with girls in sub-Saharan Africa.

Studies working with girls-only or mixed groups of children and youth have implemented Photovoice in various sub-Saharan African contexts. These have included, for example, Zanzibar (Berinstein & Magalhaes, 2009), South Africa (Cooper, 2010; Galvaan, 2007; Mitchell, Stuart, Moletsane, & Nkwanyana, 2006; Moletsane, De Lange, Mitchell, Stuart, Buthelezi, & Taylor, 2007), Mozambique (Sajan Virgi & Mitchell, 2011), Tanzania (Kessi, 2011), Uganda (Green & Kloos, 2009), as well as Rwanda (Mitchell, 2011; Umurungi et al., 2008). Topics explored with this method include safety and security (Mitchell et al., 2005), experiences and types of play (Berinstein & Magalhaes, 2009), access to education (Mitchell et al., 2006), health and security concerns of girls living on the street (Umurungi et al., 2008), poverty and sanitation (Sajan Virgi & Mitchell, 2011), community life in a displacement camp (Green & Kloos, 2009), and social

solidarity (Kessi, 2011). Of particular interest to this research is a Photovoice project implemented with girls who play football in South Africa (Cooper, 2010). The study focused on girls who attended a primary school in a violent and gang-dominated neighborhood. In this community, football is used as a motivational tool for boys and girls. According to the author, the Photovoice exhibit held at the end of the project served to showcase children's "lived experiences of soccer, in a public forum" (p. 57), ensuring that their perspectives were also shared in the build up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The project gathered and disseminated girls' voices, but it did not reach out to decision-makers responsible for the development and implementation of the programming. Although explicitly stating that the objective of the Photovoice project was to expose the youths' photographs, the authors do not provide any details as to where the exhibition was held and by whom it was attended.

There are, however, examples of Photovoice projects that did reach stakeholders and decision-makers, either at the community level, the sector level, or the national level. In a rural KwaZulu-Natal community primary school in South Africa, the Friday Absenteeism Project was implemented with grade 6 students to identify underlying causes of absenteeism on market day and to find practical solutions to keep students in school (Mitchell et al., 2006). Through the Photovoice activity, several causes or issues where identified by the participants. These included children needing to work for extra income to support their families and sexual harassment of girls by a male teacher. It also revealed that school absenteeism is a problem for other schools in the community. Armed with this information, the school principal disciplined the teacher, reached out to the other community school principals to discuss the issue of absenteeism, and extended the school day feeding scheme to weekends. This extension of the school feeding scheme was achieved when the Photovoice exhibit was shared with potential funders. Particularly relevant to this study is a Photovoice activity on gender-based violence and HIV and AIDS with young

Rwandan girls living on the street where girls' issues of concern were shared at the sector level (Umurungi et al., 2008). The girls identified local football players as rapists or potential rapists who put them at risk of contracting HIV and AIDS. This information was crucial as local football players, often praised as local heroes, were part of an international NGO campaign promoting non-violence and protection against HIV and AIDS. The girls identifying the football players as part of the problem, rather than the solution, is of significant importance as the use of sport heroes by SDP anti-AIDS programming in sub-Saharan Africa is very common (Mwaanga, 2010). The international NGO in Rwanda was informed of the girls' photographs and feedback on their anti-AIDS campaign using football players and subsequently removed the football players from their campaign. Finally, Sajan Virgi and Mitchell (2011) describe a Photovoice project with young Mozambican girls living in poverty where girls' photographs on their need for better water and sanitation were shared at the national level when they were published in the UNICEF Mozambique *2011 Child Poverty and Disparities* report. This report is shared with government, donors, and NGOs for the purpose of policy and social planning for a period of four years.

As can be seen from the three examples described above, girls' photographs reached and informed relevant decision-makers in a development context, at three different levels of influence. However, the decision-makers were not part of the original Photovoice research and only became involved once the photographs were produced. In using Photovoice with girls with the objective of reaching targeted decision-makers, I draw from Wang (1999)'s original argument of including decision-makers at the start of the research project in order to ensure a proper follow-up on the problems and issues of concern identified by the girls. This could also help to ground potential solutions to girls' issues of concern in an effort to bring about change in a realistic and timely manner. Furthermore, through the use of photographs, rich, contextually

grounded, and varied data can be easily communicated to decision-makers, both local and national, thereby making their involvement easier to integrate and enabling the research to be taken to a different level in a relatively short period of time. As such, drawing on these Photovoice projects where the ideas produced by girls were successfully disseminated, this study sought to reach not only one, but all three levels of decision-makers within the same research project: 1) girls' physical education teachers at the community level, 2) mid-level gender and education experts from organizations and universities, and 3) representatives of relevant ministries at the national level.

4.3. Situating Myself in the Research

As detailed in the following section, my previous work assisting Dr. Myriam Gervais to implement and adapt Photovoice to the Rwandan context, as well as my assistance to Ms. Tuyishime and Ms. Mutegwaraba's during their 2010 Photovoice pilot project with students in a secondary school environment, provided valuable onsite experience to help me prepare and carry out this study's fieldwork. In particular, I learned the role of the researcher as observer and assistant to the facilitators whose responsibility is to ensure that the participants are at the forefront of the Photovoice activities. In other words, the role of the researcher is to observe, answer facilitators' and participants' questions, and to guide some of the procedures only if need be. Hence, I only briefly spoke to introduce myself at the beginning of each session and I mainly helped with the printer and the instructions for the photo-posters. My interactions with the girls took place at the end of each session when I offered to answer their personal questions about the research project or myself. The girls were mostly curious about my age, my marital status, my education, my physical activities, my musical tastes, and my ability to dance traditional Rwandan dance. As for the interviews with the decision-makers, I did all of the data collection myself. I

prepared the interview questions and photo-reports and ensured that the issues raised by the girls in the photo-reports were at the center of the discussions.

Although my role as a researcher was to intervene as little as possible during the sessions, I am reflexive about my physical presence in the data collection process (Photovoice and interviews) as a young-looking outsider white woman who is physically active and highly educated. With the girls, the influence of my personal commitment to an active lifestyle did not impact their responses since they only found out at the end the session during the brief personal question and answer period. However, the combination of my interest in physical activity, my higher education, and my petite feminine frame did become an important part of the interview discussion with a female gender and education expert. As a former athlete herself, she explained that sport for girls in Rwanda is conceptualized in such a way that girls' cannot succeed academically if they pursue non-academic interests such as sports, and that participation in masculine activities will result in girls' losing their femininity. Thus, being highly educated, physically active, and feminine is in direct contrast to the way sport and physical activity for secondary schoolgirls is currently understood in Rwanda. From this perspective, the combination of my academic success with my physical active lifestyle and my femininity may have had an influence on the girls during and/or after the end of session discussion. Indeed, the possible impact of this combination was made evident when, at the end of our interview, the gender and education expert turned to the two young female administrative assistants present in the open workspace where the interview took place to follow my example.

4.4. Phase 1: Working with the girls

I begin by describing how I drew from and adapted the "SMART" Photovoice criteria to this study. I then detail the organization of the sessions.

4.4.1. "SMART" Photovoice.

The particular Photovoice model I developed for this study draws from two case studies in which I was involved with Dr. Gervais (see Gervais & Rivard, 2013). In 2010 and 2011, I assisted Dr. Gervais with the development and implementation of two case studies with Rwandan women working in agriculture. Dr. Gervais developed five Photovoice criteria grouped under the acronym SMART. The objective of these criteria is to help bridge the gap between feminist participatory theoretical principles foregrounding marginalized voices and development practitioners' fieldwork constraints and contextual realities in order to enable participants' voices to be included in development debates in a practical, timely, and cost-effective manner for both experts and participants. The criteria are as follows:

- **S**ocio-cultural context informs the procedures;
- **M**aking participants' priorities the central focus of the consultation question;
- **A**nalysis process includes women's analysis;
- **R**esults disseminated by women through participatory exhibition; and
- **T**imeframe adapted to participants' schedule drives the logistical process.
(2013, p. 499)

According to the first criterion, Photovoice procedures must be grounded in and adapted to the local socio-cultural context and take into consideration contextual barriers that can impact participation. In the Rwandan socio-cultural context, it is of significant importance to work with a local organization or association that is familiar to the participants and that they trust (Gervais, 2006). In the two case studies, Dr. Gervais, as the Principal Investigator, implemented the Photovoice activities through local organizations that had an interest in the research topic and who worked directly with women farmers: a local Rwandan women's organization and a Rwandan government agency working in agriculture. The Photovoice activities were therefore integrated as part of the organizations' ongoing activities with the participants, rather than the researcher's independent activities. This ensured that the research topic and the results were not

only grounded in the local socio-cultural context but also relevant to and interesting for local participants and stakeholders.

In the context of my research, I also worked with a local group, the Gender Club of the Kigali Institute of Education. This club is comprised of post-secondary students training to become teachers who are interested in and advocate for gender issues in a school context. I integrated the Photovoice activities as part of their ongoing activities. My research topic fit into their gender-advocacy agenda in a secondary school context. The format of the Photovoice process adapted to a school context benefited their school-based advocacy activities and the results served their agenda. In the post-genocide Rwandan secondary school context, there are large numbers of students (approximately 1000 students per boarding school) and exclusion is culturally inappropriate and insensitive. I therefore adapted my Photovoice procedure to include and accommodate larger groups of students (typically 25 per group) than might be found in some participatory visual projects.

The second criterion places participants' concerns at the center of the research or consultation question, rather than the researcher's or expert's concerns and/or interests. This ensures that participants are placed on an equal footing with experts and researchers and that the research is meaningful and relevant to them. Working within a secondary school context where the education culture is very directive and top-down, I sought to find a balance between the participatory approach where participants themselves develop and identify the research questions or prompts, and the girls' educational context. As a result, I formulated three specific but open-ended questions that touched directly on participants' personal experiences. As per feminist participatory principles, participants' analyses are at the center of the research. In a small group, each participant writes a caption and analysis of their photographs. Because I was working with larger groups of participants, this criterion posed a particular challenge and had to be adapted.

Although the Photovoice session took place with a large group, the students worked in smaller groups of three to six people and produced group photographs, responses, and analyses. According to participatory principles, the participants take part in the dissemination of the results. As such, the students kept the Photovoice material they produced in order to easily set up a small exhibit of their work. Last, the timeframe and scheduling of the research must first and foremost be adapted to and respectful of participants' availabilities and constraints. This is of particular significance when working with secondary schoolgirls residing in boarding schools with scheduling and mobility constraints.

Throughout the implementation of both case studies, Dr. Gervais and I developed a simple step-by-step facilitator's guide in order to train facilitators onsite throughout the implementation of the Photovoice activities (Gervais & Rivard, 2011), thereby favoring a practical and hands-on training. Facilitators are key onsite research collaborators who not only speak participants' language but are also familiar and at ease with local socio-cultural customs and practices. The facilitators who assisted in the research were financially remunerated for their work. Their work expenses were immediately reimbursed, and their training and work experience was acknowledged with a certificate of participation and training (Gervais, 2011). I also integrated this approach when working with my facilitators as it extends and applies participatory and co-research principles to the role of facilitators.

4.4.2. Organizing Photovoice sessions.

The following sub-sections detail the steps taken to organize the Photovoice sessions.

a. Collaborating with local group.

The first step in organizing the Photovoice sessions was to develop a working collaboration with a local group. In 2009, as a research assistant for the femSTEP interdisciplinary research

program[5], I participated in an international workshop on visual participatory methodologies organized by femSTEP and held at the Kigali Institute of Education (KIE) (Gervais, 2009). During this workshop, Dr. Gervais, Principal Investigator of femSTEP, developed a working collaboration with KIE pre-service teachers who are members of the KIE Gender Club. The Gender Club, which has chapters in several universities and colleges in Kigali, is comprised of young women and men who organize activities and discussions to raise awareness of and address gender issues and inequalities. In 2010, as I assisted with the implementation of the first Photovoice case study with women working in agriculture in Rwanda (Gervais & Rivard, 2013), several KIE Gender Club members were trained onsite by Dr. Gervais to facilitate the sessions with the rural women. In exchange for their help, Dr. Gervais and I assisted two facilitators, Valentine Tuyishime and Beatrice Mutegwaraba, with the implementation of their own Photovoice pilot project. Since the facilitators were doing teacher-training internships in two secondary schools on the outskirts of Kigali at the time, they obtained permission from the schools' authorities to implement a small three-hour Photovoice activity with their respective classrooms. The objective of these activities was to introduce the Gender Club to these schools and to encourage the students to start Gender Clubs of their own. Ms. Tuyishime and Ms. Mutegwaraba selected the topic of unwanted teenage pregnancies as a cause of girls dropping out of school, and in collaboration with Dr. Gervais and I, facilitated the Photovoice sessions.

   b. Piloting the method.

The Photovoice activities were adapted to work with a classroom of students (approximately 25 to 30) in one three-hour session, since this was the only time period allocated to the small study by the school authorities. Because class time and access to cameras and printer photo-paper were

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[5] femSTEP aims to bring forward rural girls' and women's perspectives for engendering poverty reduction strategies through an interdisciplinary approach and by using participatory visual methodologies in Rwanda, South Africa, and Ethiopia. See www.femstep.mcgill.ca.

limited, the students worked in small groups of three to six people per camera, worked in their small groups to answer two pre-determined open-ended questions, took their photographs on school grounds, printed one photograph per question with a portable battery-operated photo-printer, made photo-posters with a short written description for each photograph, and presented their posters to the rest of the classroom (Mitchell, 2011) as the facilitators led a discussion on the issues raised. The pilot Photovoice activity in both schools was successful in that the students were engaged in the topic, and in a limited timeframe, produced information that was relevant and that contributed a significant element to a major policy campaign on unwanted teenage pregnancies. The students kept their photo-posters to set-up a small photo-exhibit at their school. The two facilitators then shared the results with Gender Club members of KIE, the Gender Club Executive Committee, and the Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion.

The working collaboration with the KIE Gender Club was maintained in 2011 when two different members facilitated Photovoice sessions organized by Dr. Gervais with women working in agriculture on seed production (Gervais & Rivard, 2013). As I assisted with the sessions and worked with the facilitators, I took the opportunity to have informal conversations with them on the topic of physical education and sport for secondary schoolgirls in Rwanda. Through these conversations, I collected context-specific information that: 1) confirmed the relevance and significance of the research topic, 2) shaped the research questions, and 3) identified logistical and scheduling concerns when working in schools that greatly limit the time available for sessions. The pre-service teachers also confirmed the soundness of the adapted Photovoice model, developed by their colleagues in collaboration with Dr. Gervais and me the previous year, as it respected both cultural sensitivities favoring inclusivity (large number of participants, small-group work) and students' time and mobility constraints. Following these conversations, I then presented a preliminary project proposal to the KIE Gender Club Executive Committee. I

described the Photovoice pilot activities that had taken place in 2010, my working collaboration with KIE Gender Club members for three years in a row, and my research topic of girls' lived experiences of physical education and sport in secondary schools. I asked if they were interested in pursuing the working collaboration by taking part in the organization and implementation of Photovoice sessions in secondary schools on the selected topic. In exchange for their help in contacting secondary schools, receiving authorization to do the sessions, and facilitating the sessions, I would train KIE Gender Club members in the Photovoice method, offer onsite learning experience in conducting research in a secondary school setting for future teachers, provide a certificate of training and participation, provide the opportunity for the Gender Club to introduce and promote itself in the participating schools, offer financial remuneration, and cover all costs related to their participation.

c. Ethics.

Official approval and collaboration from the 2011 executive committee was granted in June 2011 to develop and implement this research project from January to March 2012. I received my Certificate of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Humans from the Research Ethics Board III (REB File#: 137-1011) in November 2011.

d. Training and working with facilitators.

I arrived in Kigali in early February of 2012 and met with the President of the Gender Club and a Club member. We confirmed the logistical details and timelines of the activities. Due to complications in Canada, my flight to Kigali was delayed twice and I arrived almost two weeks later than planned. Because of this delay, the training session for the Gender Club facilitators could not be held. Instead, I trained the President and the Club member with the help of the Instructions Manual for Facilitators (Gervais & Rivard, 2011), and the Procedures of Photovoice Activity (appendix 1) with clear step-by-step instructions and timing for the sessions. Printed

copies were left with the President to hand over to each member who was interested in facilitating the sessions. A total of nine facilitators, six women and three men, took part in the study. Depending on their availabilities, some facilitated several sessions, while others facilitated only one session. Facilitators received remuneration for their work and I paid for all local travel costs from the KIE campus to the secondary school and back. I also paid for a local phone card for each facilitator to cover communication costs between the facilitators and myself. As the facilitators and I traveled to the schools together in one vehicle, I went over the procedures and the manual with the facilitators and answered their questions. On our way back from each session, we debriefed and adjusted some of the procedures in order to improve the flow and the quality of each session. At the end of the study, each facilitator received a certificate for their training in and facilitation of Photovoice sessions for this study.

e. Identifying and selecting participating schools.

In early January 2012, I sent the following documentation to the President of the Gender Club: 1) a one-page description of the Photovoice activity and the respective responsibilities of the Club and of myself to be shared with Club members taking part in the activity (appendix 2), 2) a Letter of Permission to Implement Study to be sent to school authorities, and 3) a Facts of the Study sheet, also to be sent to school authorities (appendix 3). The letter and the sheet both received ethics approval (see Ethics above). During January and February, the President and several Club members contacted by phone and met in person with the authorities of secondary schools located on the outskirts of Kigali. Their phone and traveling expenditures were reimbursed as soon as I met with the Club members in person.

There were two criteria of selection for the participating schools: 1) that some form of physical activity and/or sport programming was being implemented at the school, either the official national curriculum or any other variation, and 2) that there was a mix of public and

private schools, as the administration and budget of these two types of school can vary greatly.

Due to logistical, financial, and time constraints, I could not access rural secondary schools

outside of the Kigali area. However, since the secondary schools in this area are boarding

schools, students come from all over the country to attend these schools. Thus, the student

population comes from a mixture of urban and rural areas. The study took place in five secondary

schools. All five schools were boarding schools with approximately 1000 students each, with the

following classification: four mixed schools and one all-girl school. Of these, three were public

schools and two were private schools. The schools are anonymized and given a pseudonym

according to the order in which the Photovoice activities were implemented: School 1 (mixed,

private), School 2 (mixed, private), School 3 (mixed, public), School 4 (mixed, public), and

School 5 (all-girl, public).

> *f. Identifying and selecting girls to participate in the study.*

A total of 196 girls 11-to-18 years of age participated in the study. Girls were recruited in two

ways. Many were recruited by the school's Disciplinary Masters (staff member responsible for

overseeing student discipline and activities and for communicating with parents) to participate in

the study. Others were curious on-lookers and drop-ins. Since the Photovoice took place when

students did not have scheduled classes, some students walked by the classroom where the

activity was taking place and asked to join. Because students came from all over the country to

attend these boarding schools, it was not feasible to obtain individual parental signatures. The

Disciplinary Master, as the official liaison between the school and parents, signed a consent form

for the students on behalf of their parents, as is customary practice.

> *g. Scheduling and management of Photovoice sessions.*

Two separate Photovoice sessions working with two different groups of girls took place in each

participating school, for a total of ten groups in five schools. In order to respect the school class

schedule, sessions took place on Wednesday afternoons and on weekends when there are no

scheduled classes. Because the girls have assigned domestic tasks (dormitory clean up, laundry,

etc.) and also take part in many extra-curricular activities and clubs during the weekend and on

Wednesdays, the Photovoice session, drawing from the 2010 pilot study, was designed to last

approximately three hours in order not to interfere with their other tasks and activities. School

authorities and Disciplinary Masters, in their original and follow up communications with Gender

Club members, were asked to recruit 10 to 25 girls per session and to allocate an empty

classroom for the activity. In an effort to be as inclusive as possible, while maintaining a good

group dynamic, curious on-lookers and later drop-ins were invited to join during the introduction

of the study and of the activities. Once consent forms were explained and signed, latecomers

were turned away.

The sessions were held primarily in Kinyarwanda, with some English and some French,

depending on the preference and level of comfort of the students. Although Kinyarwanda is the

mother tongue of Rwandans, English has recently become the official language of instruction in

secondary schools, replacing French in 2011. As this is a fairly new transition, students' working

knowledge of English varies. Thus, in respect of school policy, the participants received

documentation in English but were informed that French copies were also available if need be.

The facilitators spoke a mixture of Kinyarwanda and English, while I spoke a mixture of English

and French as I do not speak Kinyarwanda.

There were either two or three facilitators per session, with one lead-facilitator and the

others taking on secretarial tasks. The lead-facilitator was responsible for giving oral explanations

and directions and leading the session, while the secretary-facilitators helped students with the

paperwork and with the cameras, and answered their questions. After briefly introducing myself

at the beginning of the session, I took on a background role and only intervened to answer

facilitators' questions. The active role I took was the management of the equipment and printing of the photographs in order to save on time and printer-paper and to free the facilitators to better help the students with their questions and concerns. I organized and handled all of the paperwork (pens and pencils, consent forms and answer sheets for the participants, consent forms, note sheets, and receipts for the facilitators, and black cardboards for the photo-posters) and equipment (cameras, batteries, printer, photo-paper, and ink) before, during, and after each session, and took brief field notes during and after each session.

4.4.3. Implementing Photovoice sessions.

In the vehicle on our way to the each school, I reviewed the Photovoice procedures and steps to follow, confirmed facilitator roles and responsibilities ("lead" and "secretary"), provided instructions on how to use the camera and answered questions. Facilitators then signed the Confidentiality form for co-facilitators. Upon our arrival at the school, we met with and thanked the school authorities, either the school Principal, Vice-Principal and/or Disciplinary Master. As official liaison between the school and the students' parents, the Disciplinary Master then signed the Consent form for parents/caregivers and led us to an empty classroom. While we set up and prepared the material, the Disciplinary Master alerted the recruited schoolgirls of our arrival. The following is a description of the procedures followed for each session.

a. Introduction of the research team and activity.

At the beginning of each session, the lead-facilitator welcomed the participating students, introduced him or herself and the Gender Club, and introduced me. The other facilitators spoke a few words about themselves and then I briefly introduced myself. The lead-facilitator presented an overview of the topic of study and the purpose of the activity, that is, taking photographs about girls' experiences of physical activity and sport in secondary schools, which would be shared with teachers and experts who are responsible for developing and implementing the

programming. Each girl received a Facts of Study sheet, and as per the consent protocol, was informed that participation was entirely voluntary, and that she could leave at any time during the activity.

b. *Explanation and signing of consent forms.*

The secretary handed out pens and two consent forms to each participant: the Consent form for the Photovoice participants and the Consent form approving the release of photographs taken by the students participating in the study for dissemination of the results (interviews with teachers and experts; presentations to local and international stakeholders; academic publications and conferences). The lead-facilitator verbally explained the content and purpose of the forms in lay terms for the girls: 1) that my university requires evidence that they agreed to participate, that the girls understand that participation is optional, and that they can stop the activity at anytime, 2) that the girls give me permission to take photographs of them during the Photovoice activity, and 3) that they agree to have their photographs shown to other people, such as teachers and experts in Rwanda, in Canada, and in other countries who are interested in physical education and sport programming in schools. The girls were instructed that they did not need to consent to all of these. The participating girls signed the consent to participation form and the consent to sharing of their photographs. As for permission to take photographs of them, the majority agreed. However, in order to respect the rights and the anonymity of the girls who did not give permission to have their photograph taken during the activity, I immediately skimmed through each consent form and as soon as I saw one form with a checked 'no', I did not take any photographs during the activity. Out of the ten sessions, only one group in its entirety gave me permission to photograph them in action. As per the customary Photovoice ethics protocol, I had prepared a Consent form for the approval of individuals being photographed. However, because

the girls stayed on school grounds and only took photographs of themselves, this form was not used.

c. *Explanation of questions and taking photographs.*

The lead-facilitator tasked the girls to form small groups of three to six people, for a total of five groups and explained the topic of discussion. To adapt to the time constraint of the school schedule and to work within a pedagogical activity structure that is familiar to schoolgirls in the Rwandan context, three pre-determined but open-ended questions were discussed. The lead-facilitator asked the girls to take one photograph in response to each of the following questions:

1. What do girls like about physical activity and sports in school?

2. What difficulties do girls face when doing physical activity and sports in school that <u>boys do not face</u>?

3. What can be done to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in school?

The lead-facilitator also explained that only one photograph in response to a question was going to be printed. For the first school (morning and afternoon sessions), facilitators handed out the cameras at this point, one to each small group, and proceeded to explain to the group as a whole how to use the cameras. The facilitators and I saw that the girls were very excited to manipulate the cameras, that it became more difficult for the facilitators to keep the flow of activity, and that the girls' attention was focused on playing with the camera and taking practice photographs rather than thinking about the questions. Consequently, I modified the procedures. After the formation of small work groups, the secretary handed out a sheet of paper with the three questions to each group. In their small groups, the girls wrote down their responses to each question and decided how they would photograph their ideas. The facilitators visited each small group and answered any questions the girls might have and provided further explanation if need be. When a group finished writing their responses, they signaled one of the facilitators or me. We

then brought a camera to the small group, showed them how to use it, supervised them while they each practiced taking a photograph and repeated the step-by-step instructions. Once the girls understood how to manipulate the camera, the small group then went out on the school grounds to photograph their ideas. This modification to the procedures worked extremely well and was repeated for each following school.

d. Taking the photographs.

Some groups took their photographs inside the classroom, but the majority found quiet and open outdoor spots on the school grounds near the classroom. A handful of groups went to the nearby playing field or found a piece of sport equipment to photograph. Some girls changed into their sportswear. The facilitators also stepped out and visited each group to answer questions and help the girls with the cameras. In many small groups, all of the girls wanted to be part of the photograph and so in those cases the facilitators took the photographs for them. The girls were generally excited to take photographs and to be in photographs. They took many photographs, including personal ones, even though they were informed that only the photographs in answer to the questions were going to be printed due to time constraints, a limited printer-battery life-span, and limited photo-paper. The presence of the facilitators ensured that the girls remained on task. However, once they were back in the classroom and were waiting for their photographs to be printed, the girls were free to do 'mini modeling sessions' and took personal photographs for fun, knowing that these were not part of the project and were not going to be printed. They simply enjoyed looking at themselves on the camera screen.

e. Printing photographs and making photo-posters.

While the students were taking their photographs on the school grounds, I prepared the printer and the material for the girls to produce photo-posters (Mitchell et al., 2005; Gervais & Rivard, 2013). As the students came back to the classroom, each group selected and printed their three

photographs. They then were given blue sticky gum and three black cardboard papers, one for each question, on which I had already cut and glued a white piece of paper on the bottom half of the cardboard. I instructed them to use the blue sticky gum to glue their photograph on the top half of the cardboard and to write their ideas and explanations for the photograph on the white paper on the bottom half of the cardboard. Their ideas and explanations were what they brainstormed and elaborated in response to the question on their answer sheet. They were written either in English, Kinyarwanda, or French. The facilitators translated the Kinyarwanda responses to English on site.

After the first school, another modification was made to the procedures. The facilitators had noticed that explaining and signing the two consent forms at the beginning of the session was a bit confusing for some of the girls. Since the girls were not familiar with the concept of signing a form, the facilitators recommended that only one consent form should be explained and signed at a time. As a result, I decided to present and explain the second form asking permission to disseminate their photographs to each small group once their photographs were printed and while I was providing the instructions to make the photo-posters. This modification worked very well as the girls could better decide on whether or not they wanted to share their photographs after having taken them and after having seen what they look like. Once a group finished making their photo-posters, the secretary collected their answer sheets and their consent forms. Every participant agreed to have her photographs disseminated. In shared ownership of the data (Karlsson, 2007) as consented by the girls, they kept their photo-posters and I took a photograph of each photo-poster in order to know which photograph was selected for printing and to match the photograph with the written response described on their answer sheet.

Figure 1

The Photovoice Process: Step-by-step in images

Taking photographs

Selecting photographs

Printing photographs

Writing responses

Photo-poster
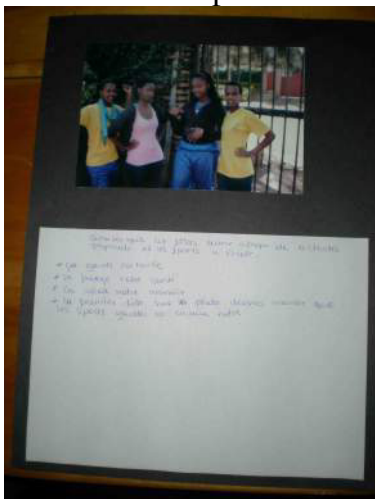
Presenting ideas

f. Presentation of photo-posters and discussion.

A representative of each small group stood in front of the classroom and presented their photo-posters to the rest of the larger group in the language in which they felt most comfortable. These presentations were mostly done in Kinyarwanda. In the first school, before amending the procedures, the secretary took notes and a small description of each photograph and response. The facilitators commented that the act of speaking in front of the group was a good exercise for the girls, as many of them do not have the opportunity to practice this skill.

At the first school, after the small groups finished their presentations, the facilitators tried to start and guide a discussion and reflection around the issues raised with the entire group. However, the facilitators commented that the girls were mostly repeating what was already said on their photo-posters. I realized that the facilitators, although training to become teachers, did not have the experience of leading and facilitating a group discussion (with 25-30 students). They were at ease leading and instructing the Photovoice procedures as they would instruct a classroom lesson, but facilitating a group discussion requires a different set of skills. Unfortunately, as I arrived later than anticipated due to travel complications and because many of the facilitators were in their exam period while we were implementing the Photovoice sessions, there was not enough time for a small onsite training session on leading a group discussion. The facilitators who implemented the pilot Photovoice study on unwanted teenage pregnancies were better skilled at leading a group discussion and reflection on the issues raised. I therefore did not anticipate that the facilitators with whom I was working would be less skilled. However, because the girls were working in small groups, they did have the opportunity to engage in a small discussion and to reflect between themselves in order to answer the questions. As such, the process still retained an element of discussion and reflection but this was not captured in the actual data collection since many girls did not give consent to be audio-recorded.

g. *Ending the session.*

The facilitators explained to the girls that they could keep their photo-posters. They also suggested that they could be used to set up a small exhibition of their work at their school, if they wanted to share their work with their peers. The facilitators and I answered their last questions. To thank them for their participation, the girls received a Fanta of her choice (pop drink).

For four out of the five schools, two separate 3-hour Photovoice sessions were held with two different groups of girls, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, on a weekend day as to not interfere with the girls' classes and other activities. One school requested that the sessions be held on Wednesday afternoons during official activity time. As such, the two separate 3-hour Photovoice sessions were held one week apart (see dates in figure below).

Before leaving the school grounds, we thanked the Disciplinary Master and school authorities. I took this opportunity to ask them if it could be possible to meet with the physical education teacher of the school to discuss the Photovoice results. Every school accepted and I was put into contact with the teacher to set up an appointment. On our way back to Kigali, I paid the facilitators and asked them to sign a receipt to confirm payment. We debriefed the session and made suggestions to improve the procedures and the flow of activity. I did not interview the facilitators but kept an open exchange with them throughout the research in order to discuss their experiences of the sessions and to make appropriate modifications to the content and logistics.

Table 7

Photovoice Sessions

School	Date	Number of participants	Age of girls
1	February 18, 2012	Group 1: 23 Group 2: 26 Total: 49	11 – 20
2	February 19, 2012	Group 1: 12 Group 2: 18 Total: 30	15 – 21
3	Group 1: February 22, 2012 Group 2: February 29, 2012	Group 1: 15 Group 2: 20 Total: 25	11 – 23
4	February 25, 2012	Group 1: 29 Group 2: 24 Total: 53	Group 1: 17 – 21 Group 2: 13 – 16
5	March 11, 2012	Group 1: 18 Group 2: 21 Total: 39	11 – 19

4.4.4. Validity and reliability of the Photovoice data.

To help ensure the validity and reliability of the Photovoice data, I draw from the work of Morse,

Barrett, Mayan, Olson, and Spiers (2002). The authors argue that it is the researcher's

responsibility to develop validity and reliability verification strategies and to implement them

directly into the qualitative research design. The following three measures were integrated into

my adaptation of the Photovoice method for this research. First, because the girls worked in small

groups to produce collective responses instead of individual responses, the girls' consensus on

the given responses provided a group validation of the data. Second, as further explained in the

next chapter, the girls' written responses are analyzed and their own terms are used to identify

and name themes and key issues of concern instead of the researcher's personal notes, thus

guarding against a distortion of the data. Finally, the large number of participants and responses

enabled an identification of the themes that are consistent in the data and representative of

secondary schoolgirls' lived experiences of PES in Rwanda. To further confirm and validate the representativeness of girls' responses and their relevancy to help improve PES programming in Rwanda, three different types of local decision-makers currently working in PES were interviewed to discuss the issues raised by the girls.

4.5. Phase 2: Working with decision-makers

Because of contextual and scheduling constraints, the on-site exhibit where participants' share their work with other stakeholders could not be held. While discussing possible timelines to implement the Photovoice sessions in secondary schools with Gender Club members, it was agreed that the best time for the students was the month of February as it was the beginning of a new semester. Starting mid-March, students were busy studying for their exam period, which continued until April. Because April is the commemorative month of the 1994 genocide, schools are closed. Organizing a Photovoice exhibit in each school and inviting students to share their work with their colleagues and teachers would have infringed upon their exam period. Because schools then closed for a month, waiting until May was not an option. The girls kept their photo-posters and were encouraged to set up a small exhibit at their discretion to share their work at their school. Unfortunately, I was not able to find out if any of them did.

4.5.1. Transforming photo-posters into a photo-report.

In order to share the ideas and perspectives found in the girls' images and responses, I transformed their photo-posters into a visual tool, what I term a photo-report, which I used as an interview tool with the decision-makers and to disseminate the research results. The photo-report resembles a traveling exhibit to bring directly to key decision-makers. Although part of the participatory process where participants actively disseminate their own work and ideas to stakeholders did not take place, the interview and dissemination tool that I developed ensured that

girls' ideas and suggestions guided and were at the center of the interview and discussion with key PES decision-makers.

4.5.2. Creating the photo-report.

After the two Photovoice sessions of each school, I grouped the photographs and responses into recurring themes and issues, ranging from most to least recurring (further detailed in Chapter Five). I then prepared a PowerPoint presentation with the top responses of each question for each school. For example, the top responses to the question "What do girls like about physical activity and sports in school?" for School 1 were: 1) Good health (protection from diseases, good growth, keep fit), 2) To lose weight and to keep a good figure, 3) To be strong (strong bones), 4) To have fun, 5) To freshen the mind, to relax, and 6) To be confident. The title of the slide was the question asked, the subtitle was the girls' answer and the body of the slide was six photographs illustrating the ideas being conveyed. Each teacher interviewed received a color-printed copy of the photo-report and a preliminary report of the research with the top responses of their own schools. I also prepared a photo-report (appendix 8) and a preliminary report with the top responses of all of the schools combined for the experts and ministries (appendix 4). Their preliminary report also included the main issues raised by the teachers interviewed. The decision-makers kept the documents to share with their colleagues and their superiors.

Figure 2

Photo-report
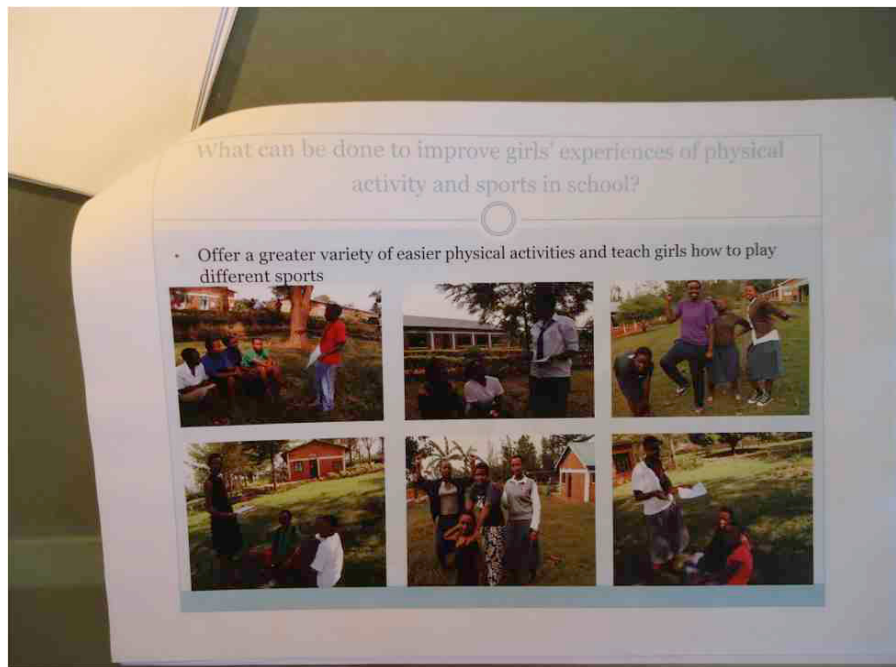
4.5.3. Identifying decision-makers.

In the study, there were three categories of decision-makers: the participating schools' physical

education teachers (often referred to as Sports Masters or Game Masters), gender and physical

education experts, and ministry representatives. As mentioned above, the teachers responsible for

PES at each school were identified after the Photovoice sessions. I conducted interviews with

these teachers and then identified various experts and contacted them through a variety of

connections. Through the KIE Gender Club, I was able to meet with the KIE Sports Master, the

KIE Physical Education and Sport Professor as well as the Gender and Education Expert at the

Forum of African Women Educationalists. Thanks to Dr. Gervais, I met with the Gender

Specialist at the Canadian International Development Agency Project Support Unit. Following

the interviews with these experts, I then approached the relevant ministries, starting with the

Ministry of Sports and Culture. Because I did not have any contacts with this ministry, I sent an

email through their website informing them of the research and offering to share the results. The Ministry responded and I met with the Acting Director of Sport. At the end of the meeting, the Acting Director indicated that he appreciated the research and provided me with the name and telephone number of a list of other relevant stakeholders who would be interested in the results. Given time constraints, I contacted the most relevant ministries: the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion. I then met with the Sport and Culture in Education Expert of the Ministry of Education and the Adviser to the Minister of the Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion.

Table 8

Interviewee Profiles

Title	Organization	Years in position	Sex	Training
Sports Master	Secondary school	6	Male	- Certified engineer - Marathon runner - Enrolled in KIE sports program but never finished - Self-taught athlete, coach and sports organizer
Sports Master	Secondary school	11	Male	- Certified football coach - Short term workshops organized by different sport federations
Sports Master	Secondary school	1	Male	- Certified football coach and referee
Sports Master	Secondary school	2 months	Male	- Semi-professional rugby athlete
Disciplinary Prefect (no Sport Master position at the school)	Secondary school	1 month	Male	- Certified teacher - Personal interest in jogging
Sports Master	Kigali Institute of Education	7	Male	- Certified Physical Education teacher
Physical Education and Sport Professor	Kigali Institute of Education	10	Male	- Certified Physical Education teacher - MA (Sports Federations)
Gender and Education	Forum of African Women	N/A	Female	N/A

Expert	Educationalists			
Gender Specialist	Canadian International Development Agency	N/A	Female	N/A
Sport and Culture in Education Expert	Ministry of Education	N/A	Male	N/A
Acting Director of Sport	Ministry of Sports and Culture	N/A	Male	N/A
Adviser to the Minister	Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion	N/A	Male	N/A

Source: Rivard (2013)

4.5.4. Conducting the interviews with the decision-makers.

With one exception (further explained in Chapter Six), the interviews were held at the

interviewee's office, lasted between thirty minutes and one hour and a half, and was scheduled at

the convenience of the decision-maker. The interviewees received the Facts of the Study sheet

(either in English or in French) and signed the consent form. The interviews were held either in

English or in French, with some interviewees consenting to audio-recording while others not. For

those who did not consent to being audio-recorded, I took notes. Each session had a similar

format. After a brief introduction to the research and a few questions that I asked in relation to

gathering programming and training information, I focused the entire interview on the girls'

responses to the issues. Interviewees were handed the photo-report (between 9 and 12 pages,

depending on the school) and were informed that the photographs and responses represented the

girls' feedback and suggestions. They looked through the document and controlled the pace of

the interview and the discussion. The ways of reading the report varied greatly. Some of the

interviewees skimmed the photographs and mostly looked at the responses, while others paid

close attention to the details of the photographs. Some looked at each page and response and

discussed the issues raised at great length before turning the page, while others looked at the entire document, made passing comments and then re-flipped through the document to make more detailed remarks and observations. Generally, the interviewees responded with contextual information, agreement, or disagreement with what the girls said, opinions, perspectives, and examples based on their experiences in other contexts and situations. Woven into the discussions were questions on their suggestions and challenges for improving girls' experiences of programming in relation to their position and organization. Questions addressed to experts and ministries also touched upon issues raised by the teachers. A significant strength of this interview format was that the starting point of each discussion was anchored in and stemmed from girls' voices, while still allowing for interviewees to provide their own feedback and perspectives. In other words, through their photographs and responses, girls figuratively, at least, participated in a discussion at the policy and program development level. Their concerns as evident in their photographs and responses served to frame and structure the discussion with key decision-makers, thereby creating a policy space and opening a dialogue centered on what the girls themselves had to say. Although after discussing an issue raised, the interviewees sidetracked onto other issues, by flipping the page and seeing another issue raised by the girls, the discussion was always brought back to girls' concerns, and as such, followed and respected the agenda set by the girls.

4.6. Summary

In this chapter I have mapped out the data collection methods and tools implemented in the research, how they were adapted to work with secondary schoolgirls in Rwanda and how they were used to reach local and relevant decision-makers in a practical, timely, and inexpensive manner. In the next two chapters, I describe and analyze the Photovoice results (Chapter Five) and the interview results (Chapter Six).

CHAPTER 5
Results and Analysis: Photovoice with girls

The results and analysis presented in this chapter are framed by girlhood studies' theoretical principles foregrounding voice. Thus, girls' perspectives are the starting point of the analytical reflection. I begin by explaining how I collated, organized, and coded the Photovoice data into themes and sub-themes. I offer several tables to categorize and summarize the data per question and per school and to detail the number of responses per theme and sub-theme. To better contextualize the analysis of the Photovoice data, I briefly describe the physical activity and sport in school (PASS) programming implemented in each participating school at the time of the study. Finally, I analyze the girls' responses to the three questions. The issues raised by the girls are further discussed in Chapter Six through the analysis of the interviews with the decision-makers and then again in Chapter Seven as I present the key findings. Because the objective of the research is to document girls' ideas and to enable key decision-makers to discuss and reflect on these ideas, the focus of this chapter is on identifying and categorizing girls' priorities in a format that both foregrounds and respects girls' own analysis and is accessible to decision-makers.

5.1. Organizing the Photovoice Data

The ten Photovoice sessions implemented in five secondary schools with 196 participants generated a total of 144 photo-posters: 48 for Question 1, 48 for Question 2, and 48 for Question 3. Each photo-poster is composed of a photograph and written responses to one of the three open-ended questions. The majority of the photo-posters described several issues in response to the same question. All of the photographs and all of the responses are included in the results and the analysis. However, I focus the analysis on the most recurring responses that form the key issues of concern that are then discussed with the decision-makers. Because the girls brainstormed and wrote their responses on their answer sheet before taking the photographs and transcribing their

answer sheet responses onto their photo-posters, it is the girls' written responses on the photo-poster that define and frame the interpretation and meaning attributed to the photographs. Thus, in order to foreground girls' ideas, the photographs themselves are not specifically analyzed on their own.

5.1.1. Working with the data.

The first step in organizing the data was completed immediately after the Photovoice sessions in each school in order to prepare the photo-reports for the interviews with the PES teachers. The following procedure was repeated for each school. Using the girls' answer sheets and the photographs I took of each photo-poster, I created a digital file of each photo-poster by transcribing the girls' responses and matching their printed photograph to the digital copy I kept on the memory card. I coded each photo-poster with the name of the school, whether it was a morning or an afternoon group (AM – PM), the group number (1 – 5), and the photo number in reference to the question (1 – 3). The following is an example of the School 1 morning group 1's responses to Question 1:

School 1 – AM Group 1, Photo 1

"1) Why do we do sports?
We do sports for fun.
We also do sports to strengthen our bodies
We do sports to become physically fit."

Then, I grouped all of the responses provided per question. For example:

Question 1: What do girls like about physical activity and sports in school?

AM

Group 1

"We do sports for fun.
We also do sports to strengthen our bodies
We do sports to become physically fit."

Group 2

"- We do sports to be physically fit which makes our minds fresh, it prevents us from diseases.
- It makes us happy because when we do sports we have fun and enjoy what we are doing."

Group 3

R: To feel physical fit like in the picture she wants to be like her friend because she is not feeling comfortable in her life.

": it makes us feeling relaxed
: it strengthens our bones
: just to have fun
: to get warm in cold weather"

Group 4

"This presents why we like physical activities
- it makes us to have a good healthy
- it makes us to refresh our minds
- it helps us to be strong"

Group 5

"This picture represent why we do sports
These are the following
- for good health
- to protect our body from diseases
- for good growth"

PM

Group 1

"- They want to have a good health than boys

- They want to avoid fearing of someone
- Self confidence than boys"

Group 2

"- To reduce weight
- To be strong
- To do any work easy
- To do more work that girls like"

Group 3

"- To have good figure
- They don't want to be fat
- They want to have good health"

Group 4

"- girls like sports and physical activity in order to enjoy life and reducing their weight and big one become thin and free in your muscle and also your body."

Group 5

"- it gives you a good figure
- it protects our health
- it relaxes our memory"

After reading over all of the responses, I identified broad recurring themes per question. They are as follows:

Question 1: Physical Health, Mental Health, and Social Health

Question 2: Physical Difficulties, Social/Emotional Difficulties, and Material Difficulties

Question 3: Material Solutions and Social/Emotional Solutions

I then organized all of the responses by theme per question. I identified the number of times a similar response was provided and created sub-themes using girls' own terms or words. For example, the sub-theme "protection from diseases" comes from girls' responses such as: "to protect our body from diseases" (see AM Group 5 above) and "it protects us from diseases" (AM Group 2). The sub-theme "strength" comes from responses such as: "We also do sports to

112

strengthen our bodies" (AM Group 1), "it strengthens our bones" (AM Group 3), "it helps us to be strong" (AM Group 4), and "to be strong" (PM Group 2). These two sub-themes then tie into the broader theme of Physical Health. I then counted the number of responses per sub-theme to see which were the most recurring, calculated percentages from these totals, and placed them in order of most to least recurring. Responses that did not fit into a sub-theme were grouped together under the category "other" (see appendix 5). The top responses for each question were then put into the school's photo-report for the interview with the school's PES teacher. For the photo-report, I selected the photographs that reflected the combined responses per question. I ensured that many small work groups were represented in the photographs throughout the report. For the ministries' and experts' photo-report, I identified the most recurring responses based on the combined number of responses for all of the schools. Again, I selected the photographs that reflected the combined responses and included many small work groups.

After the fieldwork, I created an Excel spreadsheet with the raw data and did a second reading of the responses. With this second reading, I slightly modified some of the sub-themes to better reflect the data and shifted the order of some of the responses. The three tables in appendix 5 categorize the data per school into the themes and sub-themes I identified for each question. Based on this organization and coding of the data, the following tables present the most to least recurring responses per question for each school.

Table 9

Question 1: What do girls like about physical activity and sports in school?

	School 1		School 2		School 3		School 4		School 5	
Total	30		21		45		26		40	
Answer	Good physical health	7	Strength	5	Good physical health	11	Strength	5	Refresh the mind	10
	Lose weight	5	Lose weight	4	Lose weight	6	Refresh the mind	5	Strength	8
	Strength	4	Good physical health	3	Relaxation	5	Protection from diseases	4	Protection from diseases	5
	Fun	4	Protection from diseases	3	Protection from diseases	4	Other (mental)	3	Relaxation	5
	Refresh the mind	3	Refresh the mind	2	Strength	3	Good physical health	2	Good physical health	4
	Protection from diseases	2	Physically fit	1	Fun	3	Lose weight	2	Friendship	3
	Other (social)	2	Reduce stress	1	Physically fit	2	Career	2	Lose weight	2
	Relaxation	1	Fun	1	Refresh the mind	2	Fun	1	Reduce stress	2
	Physically fit	1	Keep busy	1	Reduce stress	2	Friendship	1	Other (social)	1
	Other (mental)	1			Other (mental)	2	Other (social)	1		
					Friendship	2				
					Career	2				
					Keep busy	1				

Table 10

Question 2: What difficulties do girls face when doing physical activity and sports in school that boys do not face?

	School 1		School 2		School 3		School 4		School 5	
Total	31		21		38		30		38	
Answer	Big breasts	7	Pains/ Injuries	4	Weakness	8	Weakness	8	Lack of equipment	6
	Big figure	4	Menstruation	3	Pains/ Injuries	6	Menstruation	4	Lack of sportswear	5
	Weakness	4	Big breasts	2	Shyness	5	Lack of participation	3	Lack of playing fields	5
	Pains/ Injuries	4	Big buttocks	2	Beliefs and attitudes	3	Lack of coaches	3	Lack of coaches	5
	Big buttocks	3	Lack of coaches for girls	2	Lack of playing fields	3	Lack of confidence	2	Lack of time	4
	Menstruation	3	Big figure	1	Big breasts	2	Big figure	1	Lack of role models	2
	Shyness	3	Weakness	1	Menstruation	2	Big breasts	1	Lack of participation	2
	Laziness	2	Shyness	1	Sweating	2	Pains/ Injuries	1	Big figure	1
	Lack of sportswear	1	Lack of time	1	Lack of permission	2	Laziness	1	Weakness	1
			Beliefs and attitudes	1	Lack of sportswear	2	Fainting	1	Pains\ Injuries	1
			Lack of sportswear	1	Big figure	1	Lack of time	1	Laziness	1
			Lack of equipment	1	Fainting	1	Lack of permission	1	Lack of recuperation (extra food)	1
			Lack of playing fields	1	Lack of participation	1	Lack of encourage-ment	1	Lack of encourage-ment	1
							Lack of sportswear	1	Beliefs and attitudes	1
							Lack of equipment	1	Lack of confidence	1
									Lack of competition	1

Table 11

Question 3: What can be done to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sport in school?

	School 1		School 2		School 3		School 4		School 5	
Total	24		21		34		33		28	
Answer										
	Sportswear/shoes	5	Coaches/Teachers	4	Playing fields	6	Equipment	4	Equipment	5
	Increase confidence	4	Gym for girls	3	Sports clubs and competition	5	Inform girls	4	Coaches/Teachers	5
	Equipment	3	Sportswear/shoes	2	Sportswear/shoes	3	Teach girls	4	Playing fields	4
	Coaches/Teachers	2	Playing fields	2	Balanced diet	3	Increase time requirement	4	Increase time requirement	4
	Playing fields	2	Balanced diet	2	Inform girls	3	Sports clubs and competition	4	Sportswear/shoes	3
	Support and encouragement	2	Support and encouragement	2	Equipment	2	Sportswear/shoes	3	Increase confidence	2
	Increase time requirement	2	Equipment	1	Coaches/Teachers	2	Support and encouragement	3	Inform girls	2
	Inform girls	1	Menstrual pads	1	Increase time requirement	2	Coaches/Teachers	2	Sports clubs and competitions	2
	Gym for girls	1	Teach girls	1	Gym for girls	2	Playing fields	2	Role models	1
	Changing beliefs and attitudes	1	Increase time requirement	1	Changing beliefs and attitudes	2	Gift to winners	1		
	Motivation	1	Changing beliefs and attitudes	1	Gifts to winners	1	Gym for girls	1		
			Friendships	1	Sports bras	1	Motivation	1		
					Increase confidence	1				
					Teach girls	1				

The Photovoice data is further analyzed after a brief description of the PES/PASS programming implemented in the five participating schools at the time of the study.

116

5.2. Physical Education and Sport / Physical Activity and Sport in School Programming

The following information was gathered by speaking with the Sports Master, the Head Master, or the Disciplinary Master before or after the Photovoice sessions.

Table 12

Physical Education and Sport / Physical Activity and Sport in School Programming

School	1	2	3	4	5
Type of school	Private Mixed	Private Mixed	Public Mixed	Public Mixed	Public All-girls
Type of programming	School 1 Sport 2012	Jogging early Saturday mornings	PES curriculum	PES curriculum	PES curriculum and extra-curricular activities
Teacher	Sports Master	Sports Prefect	Sports Master	Disciplinary Master	Games Master
Age of girls	11 – 20	15 – 21	12 – 22	12 – 22	11 – 19
Participation	Optional	Optional	Mandatory	Mandatory + choice of activity/sport	Mandatory
Frequency	Once a week on Saturdays	Weekdays at 10h30pm and Saturdays	Once a week	Wednesdays and Sundays	Every afternoon at 4h30
Location of activities	Playing field inside and outside of school ground	Football pitch and playing field	Playing field	Playing field on school ground, basketball court outside of school ground	Playing field, gymnasium
Facilities and equipment	Volleyball nets, football nets, basketball court, sportswear	Playing field, 1 volleyball, 1 football, and 1 basketball	Volleyball court, football court	Lances, discs, balls: volleyball, football, basketball	2 basketballs, 1 volleyball, 2 netballs, 5 footballs
Activities/sports played	Volleyball, football, basketball, gym tonic (aerobics)	Volleyball, football, basketball, cricket	Volleyball, football	Volleyball, football, basketball, acrobatics, karate	Volleyball, football, basketball, gym tonic (aerobics), netball, karate, jogging

The information described in the following paragraphs was gathered during the interviews I held with the PES teachers.

5.2.1. School 1.

The Sports Master had been in position for only two months at the time of the interview in early March 2012. He was a retired semi-professional rugby athlete who had not received any training in PES. He had been recently hired by the new Head Master to develop, implement, and manage the school's own PASS program called School 1 Sport 2012. I briefly spoke to the Head Master before interviewing the Sports Master. He explained that prior to his arrival, the school had been catering to poor families from the surrounding area and did not implement a PASS program or the PES curriculum, as this was not considered to be a priority. Recently, the school had been transformed into a private boarding school for middle class families. Originally from Uganda where secondary school students participate in PES, he decided to implement a PES program when he took up his duties has Head Master with the objective of keeping the students busy and motivated during the weekends. However, he encountered resistance from the school authorities who did not want to raise funds for sport equipment and playing fields since they did not consider PES to be a priority. In searching for alternative sources of funding, he turned to Right to Play, a Canadian Sport for Development and Peace NGO, to fund a basketball court. Right to Play refused to fund School 1 as they only fund schools in rural areas. Subsequently, the Head Master turned to private donors from the Netherlands who were also sponsoring 45 students at the school. The Dutch donors funded a basketball court and sportswear for the teams.

School 1 Sport 2012 began the third week of January 2012. Phase 1 introduced four PASS activities and inaugurated Saturday as "sports day." Participation was optional and the activities were the same for boys and girls. The first implemented activity was a physical fitness class (aerobics, stretching, etc.) from 6:00am to 8:00am. The goal of this activity was to encourage

students to work out, to become physically fit, to stretch, to lose weight, to relax, and to de-stress. The Sports Master explained that during the first week, less than 20 students came to the first class. The students were "scared" to participate and thought that the class was "too hectic." However, through word of mouth, the class gained in popularity during the following weeks. At the time of the interview, approximately 100 students were participating in the class, with three quarters of the students being girls. The Sports Master observed that the girls enjoyed the class, much more so than the other sport activities and more so than the boys, as it helped them to stretch, to have more energy, and to lose weight. He planned one class per week, organized the exercises of the day, and integrated students' suggestions and ideas. He planned to start a second class next term to minimize the congestion in the hall where the classes where being held, as it was almost full to capacity. In addition to the physical fitness class, jogging was offered on Saturdays.

The second organized activity was the School 1 Basketball League made up of eight teams. The teams were managed by their respective coaches (teachers at the school and Dutch donors) and practiced everyday for 45 minutes. League matches took place on Saturdays. Matches between teachers and students were also organized to motivate students to participate and to develop ties between the teachers and the students. The third activity was the School 1 Football Academy, which was intended to train boys at an elite level. At the time of the interview, the Sports Master was in the process of forming two teams of 11 players each. He explained that there were only boys' teams for the moment because the boys were showing a greater interest in participating. However, once the boys' teams were organized, he would set up girls' teams as some girls have asked to participate. The last activity was the School 1 Volleyball League with three teams. The teams were mixed, were managed by schoolteachers, and were comprised of 16 players: eight boys and eight girls. The teams practiced after classes for

approximately 30 to 45 minutes and matches were held on Saturdays. The school built a separate volleyball court so that the volleyball and basketball teams could train at the same time.

Phase 2 of School 1 Sport 2012 was planned for the start of the second term in April. This phase sought to introduce easier sport and indoor leisure activities (chess, board games, etc.) for students who do not like physical activity to also be able to relax, to have fun, and to be occupied during weekends. At the time of the interview, the activities being planned were badminton and woodball. The school was waiting for badminton equipment to arrive from the Netherlands. The teams were to be trained by the Sports Master's brother who is an expert in badminton and who was best African player for five years. Woodball is a Chinese game introduced in Uganda three years ago. Using a mallet, players must hit wooden balls into wooden bottles known as "gates" which are stuck to the ground on a fairway. This game does not require much physical effort; instead, players must calculate and strategize their play.

5.2.2. School 2.

Although the school funded the PASS programming at School 2, the activities being implemented had been greatly reduced. Up until the 2011, students had a weekly one-hour class of PES scheduled into their timetable. The class was cancelled and removed from the timetable in 2012. The decision to remove the PES class was taken by the school authority in order to focus more on academic classes. Instead, students had one hour of free time after classes everyday when they could choose to participate in sport. The activities were organized and implemented by a teacher who voluntarily and in his spare time also took on the role of Sports Prefect, for which he received a small allowance. He was motivated by his personal interest in sport as a hobby, his experience in organizing physical activity and sport events in the community, and by his experience of being in charge of sport programming in five different schools prior to his position at School 2. Although he enrolled in the Kigali Institute of Education PES program, he never

finished it, and instead, gained his experience as an athlete and by managing sport programming at university.

The objective of the School 2 programming was to help students to relax, to study, to not be bored, to be flexible, to succeed in their studies, to be in good health, to socialize, and to be better disciplined. Although activities were open to everyone, classes ran from 8:00am to 10:30pm and therefore sport activities only took place after 10:30pm during the week. There was a weekly schedule of five sports that were practiced for one hour per day and supervised by the Sports Prefect: football was played on Monday and Tuesday, basketball on Wednesday and Thursday, and volleyball on Thursday and Friday. During the hour for each sport, the Sports Prefect set up two teams for boys who play one against the other and two teams for girls who play one against the other. There were replacement players on the side who took turns to play. The Sports Prefect made a list of the students who participated to know who was a beginner and who was more advanced in order to adapt his teaching. He taught the technical rules and the students practiced exercises and drills. On Saturdays, students could practice each sport for one hour. Students were also encouraged to practice by themselves during down times. Friendly matches were organized on Saturdays. There was also optional jogging on the street for 30 minutes on Saturdays.

5.2.3. School 3.

The Sports Master at School 3 also did not have any formal training in PES. He was a retired football player and a FIFA trained and certified referee. He used to officiate football matches for School 3 when he was still a student at a different secondary school and asked School 3 to hire him as Sports Master when he graduated. When he first started as Sports Master at School 3, the school did not have a PES program. He developed and implemented the entire programming. Although he was not a technician in every sport, he had connections to coaches who could

evaluate and better develop elite talent. His objective was to encourage every student to move, to be healthy, to develop different skills in order to participate in competitions, and to enjoy participating in sport on a daily basis. Activities were adapted to the level of students and were the same for both boys and girls.

The PES programming was comprised of three types of activities: the PES curriculum, inter-school competitions, and mandatory jogging for the entire school on Saturday mornings. The PES curriculum consisted of one sport lesson per week scheduled in the timetable of every student. The students were assessed and needed to pass a mid-term and a final exam. The Sports Master first taught the technical rules of the sport in a classroom setting before students practiced in the playing field the following week. The classes also included gym tonic and fitness exercises (aerobics). Although participation was mandatory, most girls did not want to attend. Instead, they pretended to be sick and asked the Disciplinary Master to send them home. Because of this problem, the Sports Master had developed several measures to encourage girls to participate. He closed the dorms so that the girls could not go back to their rooms and he kept an attendance list. If a student missed class for two to three weeks in a row, he reported them to the Disciplinary Master. Normally, when a student missed a class, they were punished and sent home. But when a student missed PES, the school authorities were not as strict and did not send the students home in punishment. Instead, they received a 0 in their report. The Sports Master explained this was more of a problem with girls than with boys. According to him, when the parents saw a 0 on the report for PES, they did not follow up with their children because they themselves did not understand the importance and benefits of sport for their children. Consequently, since they did not care if their son or daughter did not participate and received a 0, the school did not punish this behavior.

Inter-school competitions were organized for football, basketball, volleyball, and cricket. There was one team for boys and one team for girls for each sport. The Sports Master explained that School 3 had excellent cricket players and that one of the Photovoice participants played in the national league. Inter-school competitions first started with competitions between neighboring schools, then moved to the district level, the provincial level, and the national level. The national semi-final and final took place in September every year. Then in October, the East African Championship for Secondary Schools was held. This championship was started in Uganda in 2004 and in 2012, included seven countries: Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya, South Sudan, Somalia, and Tanzania. The MINEDUC and the MINISPOC paid for the traveling expenses of the winning Rwandan team. In 2011, School 3 won the championship for boys' volleyball.

Finally, mandatory jogging was organized for the entire school on Saturday mornings from 5:30am to 8:30am when the Sports Master was present at the school. Because he also worked at the MINISPOC as a FIFA-certified referee, he often officiated matches on Saturdays. The students did not go running when he was not present at the school.

5.2.4. School 4.

At School 4, the Disciplinary Prefect was responsible for the organization and implementation of PASS. The school used to have a Sports Master but the position had been left vacant since this person left the school. It was therefore up to the Disciplinary Prefect to organize and implement activities during his personal spare time. The previous Disciplinary Prefect had not been interested in PASS and therefore did not organize or implement any activities. The current Disciplinary Prefect had proposed to hire a new Sports Master for the next school year. The school authorities responded that they did not want to hire a Sports Master because if this person were hired as a teacher, they would teach the PES class during the regular scheduled hours and then leave after school hours. Consequently, there would not be anyone present to organize

activities for the students during their spare time in the evenings and weekends. Since the Disciplinary Prefect and the school facilitator were on school grounds at all times, they were responsible for the organization of PASS. However, they were not obligated to do so. As a result, activities depended entirely on the personal interest and commitment of the Disciplinary Prefect and his or her willingness to increase their weekly workload. According to the Disciplinary Prefect, by doing it this way, the school had one less salary to pay but also sent the message to students and parents that PES was not important enough to be integrated into the official timetable.

The Disciplinary Prefect did not have any training in PES but used to take part in physical fitness exercises when he was at university and enjoyed jogging. He believed that physical activity helped to keep students healthy and relaxed, could help them to better study, and helped to keep them busy in order to diminish occurrences of misbehavior. He also believed that group physical activities, such as jogging and aerobics, could help students to socialize across all class levels. He explained that this type of socialization was very important in a boarding school context where students needed to develop friendships.

Since his arrival at School 4 in February 2012, the Disciplinary Prefect had organized and implemented mandatory jogging for the entire school on Saturday mornings from 5:30am to 7:30am for 8km and for 25km for the stronger students. At the time of the interview in March 2012, he was planning to introduce a mandatory aerobics class the following week to be held every Wednesday afternoon and Sunday afternoon during the students' free time. His objective was to engage students in physical activity three times a week. Cultural activities, such as traditional dancing, were also considered as leisure activities that students could practice during their free time. Prior to the Disciplinary Prefect's arrival, the male students had organized for themselves informal football, volleyball, and basketball teams. There were six teams in total, that

is, one team per sport per grade cycle. There were no girl teams at the time of the study. The Disciplinary Prefect explained that girls were not interested in forming teams. His objective was to first initiate girls to easier physical activities such as jogging and aerobics, and once they felt comfortable and enjoyed these activities, he would organize teams for girls, including handball. He observed girls' interest in jogging grow throughout the few weeks that this activity had been implemented, and noted that some were eager to start the aerobics classes. The International Cricket Committee also came to the school once a year in March to provide training and equipment to develop cricket in secondary schools for both boys and girls. The Disciplinary Prefect observed that more boys than girls were interested in this sport.

Upon noticing the disinterest and lack of experience in physical activity of some students, the Disciplinary Prefect thought of asking the school authorities to include in the students' report cards a letter which explained to parents the benefits of PASS and to encourage them to purchase sportswear, especially for the girls. He would like to invite parents to motivate their children to participate in PASS.

5.2.5. School 5.

At School 5 (all-girl school), the Games Master was responsible for the PES curriculum and the PASS extra-curricular activities. The school funded the programming. Although the Games Master did not have official PES training, he had participated in short-term workshops organized by different sport federations, was certified to coach football when he was a student, and has been working at School 5 as the Games Master since 2003. He implemented the PES curriculum and worked with the director of studies to fix the school calendar of activities. The goals of his program were for students to be healthy, to participate in at least one activity a week, and to discover potential sport talent for local clubs. He gave the example of one student being sent to India for football training.

The Games Master organized and implemented four types of activities: team sports, the government's PES curriculum, aerobics, and karate. There were two junior and two senior teams with a coach paid by the school for basketball and volleyball, one junior team for football, and one team of twenty students for netball. The teams practiced and played three times a week. In 2004, School 5 was one of the first schools to have a football program for girls in Rwanda. At the time, the school received funding from Australia to purchase equipment, materials, shoes, sportswear, and balls. Furthermore, School 5 was one of the first schools to have a girls' netball team, as netball is a new sport in Rwanda. The team had a coach the previous year but did not have one for the current year, as it was difficult to find a replacement for such a new sport. Participation in the sport teams was optional and reserved for the more advanced students. New students were encouraged to join the teams and play in inter-class competitions. Some girls came specifically to School 5 to play sports, especially football. School 5 respected the government's policy for students to mandatorily take part in a weekly one-hour physical education class. The activities were mostly jogging and stretching. The Games Master also introduced an optional aerobics class in 2011 with a special instructor. He observed that the girls loved the class and that approximately 100 students participated. The classes were given four times a week in the refectory. Finally, karate was introduced in 2008. The classes for all grade levels were given outside on the school grounds and approximately 25 students participated. A specialist coach was paid by the school to teach this class.

Although School 5 has had a Games Master for many years and implemented many activities per week, the Games Master explained that their playing field and their equipment were in disrepair. Activities were scheduled one at a time because they all used the same battered playing field. Indeed, a team from another school had refused to play at School 5 because the playing field was in such terrible condition. Furthermore, because of the slopping terrain of the

school grounds, the school did not have a football pitch and students practiced on the pitch of a neighboring primary school.

As can be seen from this brief description, the activities implemented in all five schools were heavily sport-based and non-sport activities were limited to jogging and aerobics exercises, the latter being very recently introduced to Rwanda and in secondary schools at the time of the study. A more detailed analysis of the different types of programs and how they were being implemented will be done through the analysis of the girls' and interviewees' responses. Because of the small sample of schools, I do not generalize or extrapolate statements from the data. Instead, I highlight tendencies.

5.3. Girls' Perspectives

5.3.1. Question 1: What do girls like about physical activity and sports in school?

The total number of responses to Question 1 is 162, with the following breakdown per theme: 57,4% for Physical Health, 27,2% for Mental Health, and 15,4% for Social Health. As we can see, Physical Health responses outnumber the combination of Mental Health and Social Health responses.

a. Top responses in Physical Health.

The breakdown of the top responses of Physical Health is as follows: good health (29%), strength (27%), lose weight (20%), protection from diseases (19,4%), and physical fitness (4%).

Good health

"The reason why girls or any other person may like while doing sport or physical activities: you get relaxed, your bones get more stronger, our blood circulates well, you don't easily get sick."

Strength

"1. To be strong
2. To have fun
3. To reduce fats in the body
4. To be healthy"

Lose weight

"- To have good figure
- They don't want to be fat
- They want to have good health"

Protection from diseases

"This is photo 1 which represent the answer of the Question 1 which showing how some girls doing sport in order to protect their body against some diseases like heart attack."

Physical fitness

"- Physical fitness, we do sports to be physically fit which makes our minds fresh, it prevents us from diseases.
- It makes us happy because when we do sports we have fun and enjoy what we are doing."

The girls identified multiple benefits of physical activity in relation to physical health. The majority of the responses closely resemble descriptions from a typical biology textbook: "good growth," "blood circulation," "remove waste products from body," "balance the body minerals/fats," "helps in muscle construction and expansion." Only a few responses refer to a physical feeling, such as: "keep warm in cold weather" and "make body feel good." The sub-theme of losing weight, which represents 11,7% of Question 1 responses, could have been placed in either or all three themes. I decided to include it in the Physical Health theme as the girls were talking about the physical effect of losing weight. I acknowledge that girls' desire to lose weight could also be based on and reflective of their personal interpretations of social expectations about female body size and shape. Interestingly, the girls identified both typically masculine and feminine physical benefits of physical activity and sport with 27% of Physical Health responses attributed to strength and 20% attributed to losing weight.

b. *Top responses in Mental Health.*

In the Mental Health theme, three quarters of the responses are grouped into two sub-themes: refresh the mind (50%) and relaxation (25%). The two least recurring responses are reduce stress (11,4%) and other (13,6%).

Refresh the mind

"- It helps them to become very fresh in the mind
- Their bones become so strong
- Good health
- It stops some diseases"

Relaxation

" - We like that it helps us to rest so that we can do our studies very well.
- It help us to develop our muscles
- We like also that it help us to relax"

Reduce stress

"This photo show us how sports makes people being happy:
- like flexible
- being healthy
- reduce stress
- Sports helps us to study well, our brain can be fresh
Conclusion: It is better to do sports in our life."

Other – Self-confidence

"- They want to have a good health than boys
- They want to avoid fearing of someone
- Self confidence than boys"

The combination of refresh the mind and relaxation represents 20,5% of Question 1 answers. Moreover, 82% of the responses of this theme come from the three public schools taking part in the study (School 3, 4, and 5). Since students must pass national exams to enter public secondary schools, the latter emphasize academic success. Subsequently, girls attending these schools are expected to perform academically. According to the participants from these schools, physical activity and sport can help them to handle the stress of academic pressures. The sub-theme titled "other" is mainly comprised of self-confidence/self-esteem, mentioned once, and happiness, mentioned twice. The very small number of these responses is consistent with Question 2 responses where girls identified a lack of self-confidence and self-esteem as a difficulty they faced when taking part in PASS and with Question 3 responses where they asked for further support and encouragement.

c. Top responses in Social Health.

Finally, the responses for the Social Health theme are: fun (36%), friendship (24%), career opportunity (16%), keep busy (8%), and other (16%).

Fun	Friendship

"To have fun
To reduce weight
To fight against diseases
To reduce fats
To practice future employment
To be healthy"

"- It helps us to memorize our courses while we study
- It helps us to meet friends
- It helps us to relax"

Career opportunity

" – Good health: when girls do sports helps them to avoid such diseases like diabetes, influenza, etc.
- Sports helps girls to be strength.
- also sports girls to avoid stress, to refresh mind
- it act as career opportunities, e.g. volleyball
- it helps girls to be recognized"

Keep busy

"- It keeps them busy so that they can't engage in bad behaviour or habits.
- It protects us from disease like headache and other diseases by not doing them."

Other

" – It helps us become relaxed in mind when we are tired
- It helps us to become strong and resistant to diseases
- To become friendly and live peacefully in a society"

Although the sub-theme fun could also be categorized in the Mental Health theme, I decided to include it in Social Health since the great majority of the PASS activities being implemented were group or team-based. I acknowledge that having fun and enjoying the company of friends can play an important role in the main Mental Health responses of refreshing the mind, relaxing, and reducing stress. The career opportunity sub-theme is noteworthy as there is currently a lack of access to both PASS and PES programs in many schools, a lack of opportunities for girls to take part in competitive sport, a lack of female coaches, and a lack of female PES teachers. Thus, it is remarkable that some girls are interested in pursuing a career in this field.

Overall, the data underscore a removed lived experience of physical activity. Indeed, the 45 biology textbook-like responses represent 48% of Physical Health responses and outnumber the total of Mental Health responses (44) and the total of Social Health responses (25), as well as the 19 responses of losing weight and the 29 responses of strength. In comparison, only 7% of the Question 1 responses indicate enjoyment of participation in PASS, that is "fun," "self-confidence," and "being happy." However, the quantity of a response may differ from the value attributed to the latter. In other words, a response of "fun" may mean more to the girls than a biology textbook response of, for example, "blood circulation." The data also points to a variety of sub-themes in all three themes and similar types of responses were raised in each group. Each school provided responses for each theme and had similar proportions of responses per theme. Furthermore, the same kinds of responses were brought up for each school and each theme, thereby making the data extremely consistent from one school to the next.

5.3.2. Question 2: What difficulties do girls face when doing physical activity and sports in school that <u>boys do not face</u>?

The total number of responses for Question 2 is 158 with the following breakdown: 53% for Physical Difficulties, 24% for Social/Emotional Difficulties, and 23% for Material Difficulties.

Once again, responses pertaining to the Physical theme outnumber the combination of the Social/Emotional and the Material themes.

a. Top responses in Physical Difficulties.

The top responses for Physical Difficulties are: big figure/breasts/buttocks (30%), weakness (26%), pains/injuries (19%), menstruation (14,3%), and laziness (5%). Although laziness could also be due to a social or emotional difficulty, I categorized it as a physical difficulty as the girls reported this issue in terms of a physical lethargy.

<table>
<tr><td align="center">Big figure/breasts/buttocks</td><td align="center">Weakness</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>"This picture 2 means that girls have big breasts, buttocks, and others."</td><td>"- Girls like sports but it have many effects, some body can do sports like playing football, volleyball, etc. and she become weak and paining breast, breaking legs, hands, they are many effects they can face but boys do not face."</td></tr>
</table>

Pains/injuries

Menstruation

"Problems when doing sports
(difficulties)
- Breasts move
- The joints pain
- You get tired and sweat
- The back ache"

"1. During we are in our m.p.
(menstruation periods) it affects us too
much during sports.
2. Some girls during sports they
become so weak due to the kind of
sports they have been doing."

Laziness

"2. They become boredom and
monotony easily.
- They don't have chance to get the
permission as boys
- Some girl are so lazy than boys
- There are some sports in school
which are so hard to girls."

Of the physical difficulties reported by the girls, 29% call attention to biological characteristics that can impede on their participation in PASS: discomfort and pain from big breasts and discomfort and pain from menstruation. With 71%, the majority of the responses identify stereotypically gendered feminine physical characteristics, such as "weakness," "fragility," "low energy," "laziness," "fainting," and "sweating." The data also shows a difference in responses between School 5, the public all-girl school with a long running PES program, and the mixed schools. School 5 participants only gave five responses for this entire theme and did not mention breasts or menstruation at all. Conversely, School 1 girls gave 27 responses in total, School 2 13, School 3 22, and School 4 17. Although this small sample of schools does not permit generalizations or extrapolations, girls taking part in PES with only other girls reported very little physical difficulties, biological or gendered, in comparison to girls taking part in PASS or PES with boys. The high percentage of biological and gendered physical difficulties for the mixed schools in comparison to the very low percentage for the all-girl school can possibly indicate that programming is developed and implemented according to male/masculine standards and norms in a mixed context.

b. Top responses in Social/Emotional Difficulties.

The Social/Emotional theme combines two types of responses representing two types of difficulties. "Social difficulties" refer to structural barriers while "emotional difficulties" refer to personal barriers. I decided to combine both types under one theme in order to acknowledge the interaction between the social and the personal, and to clearly demarcate these types of barriers from physical and material difficulties. The social difficulties are as follows: lack of time, lack of permission, lack of encouragement and support, lack of coaches for girls, cultural beliefs and attitudes, and lack of role models. The emotional difficulties are: shyness, lack of confidence, and lack of participation due to feelings of shame. The social and emotional difficulties are almost

even with 53% and 47% of the responses respectively, thereby indicating that both types of barriers influence and impact girls' lived experiences of PASS. Here is the breakdown of the response recurrence: shyness (24%), lack of participation (16%), lack of time (16%), and cultural beliefs and attitudes (13%).

Shyness

"Some girls are very shy that they will laugh at them when they do sports."

Lack of participation

"Some students neglect sport, we are lacking qualified trainers, some girls think that it is shameful to do sports"

Lack of time

"The difficulties we face when doing physical activities and sports in schools: lack of materials, lack of good coaches, lack of time because of many lessons, laziness, lack of confidence for girls, many girls don't like sports because of lack of courage"

Cultural beliefs and attitudes

"This photo above show some people refuse sports because they don't know the benefits of sports.
Some girls may not like sports because they feared themselves, for example they think that when you do sports you become like boys."

137

There is, once again, a difference between School 5 and the mixed schools. All of the mixed schools' Physical Difficulties outnumber the Social/Emotional Difficulties almost 2 to 1. Moreover, though shyness is the top response of this theme, none of the latter came from School 5 girls. Instead, School 5 girls' difficulties were: a lack of time, a lack of encouragement, a lack of role models, and a lack of participation, as well as cultural beliefs and attitudes. In contrast, School 1 girls' only reported difficulty for this theme was shyness. Another interesting comparison can be made between School 5 and School 3 responses. Although both schools have the same total of responses for this theme (11), every sub-theme is completely different, with the exception of lack of participation. Where School 5 identified a response, School 3 did not, and vice versa. Again, the small sample of schools that does not allow for generalizations or extrapolations, however, the contrasting data between the mixed schools and the all-girl school can highlight a gendered nature of shyness as girls who engage in physical activity alongside boys report different social and emotional difficulties than girls who engage in these activities with only other girls.

c. Top responses in Material Difficulties.

Finally, the top responses for Material Difficulties are as follows: sportswear (27,8%), playing fields (25%), equipment (22%), and coaches (22%).

Sportswear

"Lack of sportswear and playground.
- High weight
- Lack of sports wear."

Playing fields

"We have a problem of our playgrounds which are destroyed We have a problem of balls and other stuff."

Equipment

"- Lack of materials, for example: ballon, round (ikibuga)
- To have a big size or to become big
- Lack of role models in sports"

Coaches

"This photo represents how girls we do not have coach while boys have in any game."

School 5 reported 61% of the material difficulties responses. With the remaining 39% of the responses spread out across the four other schools, we can see how the gendered social/emotional difficulties greatly outnumber the material difficulties in mixed school contexts. Indeed, with the exception of School 5, the social/emotional difficulties outnumber the material difficulties almost 2 to 1. In reverse, School 5 provided 22 responses in the Material Difficulties theme. Although

School 1 is the most well equipped school and only had one response identifying a lack of sportswear, the other three schools also had a small number of responses for this theme, that is three for School 2, five for School 3, and five for School 4. The data of the other three schools (2, 3, and 4) is consistent and proportionately dispersed throughout all three themes.

Finally, the girls identified almost the same number of likes in Question 1 as difficulties in Question 2, that is, 162 and 158 respectively.

5.3.3. Question 3: What can be done to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in school?

The total number of responses for this theme is 140. The responses are split almost evenly between both themes, that is, 50,7% for Material Solutions and 49,3% for Social/Emotional Solutions.

a. Top responses in Material Solutions.

The Material Solutions responses are very evenly distributed across four of the five top answers: sportswear/shoes (22,5%), playing fields (22,5%), equipment (21%), coaches/teachers (21%), and balanced diet (7%).

<table>
<tr><td align="center">Sportswear/shoes</td><td align="center">Playing fields</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>"To change girls' minds:
- sports clothes
- need enough playgrounds"</td><td>"Bringing gym for girls
Giving glucose after playing
Providing suitable bras for avoiding movements of breasts
Good playgrounds"</td></tr>
</table>

140

Equipment

Coaches/teachers

"To bring materials that we can use in sports at our school
- To free girls to do easy sports, e.g.: basketball, tennis, volleyball, net ball, cricket..."

"In order to get healthy body we have to practice sports daily as girls and we need to get balanced diet.
Through forming more playgrounds for sports and getting enough sports teachers to teach girls."

Balanced diet

"This photo is about how to improve girls experiences and the reason why we have photograph ourselves is to show you that when you want to improve girls experiences, yes need to give them balanced diets in order to help them in their bodies to be fit and stable during sports."

Although there are slight differences in the priorities at each school, the total number of

responses for each school is more or less evenly distributed (12, 12, 18, 12, and 17) and the data

is spread across the top four answers. Gift to the winners had two responses and sport bras and menstrual pads had one response each.

> ### b. Top responses in Social/Emotional Solutions.

The Social/Emotional Solutions are more varied. Like the Social/Emotional Difficulties, social solutions refer to structural solutions while emotional solutions refer to personal solutions. The social solutions are: increase time requirement, clubs and competitions for girls, inform girls, support and encouragement, gym for girls, teach girls, and changing beliefs and attitudes. The emotional solution is increase confidence. Here is the breakdown: increase time requirement (18,8%), clubs and competitions for girls (16%), inform girls (14,5%), increase confidence (10%), support and encouragement (10%), gym for girls (10%), teach girls (9%), changing beliefs and attitudes (6%).

Increase time requirement

"Do sports everyday"

Clubs and competitions for girls

"Organize friendly matches to have enough training, reserve time for sport, train more often"

Inform girls

"This is photo 3 which represent the answer to Question 3, this showing how the girls can be educated about the importance of doing sports in order to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in school."

Increase confidence

"Q3. What can be done to improve girls' experiences
- To be confident
- To feel that you have power to play sports or to do physical activities
- Not being scared of what you are doing to do and to have hard muscle
- To wear uniform of the team in order to avoid stares"

Support and encouragement

"To encourage girls to do sport in schools because it is so important in life.
- To increase facilities like sports wear and playgrounds.
- To encourage schools to give equal chance for girls and boys."

Gym for girls (easier activities)

"To attend or encourage girls to do physical activity regularly
To encourage them to do easy sports like skipping ropes, jumping, etc.
Giving them nice food after physical activities like fruits."

Teach girls	Changing beliefs and attitudes
"Education for girls about sport. The leader of school have to put more effort in sport for girls. The school must have enough tools. The girls should have the self confidence in sport."	"We need our rights by showing us that we are equal to boys"

Increase time requirement is the top response and the only response that comes across all schools. Furthermore, with a total of 13 and representing 9,3% of Question 3 responses, it figures closely with the top four Material Solutions. As described in the presentation of each school's programming, many schools did not value or invest in PES or PASS and preferred to cut programming to increase the time allocated to academic courses. Although some of the teachers reported that girls were difficult to motivate, the participants in the study report a different perspective and opinion. In addition, eight of the 13 responses come from the two most academic schools in the study (4 and 5). This can highlight the need for an increase in officially scheduled physical activity time for girls to feel they can take time off from their academic activities to participate in programming.

The second most popular response was sports clubs and competitions for girls. Interestingly, even School 5 had two responses in this sub-theme, further corroborating their

suggested solution to increase time requirements for PES. Also noteworthy is School 3's five responses for this sub-theme. Even though the school was implementing a mandatory weekly PES class and the Sports Master reported having difficulty motivating girls to participate, the girls in the study reported wanting more activities specifically for girls. School 4 has the remaining four responses. This is less surprising since the Disciplinary Prefect had only started to implement activities for girls and reported that there were no sport teams for girls at the time of the study.

The third top response was to inform girls about the benefits of physical activity. The latter was also linked to the sub-theme of weight loss. For example, responses included: "Encourage the ones that are fat to do sports because it helps them to lose weight," and "[to better understand] the importance of sports in our lives before getting discouraged by the figures we have."

Increase confidence and support and encouragement received the same number of responses (7). Examples of responses for increase confidence are: "To have self-confidence when doing sports to show what we can do this on our own," "Not be scared of what you are doing and having hard muscles," and "To encourage girls not to be shy and do sports." Examples for support and encouragement are: "Need support so that they can prove what they know," and "Encourage schools to give equal chance for girls and boys." Remarkably, it is School 1, the mixed school with the most sports teams and activities for girls, that has the highest number of responses for this sub-theme (4), closely followed by School 5, the all-girl school with a long running PES program with two responses. I would argue that because School 1 and School 5 girls have more access to PASS and PES and thus participate in greater numbers, confidence issues are more likely to be experienced in comparison to schools where girls are not participating as much and are still waiting for girl teams and activities adapted to their needs. Indeed, the school with

the least programming for girls, School 4, has the highest number of responses for support and encouragement (3).

Gym for girls and teach girls how to play sports also have similar numbers of responses, seven and six respectively. Girls are thus asking for programming to be adapted to their level of fitness, needs, and interests and want to be taught how to play different sports. For example: "Give them the rules and regulations so that they can do sports," "Include easy sports, e.g. skipping rope, jumping, stretching," and "To free girls to do easy sports."

With only four responses, the last sub-theme to figure in the top responses is changing beliefs and attitudes. Examples of responses are: "Changing minds that girls are also able to do sports," "Girls should love sports," and "We need our rights by showing us that we are equal to boys." Although this sub-theme only represents 6% of Question 3 responses, these citations draw attention to the beliefs and attitudes that shape the socio-cultural context within which girls experience PASS and substantiate the responses asking for more support and encouragement to increase girls' confidence. Through their requests for increased time requirement, clubs, and competitions for girls, information about the benefits of sports, support, and encouragement, and for learning how to play sports, the girls indicate their desire for social spaces where their participation in PASS and PES is validated, encouraged, and to their benefit.

5.4. Summary of Results: Bringing forward girls' perspectives to targeted decision-makers

The following table summarizes the responses per question and per school from most recurring to least recurring. The "+" sign indicates that the responses were provided the same number of times.

Table 13

Summary of Girls' Responses

Questions	Question 1 Likes	Question 2 Difficulties	Question 3 Solutions
Schools			
1	1. Good physical health 2. Lose weight 3. Strength + Fun 4. Refresh the mind 5. Protection from diseases + Other (social) 6. Relaxation + Physically fit + Other (mental)	1. Big breasts 2. Big figure + Weakness + Pains/injuries 3. Big buttocks + Menstruation + Shyness 4. Laziness 5. Lack of sportswear	1. Sportswear/shoes 2. Increase confidence 3. Equipment 4. Coaches/teachers + Playing fields + Support and encouragement + Increase time requirements 5. Inform girls + Gym for girls + Changing beliefs and attitudes + Motivation
2	1. Strength 2. Lose weight 3. Good physical health + Protection from diseases 4. Refresh the mind 5. Physically fit + Reduce stress + Fun +Keep busy	1. Pains/injuries 2. Menstruation 3. Big breasts + Big buttocks + Lack of coaches for girls 4. Big figure + Weakness + Shyness + Lack of time + Cultural beliefs + Lack of sportswear + Lack of equipment + Lack of playing field	1. Coaches/teachers 2. Gym for girls 3. Sportswear/shoes + Playing fields + Balanced diet + Support and encouragement 4. Equipment + Menstrual pads + Teach girls + Increase time requirements + Changing beliefs and attitudes + Friendships
3	1. Good physical health 2. Lose weight 3. Relaxation 4. Protection from diseases 5. Strength + Fun 6. Physically fit + Refresh the mind + Reduce stress + Other (mental) + Friendship + Career 7. Keep busy	1. Weakness 2. Pains/injuries 3. Shyness 4. Cultural beliefs + Lack of playing fields 5. Big breasts + Menstruation + Sweating + Lack of permission + Lack of sportswear 6. Big figure + Fainting + Lack of participation	1. Playing fields 2. Sports clubs and competitions 3. Sportswear/shoes + Balanced diet + Inform girls 4. Equipment + Coaches/teachers + Increase time requirements + Gym for girls + Changing beliefs and attitudes 5. Gift to winners + Sports bras + Increase confidence + Teach girls
4	1. Strength + Refresh the mind 2. Protection from diseases	1. Weakness 2. Menstruation 3. Lack of participation +	1. Equipment + Inform girls + Teach girls + Increase time

	3. Other (mental) 4. Good physical health + Lose weight + Career 5. Fun + Friendship + Other (social)	Lack of coaches 4. Lack of confidence 5. Big figure + Big breasts + Pains/injuries + Laziness + Fainting + Lack of time + Lack of permission + Lack of encouragement + Lack of sportswear + Lack of equipment	requirements + Sports clubs and competitions 2. Sportswear/shoes + Support and encouragement 3. Coaches/teachers + Playing fields 4. Gift to winners + Gym for girls + Motivation
5	1. Refresh the mind 2. Strength 3. Protection from diseases + Relaxation 4. Good physical health 5. Friendship 6. Lose weight + Reduce stress 7. Other (social)	1. Lack of equipment 2. Lack of sportswear + Lack of playing field + Lack of coaches 3. Lack of time 4. Lack of role models + Lack of participation 5. Big figure + Weakness + Pains/injuries + Laziness + Lack of recuperation + Lack of encouragement + Cultural beliefs + Lack of confidence + Lack of competition	1. Equipment + Coaches/teachers 2. Playing fields + Increase time requirements 3. Sportswear/shoes 4. Increase confidence + Inform girls + Sports clubs and competitions 5. Role models
All schools combined	1. Good physical health 2. Strength 3. Refresh the mind 4. Lose weight 5. Protection from diseases 6. Relaxation 7. Fun 8. Friendship + Other (mental) 9. Reduce stress 10. Be physically fit + Career + Other (social) 11. Keep busy	1. Weakness 2. Pains/injuries 3. Big breasts + Menstruation 4. Lack of sportswear 5. Shyness + Lack of playing fields 6. Big figure +Lack of equipment + Lack of coaches 7. Lack of time + Lack of participation 8. Big buttocks + Cultural beliefs 9. Laziness 10. Lack of permission + Lack of confidence 11. Fainting + Sweating + Lack of encouragement + Lack of coaches for girls + Lack of role models 12. Lack of recuperation + Lack of competitions	1. Sportswear/shoes + Playing fields 2. Equipment + Coaches/teachers 3. Increase time requirements 4. Sports clubs and competitions for girls 5. Inform girls 6. Increase confidence + Support and encouragement + Gym for girls 7. Teach girls 8. Balanced diet 9. Changing beliefs and attitudes 10. Gift to winners + Motivation 11. Sports bras + Menstrual pads + Role models + Friendships

This organization of the results was used to develop the photo-report interview tools per school and for the experts and ministries. After the second reading of the data post fieldwork, some of the sub-themes were slightly modified and/or shifted in the order of recurrence. These results will be further analyzed and discussed in the following chapter describing the semi-structured interviews with the decision-makers.

5.5. Summary

This chapter began with an explanation of how I organized and worked with the Photovoice data to identify recurring themes and sub-themes. Then, after a brief description of each school's programming, I presented and analyzed the top recurring responses and made comparisons between schools and groups. To carry over the discussion of the girls' perspectives with the decision-makers, the chapter ended with a summary of the girls' responses.

In this chapter, I describe and analyze the interviews with the decision-makers. I focus on the decision-makers' reactions to the girls' feedback and suggestions, their perspectives on the issues raised, their suggestions for improving girls' experiences of PES, and their suggestions for improving PES in general. The decision-makers are presented in the order in which they were interviewed: 1) the five PES teachers from the participating schools, 2) the four experts, and 3) the three representatives from three different ministries. Along with the girls' photographs and responses, the reactions of the PES teachers gathered during their interviews were also presented to the experts and the ministries in the preliminary report for experts and in interview questions (please see appendix 6 for the interview questions for the PES teachers and appendix 7 for the interview questions for the experts).

6.1. Physical Education Teachers

The same interview questions were asked to the five PES teachers. After the teachers answered questions on the PES or PASS programming at their school, I provided them with a copy of the photo-report of their specific school. We went over each question and the girls' responses. When the teacher finished looking at the photographs and the responses to the question, I asked "What do you think of these answers? Is there something that strikes you? Which photo stands out for you and why?" I then opened the discussion to explore their personal experiences of teaching PES to girls and their suggestions for improving girls' experiences of programming. I asked the following five open-ended questions:

> 1. Are there different concerns in working with girls and physical activity/sports in school than working with boys and physical activity/sports in school?
>
> 2. How has working with girls in physical activity/sports in school changed over time? What accounts for these changes?
>
> 3. What changes would you like to see to physical activity/sports in school programs for girls? What do you suggest needs/can be done to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in school?
>
> 4. How do you see your role in improving girls' experiences of physical activity?
>
> 5. What do you suggest program and policy experts do to help teachers and sports masters improve girls' experiences of physical activity in school?

At the end, I asked the teachers if they had any questions they would like me to answer. Only two teachers posed a few questions: School 1 and School 4. We discussed their issues of concern before ending the interview.

6.1.1. Reactions to the girls' feedback and suggestions.

The teachers' reactions to the girls' responses are categorized as either being in full agreement, partial agreement, or disagreement with the issues raised. These three themes frame the analysis of the teachers' and the experts' interviews to emphasize the validity and relevance of girls' contributions to PES program development and implementation, and thus justify their integration into programming development and evaluation processes. As is detailed below, the teachers were in agreement with the majority of girls' responses and where in partial agreement or disagreement with only a handful of issues.

a. Teachers in agreement with girls' perspectives.

Three of the five teachers expressed their full agreement with what the girls reported liking about their PES or PASS programming, while all five teachers agreed with the majority of the girls' difficulties. They also provided examples of the measures they implemented to support and encourage girls and the challenges they faced to do so. In discussing girls' difficulties, the

teachers explained the interconnectedness of some of the issues raised. For instance, the lack of knowledge of sport rules and regulations was observed by some teachers to have an impact on the number of injuries girls experienced, which in return, made it more difficult for them to convince girls to participate. Having a bigger figure, being shy, lazy, and fatigued were also observed by teachers as being entangled difficulties. For example, the School 1 teacher remarked that for some girls, their bigger figures "also [made] them shy" and too afraid to try the exercises. He believed that girls were "generally lazy" and tended to "stop easily." The lack of coaches, equipment, and playing fields was reported by four of the five teachers as directly limiting opportunities and support for girls' participation while overburdening teachers. They acknowledged that having only one coach for an entire school was a significant problem for both students and teachers: "Girls need to be assisted by coaches but one coach cannot supervise 1000 students. I do my best" (School 2 teacher). The lack of playing fields and equipment, or their current state of disrepair, also limited access to girls. The School 5 teacher, for example, explained how it was difficult to schedule the school's 20 PES classes on their one playing field, even if he agreed with the girls' request to increase the time requirements for PES. The lack of a nutritious diet was also identified as having a negative impact on girls' motivation to participate in activities. The School 3 teacher succinctly addressed the issue when he observed: "Can't do different exercises and then eat beans everyday for six years." He further explained that many students participated in the activities at the beginning of the semester but then dropped out by mid-term because of a lack of nutritious meals. The School 5 teacher observed the same problem at his school. He agreed that the lack of food and refreshments after engaging in physical activity demoralized some students, but that, unfortunately, the school could not afford to provide extra food to students taking part in PES and the extra-curricular sport activities.

The teachers also drew attention to different facets of girls' lack of encouragement and role models in PES and PASS. First, they stressed how parents,' school authorities,' and other teachers' lack of knowledge of the benefits of sport resulted in a generalized lack of encouragement and support of student participation in PES and PASS across the country. The School 3 and 4 teachers provided examples of the immediate impact the attitude of a Head Master can have on programming. At School 3, the previous Head Master valued PES, helped the PES teacher to organize and implement the program, and helped to organize matches between teachers and students. However, the current Head Master, in position since 2011, was difficult to convince each time the PES teacher made a request to improve the programming and cancelled the matches between students and teachers. In addition, the school administration and the parents did not implement the usual consequences and punishments when students skipped a PES class, thereby sending a strong message to students that participation in PES was not important or valued. At School 4, although the Head Master had refused to hire a new PES teacher and delegated the organization and implementation of PASS to the Disciplinary Prefect, the latter explained that the students noticed the Head Master participating in the school's jogging activity, along with other school authorities and teachers:

> As soon as I started raising awareness and the students saw me running with them, they were very motivated. The last time we went running, I was with the school principal (a woman), the students, and the Prefect of Studies who is a woman. I believe that if the students see that everyone participates ... they are very motivated. I believe that it is good for the students to see the school authorities participating in these activities. (School 4 teacher)

Second, the teachers brought forward issues of support and encouragement that were specific to girls. Though they agreed that they played a significant role in encouraging and supporting girls, some faced challenges as male teachers teaching girls. For instance, the School 2 teacher valued his role in motivating girls and helping them to develop their skills:

153

Somehow girls are rejected and don't have confidence. As someone in charge, I can help them to make the effort to perform and to practice because practice makes perfect. I can encourage them to do sports. For some girls, it is their first time to do sports. I have to teach them, give instructions and encourage them.

However, the School 3 teacher believed that female teachers or coaches could better understand and support girls because girls did not feel comfortable with a male PES teacher. He further explained that when a girl had difficulty with or failed an exercise, he interpreted it as misbehavior or blamed the student for not wanting to practice. He thought a female PES teacher would better understand girls' challenges rather than interpreting her difficulties as misbehavior or laziness, and therefore could better support and encourage her. Yet, he also noted that there were few female coaches and PES teachers in Rwanda as the KIE PES program was new. Indeed, at the time of the interview, there were a total of seven trained female PES teachers in the entire country. Nevertheless, he still believed that his role was to provide training and to explain the benefits of sport to all students.

All five teachers reported being intrinsically motivated to teach, support, and encourage girls to the best of their ability and knowledge. For example, although the School 4 teacher acknowledged having difficulty understanding the differences between girls' and boys' physical abilities, he was committed to adapting his activities to respect girls' level of fitness during the school jogging and fitness exercises and to create, for the first time at his school, all-girl teams for football, basketball, and volleyball. To increase girls' participation, the School 1 teacher implemented various measures, such as working with different coaches, acquiescing to girls' request for more activities (volleyball, football, aerobics, badminton, and woodball), and informing students of post-secondary sport scholarships. Also, after observing that girls who were members of sport teams felt "treasured" to have their own team, felt "great and proud" of their teams, and that all-girl teams had attracted more girls, he increased the number of players

per team as well as the number of teams to allow more girls to participate. Nonetheless, the School 5 teacher drew attention to the limitations he faced to properly encourage girls. He commented on the lack of support and encouragement for girls who had talent and were interested in competitive sport as well as for girls who did not have sport talent but still wanted to participate in physical activity and sport. He explained that there used to be a program paid by the sport federations where School 5 volleyball and basketball teams could play against club teams. These competitions provided more opportunities for School 5 girls to play with and meet more advanced players. Other schools used to participate as well and the federations would cover the costs of transportation for the teams. Unfortunately this program stopped two years before the time of the interview because of a lack of funds and since then, competitions only took place during the first term of the school year. As for the girls who did not have the potential to join teams, he believed that more girls would become interested in participating if there were more playing fields. An increase in the number of fields would enable the girls who did not make the sport teams to also have access to the fields and equipment in order to play for fun. He said the only option was for girls to jog on the weekends.

Finally, the five teachers agreed with several of the girls' suggested solutions to improve programming, such as increasing the number of physical activities, sports, and teams, recognizing the importance of support and encouragement, prizes for winners of competitions to motivate students, implementing easier physical activities, teaching girls how to play sport, organizing competitions for girls, and increasing the time requirements for PES.

b. Teachers in partial agreement with girls' issues.

There were two issues of concern with which three teachers were only in partial agreement with the girls. The first issue was girls' physical weakness relative to boys. Both the School 1 and 4 teachers agreed that girls were weaker than the boys but believed that their relative weakness

155

depended on the level of difficulty of the activity. Both acknowledged that most girls struggled with certain exercises, such as push-ups. The School 1 teacher explained that girls could sometimes want to try an exercise that was beyond their level of fitness and that in cases like these, he would advise girls to first start with simpler exercises that would help them to develop their strength. However, the teacher also observed that some girls would "run away when it [was] too hard for them" since, according to him, "they [were] shy" and "[did not] want to be seen." The School 4 teacher agreed that it was "normal" for girls to be weaker but specified that this was "not always true" since there were many exercises that girls could do and that could help them to become stronger and to better engage in physical activity and sport.

The second and last issue was raised by the School 2 teacher who, in response to girls' reporting feeling more pain than boys, said "girls have no confidence, are not comfortable, think of themselves as less than boys. But they can perform too when they do practice. Boys' and girls' understanding is not the same, but they can perform."

c. Teachers in disagreement with girls' issues.

Only two teachers disagreed with some of the girls' issues. The School 4 teacher identified four issues with which he was in disagreement. He was surprised that girls had identified "lack of time due to domestic activities" as a difficulty. He said that this might be the case in their home environment but that it was not the case in the school context because both boys and girls had the same domestic responsibilities. Every student must clean their dormitories and their school uniforms and must follow the task calendar. However, he was not surprised by the girls' difficulty with not being given the permission to leave the school grounds to participate in sport. He clarified, however, that access to the playing field situated outside of the school grounds was restricted as a disciplinary measure. The students were only given permission when someone could supervise their activities. The only exceptions made were for the students who were part of

the competitive running team and for students who organized their own special activity. He also disagreed with the girls' request to "give an equal chance to girls and boys." According to him, "girls are given equal chances but they are not really interested in participating." Finally, in response to the request for an increase in time allocated to PASS activities, he explained:

> It is not easy to do because their primary objective here is to study. We do have an hour after courses, which is an hour where everyone can practice sport. We also have weekends because the students do not have courses. I believe that students can practice a lot, even in the mornings and afternoons. Courses start at 8:00 every weekday morning. I believe that if the child wants to do sports, he can still take 20 minutes between 5:30 and 6:00 in the morning. I believe it is enough time for girls and boys.

The School 1 teacher also disagreed with one issue. The girls requested that the school provide sportswear. The teacher explained that a t-shirt and a pair of shorts were already provided to every student and that the school also provided a good quality basketball jersey to team members.

6.1.2. Teaching physical education and sport to girls.

During the second half of the interview, the teachers discussed their experiences of teaching PES or PASS to girls, their ideas to improve programming for girls, and their suggestions for program and policy experts.

a. Differences between boys and girls.

The main differences teachers observed between boys and girls were: girls' enjoyment of aerobics (gymnastics) classes, their dislike of football, their general lack of knowledge of sport rules and regulations, and their lack of energy, skill, and confidence in comparison to boys.

The teachers from the two schools (1 and 5) that implemented aerobics classes saw a marked difference between girls' participation in this activity in comparison to other sports. In both schools, although the classes were new and participation was optional, the number of girls attending the weekly classes had rapidly grown to approximately 100 and the teachers noticed

157

their enjoyment of this activity. The School 1 teacher observed that girls were more cooperative than boys, and that they participated in greater numbers than boys: "though sometimes they are a bit lazy, they are very cooperative, they like gymnastics so much." As a result, he planned on adding a second class the following term as the hall was already filled to capacity. He noted that bigger girls also participated and that girls commented that they felt better, felt less tired, had more energy to study, and were having fun. Similarly, the School 5 teacher noticed that the girls had fun and saw this activity as a form of entertainment.

As for their participation in sport, the teachers reported girls' generalized dislike of football and their difficulties in taking part and keeping up with team-sport activities in comparison to boys. They explained that the majority of girls did not enjoy football as much as the boys because they believed this sport is "a man's game" (School 1 teacher). The School 2 teacher further explained:

> In Rwandan culture, girls enjoy traditional dances, they are happy, they have talent. But in other sports they have challenges, they don't understand. They think that a lady cannot practice athletics and football or she will be like a man. This is according to the culture.

Indeed, even the School 5 teacher who taught PES at an all-girl school commented that the majority of girls thought football was for boys. He remarked that the football teams were comprised of younger girls and that as they got older they tended to start playing other sports because they felt too "grown up" for football. The School 1 teacher also noticed a difference between girls' participation in football versus basketball and volleyball. Even though some girls were very interested in the female football teams, the basketball and volleyball teams were much more popular. While girls were generally attracted to certain sports over others, all five teachers commented on girls' lack of knowledge of sport rules and regulations and how this negatively impacted their participation in comparison to boys. For example, the School 3 teacher explained

that before starting secondary school, the boys generally already knew the rules and regulations of different sports, enjoyed playing sports, understood very quickly, and were fans of local and international sport teams. Girls, however, needed an explanation as to why they should participate and needed to learn the rules and regulations of different sports. Their lack of knowledge resulted in a lack of practice and skill development, which in turn resulted in a lack of fitness and a difficulty in keeping up with the boys. The School 2 teacher noted that boys performed with higher levels of energy, whereas girls did not have the energy to practice or perform due to what he identified as a lack of skill and understanding of the different sports. He specified that although some girls were very good, most of them were not, and all of the high performers were boys. He also compared boys and girls in relation to their behaviors while engaging in PASS. He noticed that boys were confident in facing and solving challenges and obstacles, whereas girls lacked confidence, were afraid of obstacles, and were weak when facing a challenge. Nonetheless, he strongly believed that because boys and girls were currently being taught the same program in the same conditions and context, girls could also become high performers and improve their skill level to reach the boys' level. Both he and the School 5 teacher explained that, with exposure and practice, girls were improving their skills, abilities, and fitness levels.

b. Suggested solutions to improve physical education and sport programming.
Although the five teachers had varying sport and teaching backgrounds and were working with different types of programming, the suggested solutions were remarkably similar and revolved around training, involving parents and school authority figures, and organizing inter-school competitions. The suggestions in terms of training were to offer the following: 1) official training courses and refresher training courses, 2) professional development workshops where PES teachers could come together and share ideas, 3) technical information and skills training in order

159

to develop skill level and confidence in both training and teaching abilities, 4) training on how to manage sports programs in schools, 5) certificates of qualification for short term technical training to teach specific sports, 6) training on a variety of easier activities and exercises that can be adapted to girls' abilities and skills, and 7) training more women specialists in PES. As for involving parents and school authority figures, the teachers suggested informing parents of the importance and benefits of doing PES at school so that they could motivate and support students, encourage them to participate, and provide the necessary materials (sportswear, shoes, extra food). The teachers, as mentioned above, also indicated how school authority figures and other teachers needed to value and invest in PES and to be active role models in order to motivate the students. In terms of inter-school competitions, the teachers strongly suggested to organize competitions year long, rather than being limited to the first term of school, in order for students to stay motivated year long, to improve their skill level, and to stay fit. They also recommended offering trophies, cash prizes, and sponsorships to motivate students.

In sum, the teachers and the girls agreed on the majority of the structural, cultural, and gendered challenges in PES and PASS programming at the secondary school level and the potential beneficial role that this programming can play for all students. Partial agreements and disagreements were minor and contextualized.

6.2. Policy and Program Experts

Four Rwandan experts were interviewed: two PES experts and two gender experts. The two PES experts, both men, were a PES Lecturer and the Sport Officer at KIE and the two gender experts, both women, were the Gender Specialist at the Canadian International Development Agency-Project Support Unit (CIDA-PSU) and a Program Officer (scholarship and mentoring) at the Forum of African Women Educationalists-Rwanda (FAWE Rwanda). The semi-structured interview questions prepared for the experts resembled those of the teachers' interviews (see

appendices 7 and 8). I gave each interviewee a copy of the photo-report for experts and a copy of the preliminary report for experts (see chapter 4). I had intended for the interviews to begin with questions on programming and personal experience, followed by their reactions to girls' and teachers' feedback and suggestions, and ending with a discussion on their suggestions to improve programming. However, the flow of the interviews greatly differed between the PES experts and the gender experts. The interviews with the PES experts flowed as intended and in a similar way as the interviews with the PES teachers. We began with programming and personal information, they then reacted to each of the girls' responses by flipping through the photo-report and the teachers' feedback through specific questions, and we ended discussing their issues of concern and suggested solutions. They both gave their perspectives and opinions, and like the teachers, they either agreed, partially agreed, or disagreed with the girls' responses and provided contextual information to further elaborate on certain issues. The interviews with the gender experts, however, flowed like a conversation from the very start of the interview. As a result, for both gender experts, I followed their lead and put the prepared semi-structured interviews aside. The photo-report remained at the center of and guided the conversation on the issues brought forward by the girls.

The PES Lecturer had been in position since 2002, obtained an MA diploma from a South African university, and also had ten years of experience teaching PES at an all girls' school. During the interviews, the Lecturer and the Sport Officer both drew from their past experiences teaching secondary schoolgirls and from their current experiences of teaching university-aged young women. It is important to note that, although they had similar past experiences and were both teaching at the same institution, their experiences teaching at the time of the interview differed in that the Lecturer was working with the very few young women enrolled in the PES

teacher training program, while the Sport Officer was working with young women taking part in extra-curricular activities.

The Sport Officer was in charge of the extra-curricular PASS program that was offered to all KIE students and therefore was not a policy or program expert. Though I had not intended to interview someone in his position because I had already interviewed the schools' PES/PASS teachers, when I asked the facilitators for KIE experts in PES to interview, I was introduced to him and he agreed to be interviewed. I mistakenly thought he was a PES professor and from the first interview questions, he clarified his position. He still agreed to be interviewed and told me he would introduce me to a PES lecturer after the interview, which he did. I decided to include his interview in the experts' section rather than the PES teachers' section because his profile differed from that of the other PES teachers. He was licensed in PES, had ten years of experience teaching PES at an all-girls secondary school in Burundi, and he occupied the position of Sport Officer at a tertiary-level institution.

The interview with the CIDA-PSU Gender Specialist was short and informal as it took place over a dinner meeting. The girls' photographs and responses impressed her and she agreed with the issues raised. After looking at the photo-report, she recounted her personal experience with sport as a young woman part of a volleyball team. Although she loved playing volleyball, she took the difficult decision to stop playing when her coach changed the sportswear and the entire team had to wear shorts. Because of her Catholic beliefs and upbringing, it was indecent for her to show that much skin. She was very saddened by this since she really enjoyed the sport. At the end of the interview, she explained that she would share the two reports with her colleagues at the PSU office and at the Canadian ambassador's office.

The interview with the FAWE Rwanda expert was more formal and took place at her office. The expert first commented on the Photovoice method and said that she liked the fact that

the girls' themselves took photographs and were free to answer as they wished. She then recounted her personal experience as a competitive athlete in secondary school before we discussed more generalized and current gender issues in relation to girls' experiences with PES and PASS in Rwanda.

6.2.1 Experts' reactions to girls' feedback and suggestions.

The interview data are presented through the following four major themes: 1) validation of girls' perspectives, 2) girls' interest in PES, 3) feminine and masculine gender norms, and 4) increasing girls' participation in PES and improving programming.

a. *Validation of girls' perspectives.*

The PES and gender experts agreed with the majority of the issues raised by the girls, while the PES experts partially agreed with a number of girls' concerns and provided more contextualization and nuance in discussing these issues. The only issue of contention was girls' interest in PES.

b. *Girls' interest in physical education and sport.*

The Lecturer and the two gender experts completely agreed with what the girls reported liking about PES and PASS, while the Sport Officer strongly opposed their responses. According to him, because the majority of girls did not like PES, the responses provided to a question asking them what they liked about PES were to be discarded. He explained:

> The girls answered this just to give an answer. They just said anything. Even if it is true what they said, they actually do not do the activities. You always have to force them to do sports. ... Very few of them like it. Those who do like it, like it a lot and will participate. They don't like it because of culture ... They do not like to wear shorts.

Because five teachers from five different schools and three experts from different fields fully agreed with 196 girls' responses, I believe that the data are valid. My interpretation of the Sport Officer's disregard of the girls' "likes" is that he immediately saw the difficulties girls regularly

face that hinder their lived experiences of PES. I argue that one should not disregard their responses on the count that they are not always experienced due to significant difficulties. Though they may not always be experienced, it does not mean that they are never experienced and is not what the girls enjoy about PES or would like to further enjoy about PES. Rather than discrediting the responses, I believe his reaction confirms the significance of the difficulties girls reported facing as he agreed or partially agreed with the majority of the challenges raised by the girls. I think this highlights the work that still needs to be to done in order for girls to fully and regularly experience what they report enjoying about PES. In fact, the two gender experts' personal experiences with PES counter the Sport Officer's reactions and support the analysis of girls liking PES despite facing difficulties and barriers. Both experts reported enjoying their respective activities, even if the FAWE Rwanda expert was saddened by the lack of support and opposition from her family members and even if the CIDA-PSU expert was saddened by her conflicting religious and cultural beliefs that frowned upon young women wearing shorts.

In elaborating his perspective on girls' interest in PES, the Sport Officer also made three contradicting remarks throughout the interview. He first explained that girls "have to start playing sports at the secondary level or else they won't do any at the university level." He then when on to say that "at the university level, those who were doing sports stop participating [as] they mostly want to look for a boyfriend or a husband [and] therefore act like girls and stop sports." Later in the interview, he commented, "if they have not started to play at the secondary level, at the university level they are envious of the girls who had opportunities to start younger." My interpretation of these contradictions is that there is some truth in each statement. One could argue that they underscore girls' and young women's diverse experiences and levels of interests in PES, in that some girls may stop participating when they reach university, some young women may be envious of other's previous experiences with PES, while others may decide to try these

activities for the first time when they reach their post-secondary studies. These diverse experiences are also in line with the School 1 teacher's observation that some girls had tried to discourage other girls from participating in the new sport leagues, while other girls were motivated by the fact that girls were playing on these teams. Not all girls or young women are going to be interested in or enjoy PES or PASS, regardless of the type of programming or cultural context.

c. Feminine and masculine gender norms.

The experts also discussed issues around feminine and masculine gender norms, specifically, girls' desire to lose weight and girls' fear of becoming like boys. Although the two male PES experts recognized Rwandan cultural norms that masculinize girls' participation in sport, they both downplayed the significance of this barrier in today's evolving Rwandan context. Conversely, both female gender experts fully agreed with this difficulty. Their differing perspectives on this issue led to both sets of experts recommending different types of role models for girls.

All four experts agreed with girls' response of losing weight as something they enjoyed from their participation in PES and their difficulty of having a bigger figure. According to the Sport Officer: "Sports helps to lose weight. It is true that at adolescence, with puberty, girls gain weight. But sports helps to lose weight." He added that the "bigger girls and the very skinny girls [were] embarrassed to wear shorts." The Lecturer acknowledged that "Rwandan women and girls [could] be very curvy and this [was] an obstacle for them." Even if the FAWE Rwanda expert acknowledged that girls were interested in losing weight for aesthetic purposes, she also discussed the significant health benefits of physical activity for girls. Since the most popular "like" was to be healthy, girls demonstrated that this was an issue of concern for them. The FAWE Rwanda expert commented that physical activity could sometimes help to lessen

menstruation pain, could help to have a healthier pregnancy, could help with dieting, and could contribute to an overall feeling of wellbeing.

As for the fear of becoming like boys, both PES experts disagreed with the girls. The Lecturer explained: "The fear is starting to not so much have an impact as before. With a field, equipment, and a teacher, sports for girls goes well. It's not a problem." Similarly, the Sport Officer first responded by saying that although he could understand what the girls meant, he believed that girls currently taking part in PES activities were not considered like boys and therefore strongly disagreed with their fear of becoming like boys. Despite confirming that professional women athletes competing at the highest levels were in fact masculinized, he believed that "at the local level, [girls] are mostly encouraged to see other girls play." Though he also acknowledged that as the girls started "to feel like young women, [they started] to think of other activities and dropp[ed] sports and football," he insisted that the football played by girls at the secondary school level "is not the football that makes a girl become like a boy" because "the football they practice is simply 'just for fun'." He believed that girls' fear of being perceived as masculine was "not true" and was simply used as "a way to hide from sports." I then asked him why he thought girls might want to hide from sports and he replied:

> Football for girls is very new, not even four years old, and so this is a sport that is not known by girls. It is not spread out throughout the country yet. Therefore how can they say that a girl that practices football becomes like a boy? Football for boys is very different, the energy they put out. Also, boys identify to football players, but girls do not have anyone to identify to. ... Girls are intimidated because football takes a lot of energy and is watched by many people.

Though there may be different levels of masculinization depending on the level at which it is being played, football remains masculinized to the extent where this can strongly discourage girls' participation, as confirmed by the teachers interviewed.

166

In contrast, the FAWE Rwanda expert discussed her personal experience as a competitive athlete in secondary school and how she was masculinized through her participation in sport. Her aunt had repeatedly told her to stop playing sports because her arms were becoming too strong and this made her look like a boy. She also had difficulty attending competitions because to do so, she had to leave the school grounds and this was interpreted as acting like a boy. While both PES experts downplayed girls' fear of being too masculine in the current Rwandan socio-cultural context, she agreed that girls' fear of becoming like boys remained relevant and valid, especially for girls who did not have an interest in sport or physical activity. Though her personal experience with the masculinization of sport was many years ago, her niece was currently facing a similar barrier. At the time of the interview, the expert was supporting her participation in football, despite her mother's insistence that the girl stopped practicing sport. Football for girls is a very new development in Rwanda and girls' fear of becoming like boys remains a considerable issue.

The PES experts and the FAWE Rwanda expert strongly agreed with girls' reported need for role models. The Lecturer explained: "This is a major problem. We need women trainers, this way girls don't have to worry. There is a lack of examples for girls to follow. This is a handicap for girls." As a matter of fact, the FAWE Rwanda expert, even as a female competitive athlete herself and with the responsibility of overseeing girls' programming at an all-girl secondary school, admitted that she had never thought of asking FAWE's current role models, who regularly spoke to the girls at the two all-girl secondary schools about a variety of issues, to speak about the importance of physical activity. She thought this could be a good way to increase girls' interest and participation in physical activity and also gave the example of the Rwandan First Lady who regularly jogged and took part in aerobics classes every week. However, the experts suggested different types of role models. In line with their belief that fears of masculinization

were no longer of concern, the PES experts suggested that girls now needed athletic female role models that proved girls were capable of playing sports. In other words, they believed girls needed to see other girls with the necessary strength and skill developed through practice. On the contrary, the FAWE Rwanda expert took into account girls' fear of masculinization and instead stressed the importance of feminine and academically/professionally successful women and girls engaging in physical activity for fun and wellbeing. Nevertheless, all three underscored the importance of role models to not only encourage girls, but to simply help develop a sport and physical activity culture in Rwanda.

d. Increasing girls' participation in physical education and sport and improving programming.

The experts reacted to some of the difficulties girls' reported limiting their participation and their suggested solutions to improve programming.

For the most popular difficulty identified by the girls, that is, "Weakness, less endurance, tiredness, laziness, more easily hurt," the Lecturer agreed and did not further comment. The Sport Officer, however, partially agreed and his reaction was indicative of the fact that, unlike the majority of the untrained PES teachers interviewed implementing improvised programming in mixed schools, he was a licensed PES teacher at an all girl-school:

> It's false, because the activities that they do are just with girls, it's not boys and girls at the same time. Certain activities are for girls and there are different standards for girls. For example: weight lifting. You will not ask girls to lift 50 kilos.

In contrast, the untrained PES teachers explained that they had difficulty adapting activities to girls alone and a lot of the activities were mixed, involving both boys and girls. However, the Sport Officer corroborated some of the comments from the PES teachers who believed that, even if girls were weak and not as strong as the boys, proper and regular training could increase their strength: "All of the answers provided here are true for a girl that does not do sports. The ones

who do participate and practice will become stronger." In the end, he did agree that some activities were more difficult for girls, but disagreed with the girls listing this issue as a difficulty because, in his experience, "the activities that are implemented are for girls and so these difficulties are not true." As for the difficulty of the "Lack of trained coaches, sportswear, and playing fields," the Sport Officer agreed without comment. The Lecturer mostly agreed but downplayed the problem of sportswear. He explained that sportswear was "not so much of a problem [since] certain schools even ask the parents to provide an amount for sportswear." According to him: "The problem is more at the level of playing fields and equipment for secondary schools. This is a problem even for us, especially where school authorities are not interested. What they said here is true." He also commented on the significance of the lack of trained coaches and teachers throughout the entire education system. Commenting on the primary school level, he observed:

> There is no physical activity experience or physical education at primary school because there are not any trained teachers for that level. During the time for sports or physical education, the teachers at the primary level will just send them off to play.

Then, commenting on the secondary school level, he noted: "There are only 100 graduates for over 500 schools throughout the country." Finally, for the last difficulty of "Other: lack of time, recuperation (extra food), competitions for girls," the Lecturer partially agreed while the Sport Officer agreed with these issues. Both the Lecturer and the Sport Officer recognized that the students who do not board at the school and go home at the end of the day do not have the time to play or practice sports and both recognized the lack of competitions. For this issue, the Sport Officer commented that practicing a sport "without competitions ... is not encouraging," while the Lecturer specified that though "this is true for competitions at the national level, ... there can be inter-class competitions that keep going." He explained that Wednesday afternoons when the students did not have any scheduled classes was a time for sports and that this time needed to be

respected by the school authorities in order for all of the students to participate. In contrast, the PES teacher at School 5 had specifically said that he could not infringe upon club time, which was reserved for Wednesday afternoons. Last, the Sport Officer acknowledged that the lack of recuperation (extra food) was a problem "in all schools."

As for girls' solutions for improving programming, the Lecturer and the Sport Officer agreed with four of the six ideas suggested by the girls. The second most popular solution was to "Offer a greater variety of easier activities and to teach girls how to play different sports." Both experts agreed and discussed the growing popularity of aerobics (gym tonic) in Rwanda, its particular attraction to women and girls, and the benefits of this new activity. The Lecturer explained:

> They are right to ask for a greater variety of activities. Gym tonic is very new, there are local initiatives only. KIE graduates are starting to initiate gym tonic throughout the country. Some are working in hotels teaching gym tonic. At KIE, for the staff, there is gym tonic Friday afternoons. Almost all of the women participate. They work out at their own level. At secondary schools, they tend to focus only on elite teams rather than 'sport for all' activities. ... Activities like gym tonic do not exist in secondary schools. Those who do have it are local initiatives by teachers.

The Sport Officer corroborated his colleague's comments:

> Here are KIE, on Friday afternoons the staff does sports and the majority of women do gym tonic because it is easy, less demanding, and they have the impression that it is good for the body. This is true. It feels good, they keep a good shape ... it is a sport that can be practiced by everyone ... There are no reasons not to do this, it only requires personal sportswear, that's it.

The FAWE Rwanda gender expert spoke about her own participation in aerobics classes and her personal enjoyment of this relatively new activity. She also saw how aerobics could be an easy, inexpensive, and fun way to increase girls' participation in PES. She explained that the Head Mistress at the other all-girl secondary school had been recently complaining that the girls were lazy and said she would call her that afternoon to suggest introducing an aerobics class similar to the one at School 5. She was very enthusiastic and said that she had never thought of the potential

benefits of this activity in a secondary school context for girls, even though she herself knew what aerobics was and had personally enjoyed this activity. I then suggested that the aerobics trainer giving the classes at School 5 could train a teacher at the other all-girl school since the class was popular with the girls. She agreed with this approach.

Both PES experts also wholeheartedly agreed with girls' third solution: "Create sports clubs and organize competitions for girls, to give prizes and trophies to the winners." According to the Lecturer, amateur clubs could increase girls' participation and in return, increase their confidence:

> In schools, they are more interested in and train only elite teams to represent the school at competitions, but the rest of the students are forgotten. Therefore the suggestion to create clubs and to give prizes I agree with. I admire this and support this. We need to create amateur clubs instead of only elite clubs so that girls can participate, can make new friends, and be together. When they see that they can participate and have a chance to play, their confidence will grow.

The Sport Officer explained current practices that favored the recognition of boys' sport successes over girls' sport successes and the importance of giving out prizes of equal value to boys and girls. He described an example from KIE:

> Here we spend a lot of time on boys, much more than girls. We give bigger prizes to boys than the girls, even when they have done the exact same activity or competition. For example, at KIE, there is a big trophy for boys and a little trophy for girls (he points to two trophies on a shelf in his office and one trophy is half the size of the other). We need to encourage girls by giving them the same prizes. We cannot underestimate girls. We need to show girls that they are capable of doing it.

In line with these comments, the PES experts agreed with the fifth solution: "Give an equal chance to girls and boys: motivate girls by providing support and encouragement in order for them to develop self-confidence, use of role models for girls." The Sport Officer did not further comment on this issue, while the Lecturer reiterated the need for amateur clubs and for "sport for all" activities to increase girls' participation and self-confidence so that "they [can] see they can

do sports too." At the end of the photo-report for experts, I added the following four

recommendations from the girls' responses:

> "We need our rights by showing us that we are equal to boys"
> "Girls should love sports. Girls should do sports more often"
> "Changing of minds that girls are also able to do sports"
> "Need support so that they can prove what they know"

The Lecturer agreed with the issues raised in these citations and reflected on the recent progresses

that have been achieved to help increase girls' PES participation in Rwanda:

> They are right to say this. How to get to this, this is the question I ask myself. We need
> to create opportunities for those who are not chosen for the teams, create opportunities
> for them to still experience sport and physical activity. At the national level, there is an
> association for the promotion of women's sports. In Kigali there is the Association of
> Kigali Women in Sports. This is also to provide opportunities for all girls and to
> motivate them. In the past, football for girls was a taboo. Today, we have 12 teams for
> women. This shows that they have the right to sport like the boys. Recently there was
> the promotion of qualified women referees who are qualified at the continental level.
> Three of the five women who are currently qualified are students of KIE. This is also a
> way to promote sports for women and to show them that they have the same rights as
> men. ... The idea of the promotion of sports for women is supported by our
> government. This is very important. The government also provides opportunities for
> women to have careers in sports, they encourage girls to go into sports.

The Sport Officer also agreed and commented on the importance of changing mindsets: "We

always have the tendency that a girl is not capable in sports and they consider themselves inferior

physically and the cultural practice to not wear sportswear."

As for the remaining two solutions, the Lecturer agreed with both, while the Sport Officer

partially agreed with one and disagreed with the other. The first solution suggested by the girls

was to "Provide experienced and trained coaches/PES teachers for girls, sportswear and shoes,

playing fields (quantity and quality), materials and equipment (including sanitary pads)." The

Lecturer simply commented that this was "obvious." The Sport Officer agreed with the lack of

teachers but disagreed with the need for sportswear since it is "inexpensive to buy a t-shirt and

shorts." Finally, the fourth request from girls was to "Increase time and requirements allocated to

physical activity for girls and provide recuperation." The Sport Officer disagreed with the lack of time, while the Lecturer agreed and explained:

> The current MINEDUC law is that there has to be one physical education class once a week for every student in every school and we hope that it is being respected and implemented. But even one hour a week is not sufficient. I deplore this.

The Lecturer ended the interview with a description of a new PES policy that was, at the time, in its final stages of development and contained the following elements: elite sport, sport for all (Wednesday afternoons), inter-class competitions, inter-school competitions, short-term training for current Sports Masters and PES teachers (primary and secondary levels, integrating PES training in the primary school teacher training program, and a short-term post-secondary program of 1-2 years to obtain certification in PES teaching running alongside the current undergraduate 4-year program). He added that the MINEDUC already organized training seminars at the provincial level for one teacher per school and that the priority was to train PES teachers, regardless of whether they were men or women. He was optimistic about the evolution of the sport culture in Rwanda.

6.3. Meeting with Ministry Officials

After the interviews with the experts, I met with a representative from each of the following ministries: the Ministry of Sports and Culture (MINISPOC), the Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion (MIGEPROF), and the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC). I describe the meetings with each ministry and end the sub-section with an analysis.

6.3.1. Ministry of Sports and Culture

As detailed in Chapter Four, I first contacted the MINISPOC and met with the Acting Director of Sport. The objective of the meeting was to disseminate the girls' and teachers' concerns and suggested solutions in a timely, inexpensive, efficient, and accessible manner. It was not a formal interview, but rather an exchange focusing only on the girls' photographs and responses and took

place over a short period of time. I gave the director a copy of the preliminary report for experts along with the photo-report for experts. After a brief introduction to the research, we went over the photo-report. The director looked at the photo-report attentively reading the responses and looking at the photographs. Afterwards, he said that he appreciated this research and that it should be shared with other stakeholders in this field. He then proceeded without my asking to give me the names and telephone numbers of other ministries, sport federations, and organizations. Unfortunately, due to a lack of time, I could not meet with all of the contacts he provided. I prioritized meeting with the MIGEPROF and the MINEDUC.

6.3.2. Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion

At the MIGEPROF, I met with the Adviser to the Minister. After I briefly explained the research and he looked at the photo-report, he shared the ministry's latest efforts to promote sport for women and girls in Rwanda. The month of March is dedicated to the advocacy of women in Rwanda. National awareness campaigns and activities on various women's rights issues take place. The Advisor acknowledged that the promotion of sport for women and girls was a neglected issue in MIGEPROF activities and campaigns. At the time of the interview in April 2012, he explained that for the first time activities had been organized with Right to Play to promote sport for women and girls during the previous month. He appreciated the research on this new issue for the MIGEPROF, especially because it presented the point of view and the suggestions of the girls' themselves. He believed girls' feedback could help the MIGEPROF in its advocacy activities to promote sport for women and girls with other ministries and organizations. He mentioned that, though there were associations that promoted sport for women and girls in Rwanda, the policies of the MINEDUC, the MINISPOC, and the MIGEPROF did not specifically address this issue. He commented that he had personally seen women and girls play just as well as men, but that to reach this level, they needed to start playing at a young age. He

strongly believed that the stereotype that sport is only for men was no longer appropriate. Finally, he said that there currently was the political will to promote gender in every aspect of women's lives, including sport for women and girls, and that the MIGEPROF would support and encourage PES for girls as early as the primary school level.

6.3.3. Ministry of Education

I met with the Sport and Culture in Education Expert at the MINEDUC. He was also Director of School Sports at the time of the meeting and had training in physical education. I had originally scheduled a brief meeting to share the results but the meeting turned into a longer and more in-depth conversation. He looked at the photo-report and made a few comments on the issues raised. At the end of the report he said "this is good, it is correct," and then proceeded to look at the report a second time and to make more comments. Much like the PES teachers and the PES experts, he agreed, disagreed, or partially agreed with the girls' perspectives. He also provided contextual information, examples, and details on measures that were being implemented by the Ministry to address the girls' issues.

Like the teachers and the other experts, the MINEDUC expert also agreed with the majority of the girls' issues. He agreed with seven issues, disagreed with three, and partially agreed with two. In line with the teachers, the PES Lecturer, and the two gender experts, the MINEDUC expert agreed that girls do like PES activities. He provided an example from a rural all-girls school where girls go jogging in the street three times a week early in the morning. He explained that the girls loved this activity, that they asked for it, and that they were angry if the activity was cancelled. He agreed that girls are capable of taking part in these activities and can become confident, but that they are also in need of proper support and encouragement. He supported the girls' request of awarding prizes, as he believed students need to be motivated and encouraged to participate in "sport for all" activities. He acknowledged the lack of teachers and

playing fields. He explained that the MINEDUC was providing short-term training sessions with PES teachers who were already working in secondary schools. At the primary level, training in physical education was part of the Teacher Training Program and has been for many years. However, for the two years prior the time of the meeting, the ministry was reinforcing this section of the program. He added that the lack of playing fields was also a problem at the primary level, even though there was a rule stating that a PES infrastructure is required when building a school. As a result, the ministry was starting to help primary school teachers implement a French method called "easy sport" where primary school teachers organized and implemented PES activities with large groups of students, with little equipment, and in small spaces. The activities are organized by workstation and the students rotate from station to station. Finally, the expert agreed with the girls' request for a variety of easier physical activities. He explained that "everyday sports," such as jogging in the morning and aerobics, are implemented in certain schools only and that the MINEDUC was working on campaigns to promote these types of activities in all schools for both boys and girls. He added that if the girls were asking for activities adapted to their level of fitness, this issue reflected a problem at the level of the PES teacher who was not teaching correctly, as activities must be adapted to the level and needs of the students.

As for the disagreements, the expert first disagreed with the girls' suggestion of providing extra food after PES activities. Although the School 3 and 5 teachers and the KIE Sport Officer agreed with the importance of a nutritious diet when taking part in PES activities, the MINEDUC expert believed that this was not necessary at the school and amateur levels. According to him, only elite teams required extra food. He explained that at the amateur and school level, PES activities were done to lose weight and therefore the request for extra food was not applicable. The second issue with which he disagreed was girls' fear to be laughed at when taking part in

176

PES activities. Like the PES experts, he believed that cultural acceptance of girls being physically active was increasing:

> This is no longer the case. This is starting to disappear. Even parents are starting to understand. They are starting to see their children do physical activity and sports and see how they can go far and participate in competitions. Little by little this is getting better.

This statement is in opposition with the concerns raised by the teachers and the expert who identified the lack of parental understanding and support as a significant issue. The last issue with which he disagreed was the lack of time. In his explanation, he corroborated the perspective of the School 4 teacher:

> In general, it is not the time that is lacking. If it is something that you enjoy doing, you find the time to do it. It becomes a priority. Therefore the aim is to convince people for it to become a priority and they will find the time to do it.

Finally, the expert partially agreed with two issues. Although he agreed that clubs for girls are important, he disagreed with the request to have girls-only clubs at the amateur level:

> In mixed schools, for elite sport teams, it is a rule that there must be separate boys' and girls' teams, but for "sport for all" teams, competitions, and activities, it is best to mix boys and girls on the same team in order to encourage girls, support them, and show them that they are just as capable as the boys. It is the role of the teacher to ensure that boys support the girls and do not laugh at them. There are schools where boys and girls at the same time will do games and easy activities and the girls are starting to get used to it. If we separate the girls and keep putting them apart, they will think that they are weaker and not as good as the boys.

He added an example from amateur street football where, per team of five players, there are three girls and two boys, and the only goals that count at the ones scored by the girls. The boys therefore must encourage and support the girls on their team. The second issue was the girls' request for competitions to take place throughout the school year, instead of only the first trimester. He explained that this was both true and false. There is a national competition that takes place throughout the school year but many schools are eliminated after the first rounds of competitions during the first trimester. As a result, the eliminated schools do not compete for the

rest of the year. He agreed with the need to have competitions year-round for everyone and explained that the MINEDUC was encouraging inter-class and local inter-school competitions for the schools who are eliminated from the national competitions in order for their teams to play and compete at another level throughout the rest of the year. While I was doing the Photovoice sessions in the schools in February 2012, the MINEDUC released a communiqué on February 18th, stating that inter-class and local inter-school competitions were mandatory throughout the year in order to encourage and support "sport for all" activities.

At the end of the meeting, he described the development of the PES curriculum and explained why the programming was heavily sport-based. According to him, the first step of the MINEDUC was to develop a national competition structure in schools for elite team sports. There are national competitions in football, basketball, volleyball, handball, and track and field at the primary and secondary school levels. Karate, netball, and rugby are being introduced at the superior levels. Also included in the PES programming are the traditional Rwandan cultural activities of dancing, singing, and poetry. The competitions for these activities are held at the same time as the sport competitions. He acknowledged that, as girls became older, they gradually dropped out of the sport competitions.

With a well functioning structure for national elite sport competitions now established in the schools and with teams of boys and girls participating in and winning championships in the East African Games, the MINEDUC felt it had demonstrated that elite school teams can be successful. As a result, he explained that the ministry was now in the process of developing a "sport for all" culture of PES in schools in order to encourage the average student to be physically active on a regular basis. Because Rwanda's sport culture is in its early development stages and many Rwandans are not familiar with the benefits of regular physical activity, the ministry was undertaking awareness and promotion campaigns in schools throughout the country

in order to help convince school authorities to implement this programming, along with the organization of year-long competitions at the amateur level through inter-class and local inter-school competitions. For example, representatives of the ministry visited rural schools to photograph and film boys and girls taking part in "sport for all" activities. Girls were also interviewed and asked questions on their experiences of the activities. The images and interviews were then broadcasted on national television to show a concrete example of "sport for all" activities in a school context and to encourage school authorities to implement these activities at their schools. The expert commented that these promotion campaigns were beneficial for boys who also needed to be encouraged to participate in PES activities on a regular basis. In line with the PES teachers and the PES experts, he agreed that changing the mentality of school authorities and parents was a significant challenge that will take time, effort, and a variety of promotional campaigns, including physical activities specifically for teachers in order to increase their interest in and understanding of PES. In addition, the ministry must convince school authorities that expensive playing fields and equipment are not necessary for "sport for all" activities. The MINEDUC believes that these activities can be organized and implemented with very little material support.

6.3.4. Common themes amongst ministry officials.

Like the experts, the ministry representatives appreciated and respected girls' perspectives and suggestions. Though the objective of the meetings was to disseminate the research in a timely, inexpensive, and accessible manner to key stakeholders, the representatives took the time to look at the photo-report and to understand girls' lived experiences of PES and PASS. The meeting with the MINISPOC was short but productive in that the Acting Director immediately sought to share the research with other stakeholders in the field. The MIGEPROF Advisor acknowledged that the topic of the research was of current interest to the ministry and that girls' perspectives

would further inform their advocacy and promotional campaigns. Finally, the MINEDUC School and Culture in Education Expert confirmed the relevance of the girls' suggestions and requests as he confirmed the ministry's new objectives and measures to develop and support amateur competitions and "sport for all" activities. The reactions and responses of all three ministries validate the topic of the research, the girls' perspectives, and the inclusion of girls' voices in the policy and program development process. Indeed, the MIGEPROF Adviser acknowledged that the three ministries did not have policies that specifically targeted the promotion of sport for girls and confirmed the political will to encourage and support PES for girls.

6.4. Summary

I have offered an analysis of the responses of the various decision-makers to the girls' perspectives. The PES teachers, the experts, and the ministry representatives reflected on and discussed girls' perspectives on their experiences of the PES and PASS programming and shared their own perspectives on whether they agreed, partially agreed, or disagreed with the issues brought forward by the girls. The decision-makers contextualized and nuanced some of the girls' responses and were in general agreement with girls' perspectives and their understanding of key PES and PASS issues. They also shared some of the challenges and concerns they face as decision-makers responsible for the development and implementation of programming.

The following chapter is a discussion of the key findings from both girls' and decision-makers' perspectives. The objective of this discussion is to bring together the issues raised by both the girls and decision-makers to help identify measures that could improve girls' experiences of programming.

CHAPTER 7
Discussion of Key Findings

In this chapter, I first explain how I met the research objective, answered the research question, and fulfilled the intention of the thesis. Then, I discuss the key findings from the perspectives of girls and decision-makers and highlight girls' contributions to PES programming, as validated and confirmed by the teachers, the experts, and the ministry representatives. Next, I present my contributions to the fields of study that guided the research. I then examine the limitations of the study and conclude with implications for further research and final thoughts.

7.1. Responding to the Research Objective, Question, and Intention of the thesis

The objective of the research was to document Rwandan girls' perspectives on their lived experiences of physical activity and sport in a secondary school context and to communicate the latter to key decision-makers who can improve programming in this setting. This objective was met by responding to the question: How can the experiences of girls in the Rwandan secondary school context be better integrated into the decision-making process to improve the physical activity and sport programming they experience? This question was answered by adapting and implementing a Photovoice activity with 196 Rwandan secondary schoolgirls to collect and document their feedback on their lived experiences of physical activity and sport in school as well as their suggestions for improving PES programming. Girls' main issues of concern were then shared directly and discussed with key PES decision-makers through the creation of a visual interview and dissemination tool: the photo-report. By demonstrating that girls can contribute relevant knowledge to help improve PES programming, the intention of the thesis was fulfilled by providing an example of how and why girls' voices can and should be integrated into programming development, implementation, and evaluation.

7.2. Key Findings

The following is a discussion of the key findings from the perspectives of girls and decision-makers.

7.2.1. Girls' perspectives and contributions to physical education and sport programming.

I have identified four key findings that are consistent across the data: 1) girls understand key PES issues, 2) girls are interested in PES, but not in the current programming, 3) programming needs to be adapted to girls instead of girls adapting to programming, and 4) girls want their participation in PES to be socially accepted through a feminization of programming.

a. Girls understand key physical education and sport issues.

Girls understand key PES issues in relation to the benefits of participation, the difficulties they face, and what needs to be done to improve programming. Three levels of decision-makers agreed or partially agreed with the majority of the girls' responses to all three questions, thereby validating their perspectives. The validity of girls' comprehension of the issues is a significant factor that lends support to and confirms scholars' call for the integration of girls into programming and policy development and evaluation. This will be further discussed in the following section on this research's contribution to the literature.

b. Girls are interested in physical education and sport, but not in the current programming.

Girls have an interest in and want to take part in PES but many face difficulties with the programs as they are currently designed and implemented. Girls' interest in PES is reflected in the variety of physical health, mental health, and social health benefits they reported: good physical health, strength, refresh the mind, lose weight, protection from diseases, relaxation, fun, friendship, reduce stress, physical fitness, career opportunities, and keeping busy. The decision-makers, with the exception of the Sport Officer, agreed with the girls' responses, and indeed, the

majority of the responses are in line with the PES teachers' objectives for the programming. However, in asking girls what difficulties they faced that boys did not face when taking part in PES, the responses they provided shed light on the gendered nature of the programming that is designed and implemented according to male standards. Although both girls and PES teachers seek similar overall objectives, how girls come to actually experience these objectives may differ from the way male PES teachers develop and implement their activities. At the time of the study, the PES programs at all five schools were heavily sport-based, with the exception of jogging and very recently introduced aerobics classes in two schools. The team sport-based programming in Rwandan secondary schools is set against two male standards that disadvantage girls: the type of activities and the fitness level. First, because Rwandan girls are generally not exposed to or introduced to team sports prior to their arrival in secondary school, either in primary school or everyday life, boys tend to have an advantage over girls in their previous knowledge of and exposure to team sports. Second, both girls and teachers report that the majority of girls do not have the same level of fitness as boys, especially during adolescence. Although both girls and teachers agree that they can improve their fitness and skill level, the gendered nature of the physical and social/emotional difficulties they face point to male standards of fitness. For instance, having a "bigger" figure, feeling "weak," being "shy," being "lazy," and "lacking confidence" are all relative to standards set against an adolescent male norm where boys tend to have "slimmer" figures, be "stronger," less "shy," less "lazy," and more "confident." As a result, programming standards are set according to male interest and capabilities and girls are required to improve their level of fitness and skills to meet those standards.

According to the participants, the male standard of programming disadvantages and discourages adolescent girls from participating, not only at a physical skill and fitness level, but also at a socio-cultural level. The decision-makers brought forward examples where the majority

of girls tended to shy away from the more traditionally masculine activities and to participate in the more traditionally feminine activities. Hence, girls' struggle with the current masculinized programming leads to the third finding.

c. Programming needs to be adapted to girls instead of girls adapting to programming. Girls' suggested solutions indicate that several girl-centered measures must be implemented in order to improve their experiences of programming. It is important to note that every solution brought forward by the girls, both material and socio-cultural, sought to increase girls' access to and participation in PES. Girls reported wanting more PES classes and activities but with a girl-friendly approach and with more girl-friendly activities, that is: increase time requirements, clubs and competitions for girls, informing girls about the benefits of PES, increase confidence, increase support and encouragement, gym for girls (easier non-sport physical activities), teaching girls how to play, and changing beliefs and attitudes about girls' participation in PES.

The decision-makers agreed that girls are disadvantaged in PES but that they are also capable of learning how to play sports and improving their level of fitness and skills with support, encouragement, adapted activities, and practice. Even the teachers and experts who believed that girls could generally be lazy, disinterested in PES, and difficult to motivate also expressed a personal conviction that every student should have access to and benefit from PES programs. If three levels of decision-makers agree that girls are capable of developing their physical fitness and skill level with easier and more interesting activities, support, and encouragement, where are the blockages that prevent programs from adapting to better meet girls' needs and interests? The answer to this question leads us to the fourth key finding.

d. Girls want their participation in physical education and sport to be socially accepted through a feminization of programming.

For this last key finding, I look beyond girls' requests for girl-friendly measures to improve programming and argue that, through these measure, girls are also asking that their participation in PES be socially acknowledged, accepted, and validated through a feminization of programming. Although girls want to learn how to play sports, increase their level of fitness and skill, participate in competitions, and increase their confidence, by shying away from the more masculine activities (football) and male standards of PES (sport-based programming) and being drawn in greater numbers to more feminine activities such as aerobics and jogging that can also help them to lose weight and maintain a feminine figure (an objective identified by the girls), I believe that the majority of girls do not want to go against gender norms and challenge their femininity since the loss or diminution of their femininity remains a significant social risk or cost, especially as adolescents near marrying age. While socio-cultural and gender norms around girls' participation in sport have evolved and are slowly changing, girls, teachers, and female gender experts confirmed the ongoing impact of the negative social perceptions of girls' participation, even at the amateur level or in a non-competitive school setting. The fact that the male PES experts and ministry representatives downplayed this issue is an important concern since the majority of decision-makers in this field are men. Thus, bringing this issue to the discussion table is a significant contribution from the girls to the development and implementation of future PES programming. In fact, the discrepancy between the types of role models for girls suggested by the male PES experts and the FAWE Rwanda expert speak directly to the consequences of this issue: whereas the PES experts believed girls needed to see other girls capable of playing sports to demonstrate that girls can develop the necessary strength and skill with practice, the female

gender expert stressed the importance of feminine and successful women and girls engaging in physical activity.

7.2.2. Decision-makers' perspectives.

The following two key findings focus on contextual issues brought forward by the decision-makers that impact girls' participation in and experiences of PES: 1) lack of understanding of the role of PES in Rwandan society and secondary schools, and 2) transitioning from an elite sport model in schools to a "sport for all" culture.

a. Lack of understanding of the role of physical education and sport in Rwandan society and secondary schools.

The three levels of PES decision-makers agreed that parents' and school authorities' lack of understanding of the role and value of PES programming was a significant problem, which had a direct impact on the quality of programming and student participation. They cited examples of school authorities' lack of investment in programming material and teacher training (if there even was a teacher hired in this position) and parents' lack of support and encouragement of their children's participation in PES, especially girls. The lack of knowledge of PES stems from the lack of a Rwandan "sport for all" culture accessible to non-athletes. Sport is generally perceived as a pastime for boys or a professional activity for male athletes. Although the MINEDUC developed PES curricula in 1997 and 1998 (see Chapter Four), not all schools implemented this programming, either at the primary level or the secondary level. The purpose of a physical education course for all students remains misunderstood and undervalued, especially at the secondary level where academic success is a priority, in particular for girls. In the decentralized Rwandan education system, school authorities, both in public and private schools, decide whether or not to implement a PES or PASS program. Thus, their personal experiences with sport, PASS, or PES determine whether or not their school will have a program. Indeed, the five PES teachers,

the PES experts, and the MINEDUC representative provided examples that corroborated this issue. Hence, sport clubs and competitions are generally extra-curricular activities for students, mostly boys, who are personally interested in these activities. Contributing to this problem is the fact that the KIE PES bachelor program only began in 2003 with a handful of male students with a strong interest in sport. Although the Lecturer observed a gradual increase of girls training to become PES teachers, parental support for girls' participation in either PES or extra-curricular PASS remains a significant problem, especially when parents themselves have never participated in sport activities and value academic success for girls over sport participation. The idea that girls can succeed academically and still participate in PASS or PES is not part of Rwandan culture. Indeed, the example from the FAWE Rwanda expert is telling: even an educated and successful Rwandan female former competitive athlete who enjoys physical activity as an adult, which represents an extremely small minority of Rwandan women, working for an organization who's objective is to promote girls' education and empowerment in Rwandan society had never thought of promoting physical activity for girls in school.

Although there are significant material and financial difficulties, the decision-makers agreed that the fundamental problem is the lack of value attributed to PES in Rwandan society, to the extent that programming is only implemented if the school authorities and teachers personally believe in it. In this context, girls fall into the gap as PES is non-socially valued, masculinized, and heavily sport-based.

b. Transitioning from an elite sport model in schools to a "sport for all" culture.

As described by the girls and the decision-makers, only a small handful of non-team sport-based physical activities were offered at the schools, and in some cases, were very recent additions to the programming or still in development. Furthermore, only two schools followed the MINEDUC PES curriculum (School 3 and 5), while the other schools either refused to hire a PES

teacher (School 4), or compromised with an ad-hoc extra-curricular PASS program (School 1 and 2). The MINEDUC representative was aware of the lack of implementation of the programming across the country and school authorities' lack of interest and/or investment in PES. He explained that the priority of the MINEDUC had been to first develop elite national sport competitions in schools before developing "sport for all" activities, which are much more accessible to girls, and investing in promotional campaigns to encourage the implementation of these activities.

The development of a "sport for all" culture centered on amateur sport and a variety of physical fitness activities can facilitate girls' access to and enjoyment of PES and PASS by eliminating the fitness and sport knowledge barriers as well as the social cost of masculinization. By training more primary school teachers to implement physical fitness activities that require little to no equipment, girls can have more opportunities to be exposed to and to practice physical activity at an earlier age and before entering secondary school. In addition, non-sport activities for all fitness levels can help girls to develop their physical skill and fitness abilities at an earlier age and at their own pace. Finally, training more PES teachers who can adapt their activities to meet girls' needs and interests, instead of sport coaches whose expertise is to develop elite talent, can also increase the variety of activities in which students can participate.

7.3. Contribution to New Knowledge

Working within and contributing to girlhood studies literature, the study contributes to new knowledge in the four key areas of Physical Education and Sport in Sub-Saharan Africa; Sport for Development and Peace and Sport, Gender, and Development; and Gender and Education and Physical Education and Sport for Girls in Sub-Saharan Africa.

7.3.1. Context and gender-specific perceptions of and barriers to physical education and sport in Rwanda.

Several scholars have drawn attention to PES programming in sub-Saharan Africa being generally irrelevant to local contexts and inaccessible. They thus called for the contextualization of programming and policy, including indigenous physical activities and physical education, and research on contextual barriers to PES and PASS, including gender.

In documenting girls' likes, difficulties, and their suggestions for improvement, this study contributed to a better understanding of context and gender-specific perceptions of and barriers to PES and PASS programming in Rwanda. Girls' responses, corroborated by decision-makers, indicated that PES and PASS in Rwanda were: 1) generally irrelevant and ill adapted to their interests and capabilities with a heavily sport-based programming, and 2) inaccessible to their level of fitness by focusing on competitive athletic talent instead of "sport for all" physical activities. As such, the data confirmed the problems identified by scholars as well as the need to adapt programming. In terms of the contextualization of programming and policy and the inclusion of indigenous physical activities, these issues were not brought forward or addressed by the girls or the decision-makers. However, the contextualization of PES and PASS programming remains a relevant issue since, as clearly explained by decision-makers and girls, Rwanda does not have a strong PES and PASS culture and "sport for all" is a foreign concept that the ministry is actively trying to integrate into Rwandan society.

7.3.2. Integrating beneficiaries and various stakeholders in programming development, implementation, and evaluation.

Critical of the colonial antecedents of programming and the current top-down hierarchical approach to program development, implementation, and evaluation favoring donor interests over beneficiaries' issues of concern, SDP and SGD scholars call for: 1) alternative research methodologies, 2) valuing beneficiaries' voices, 3) beneficiary involvement in programming and

policy development, implementation, and evaluation, and 4) research integrating and working with all levels of stakeholders.

The contribution to alternative research methodologies is addressed in the following section where I reflect on the methodological approach and visual research dissemination tool designed to bridge the gap between girls and decision-makers. To address the issue of beneficiaries' voices for this particular study, I specifically focused on girls' voices and drew from literature in the fields of Gender and Education in Sub-Saharan Africa and PES for girls in Sub-Saharan Africa. Thus, I further discuss this contribution in those specific fields of study in the next sub-section.

In relation to beneficiary involvement in programming and policy development and improvement, this study lends support to and justifies scholars' call in three ways: 1) the research demonstrates that girls understand key PES and PASS issues, 2) the research establishes that girls have original contributions to make since they brought forward issues not previously considered by decision-makers, namely, the desire for weight loss and a feminine figure as motivating factors for participating in PES and PASS, and 3) girls' priorities differed from those of decision-makers, for instance, the impact of gender norms on girls' participation in PES and PASS. Hence, this study substantiated that beneficiaries can and should be involved in programming development, implementation, and evaluation by demonstrating that girls' contributions are valid, relevant, and valuable. Last, by developing and implementing a methodological approach and visual research dissemination tool to work with and integrate four levels of stakeholders, this study demonstrated the feasibility of this type of research.

7.3.3. Hearing girls' voices in Gender and Education and Physical Education and Sport in Rwanda.

In line with SDP and SGD scholars' critique of the exclusion of beneficiaries' voices in programming, the main issues identified in the field of Gender and Education in Sub-Saharan Africa are a lack of research bringing forward the perspectives of African youth, exclusionary practices that silence girls in education policy and programming, and a dearth of research focusing specifically on PES for girls in sub-Saharan Africa. Subsequently, scholars call for: 1) the inclusion of girls' voices and participation in curricula and policy development in order to better understand the barriers they face on a daily basis, 2) exchanges between different levels of education stakeholders, and 3) a better understanding of girls' experiences of PES in sub-Saharan Africa.

This research contributed to both fields of study by documenting 196 Rwandan secondary schoolgirls' perspectives on their lived experiences of PES and PASS, and by developing and implementing a methodological approach and visual research dissemination tool to communicate girls' ideas and perspectives to multiple key decision-makers.

7.3.4. Using Photovoice to bridge the gap between girls and decision-makers: The creation of a visual dissemination tool.

The study presented the methodological challenge of seeking to both engage participants in the research process in a more meaningful and interactive way than typical large-scale measures, such as surveys and focus group discussions, and reach several layers of decision-makers in a practical, timely, inexpensive, and accessible manner for everyone involved in the research. To meet these objectives, I favored a "middle of the road approach" that sought to engage girls in a participatory manner through an adapted Photovoice activity while concentrating the data on key issues that could be relevant and useful to various decision-makers with different work goals, that is program implementation (PES teachers), program development (PES and gender experts), and

policy development (ministry representatives). Reaching decision-makers and disseminating research results outside of academia in an accessible manner is a significant challenge. Policy-making and program development are often removed from the stakeholders implementing and experiencing the program. One of the difficulties is the lack of tools that can bridge the gaps between policy-makers, program implementers, and beneficiaries. For this reason, I created the photo-report to both serve as a visual research dissemination and interview tool to ensure girls' issues of concern guided and remained at the center of the discussions with key decision-makers. Printing the photographs and main ideas in a simple Powerpoint format ensured that the photo-report could also easily be photocopied and shared with multiple stakeholders, including individuals with limited literacy skills.

7.4. Limitations of the Study

The following are three important limitations to this study. The first relates to what might be considered a sacrifice in relation to depth for breadth and reach. The attempt to implement a "middle of the road approach" automatically entailed limiting the depth of the data gathered with the girls through their Photovoice activities. It was a methodological design decision I took to address the concerns raised in the literature from which I draw. With the objective of reaching decision-makers and providing valid and valuable information to help improve programming, the lack of depth of the data is not to the detriment of the research. Instead, the wider breadth of the data as a result of working with 196 participants enabled the data to better represent and reflect the lived experiences of secondary schoolgirls and their key priorities to contribute relevant feedback to improve programming.

The second limitation is that I was not able to go back to the schools to share the Photovoice results, the interview results, and the photo-reports with the girls because the secondary schools were on break for two months at the end of my fieldwork. I did encourage the

PES teachers to share the photo-reports with the school authorities and the girls to exhibit their photo-posters at their school. Although the teachers and the girls had the results of their own Photovoice, I would have liked the opportunity to share the photographs and issues raised by the girls from the other participating schools and given each school a copy of the photo-report that I put together for the experts and the ministries in order for the girls and the teachers to see the project in its entirety and to further reflect on the topic. In my opinion, this is the most significant limitation of this study. Although reaching out to three layers of stakeholders with a simple visual tool is an important contribution of this research project, the missing link is the dissemination of the final photo-report to each of the participating schools. I finished my fieldwork just as the month-long genocide memorial activities were starting to take place. All schools are closed during this period and, at the time of the study, secondary schools were on another month-long break following the genocide memorial month. Thus, the timing of the study proved to be challenging. After discussing with Gender Club members in 2011, it was agreed that the best time to conduct the study in order not to disturb student scheduling, activities, and exam period was mid-January to mid-February. This would then have given me the time to interview decision-makers in early March and to return to the schools. Unfortunately, due to delays in Canada, I did not arrive in Rwanda until early February, which pushed back the schedule of activities by nearly three weeks and into the beginning of the genocide memorial month.

Finally, I acknowledge the limitation of the Kinyarwanda-English language barrier between the participants and myself. Although English has recently become the official teaching language at the secondary level and teaching and writing material is required to be in English, teachers and students are still transitioning from one language to the other and girls' written responses in English may not have been as rich or detailed as had they been written in Kinyarwanda. While I had arranged for the workshops to be convened by local facilitators who

193

could speak Kinyarwanda and English, I was outside of the conversations spoken in Kinyarwanda. However, the short responses written in English or translated into English from Kinyarwanda or French were still valid since: 1) the objective of the research was to focus on key priorities and issues, 2) nearly 200 girls participated in the study, and 3) several decision-makers confirmed the validity and relevance of girls' input.

7.5. Implications for Further Research

There are a number of implications coming out of this study. Further research on PES and PASS in sub-Saharan Africa could include the participation of more stakeholders, as identified by the girls and by the decision-makers. It is particularly important to include those who are likely to have an impact on girls' lived experiences of programming, including: parents, school authorities, sport federations and organizations, female PES teachers, and young women athletes as role models. These stakeholders could provide other perspectives and contextual issues of concern. For example, parents, female PES teachers, and young women athletes could add other dimensions to the gendering of PES or PASS in terms of gender norms and social expectations. Working with boys could also contribute a different perspective on the gendering of programming in this context. As for school authorities, sport federations, and sport organizations, their perspectives on and role in either promoting or negating the importance of PES and PASS for boys and girls would be valuable as well.

This study also raised critical questions to be further explored from a feminist theoretical perspective in the areas of postcolonial feminism, girlhood studies, and participatory research. A key aspect from these various models and approaches relates to the challenges of problematizing and positioning the findings as part of feminist and postcolonial discourses within and in relation to a participatory framework. For example, in terms of the postcolonial feminist theoretical framework that I discussed in Chapter Two, this study challenged the positioning and analysis of

results in relation to the Western notion of girl-friendly measures of PES in a development context. I drew on a postcolonial feminist theoretical framework in order to legitimize and bring forward the voices of a marginalized population, in this case, secondary schoolgirls in Rwanda taking part in programming that was not developed or adapted to meet their needs. In an effort to move beyond a postcolonial feminist discourse analysis of girls' barriers in PES since other scholars have already produced significant work in this area (see for example Lyndsay Hayhurst's work, 2011), I then turned to feminist participatory methodologies to not only gather and value voice but to offer a platform from which a different kind of analysis could emerge. This was particularly the case in relation to working directly with local key decision-makers who are responsible for the development and implementation of programming. I believe that, as researchers develop and implement new participatory methodological approaches and research objectives, new analytical frameworks and perspectives will need to be further explored in order to respect and critically engage with participants' emerging ideas and concerns and to find adapted and concrete solutions that go beyond a feminist discourse analysis.

Another critical area for further work links to feminist research on the body, particularly as seen in the work of Laura Azzarito (2009, 2010) in relation to girls and bodies. In my fieldwork, the use of the term "figure" and the issue of weight loss as raised by the girls and addressed by the decision-makers are somewhat problematic when working within a girlhood studies framework. However, because the girls themselves used the term "figure" and raised the issue of weight loss, the girls' terms must be respected and weight loss presented and analyzed as an issue to be addressed by the decision-makers, along with the other concerns brought forward by the girls. Clearly, a 'next step' would be to work in participatory ways with girls to begin to critique some of these ideas through, for example, such approaches as critical media analysis. Given that this is a concern that has an impact on girls' experiences of physical activity, further

reflection on how to integrate a body image analysis and discussion with the girls could even increase their level of comfort with physical activity (Oliver, 2001, 2010).

Last, this study raises implications for deepening an understanding of integrating decision-makers' perspectives within a methodological approach primarily focused on participants' needs and concerns. In other words, how are decision-makers' perspectives and reactions to participants' needs and concerns positioned and analyzed? In this research, I focused the analysis on whether the decision-makers agreed, partially agreed, or disagreed in order to align the analysis with the call by various researchers for the inclusion of beneficiaries into policy and program development and implementation. With this analysis, I wanted to draw attention to how the decision-makers heard what the girls had to say and to situate the exchange of ideas between different stakeholders in the social-cultural context within which these discussions took place. I believe that further research in the area of participatory work with girls can move beyond "girls voicing their concerns" to "how are they being heard and what are the reactions to their concerns?" In other words, after girls' voices reached different levels of decision-makers, did what they have to say trickle down to have an impact on their everyday experiences? If so, in what way, and if not, why? Can bringing forward girls' voices help to address structural issues, such as the ones presented in the SDP and SGD literatures? Are girls' voices enough? While some of the comments from the decision-makers in this study could be considered hostile and/or sexist, I would like to emphasize the fact that the male decision-makers, though not fully aware of what it is like to be a girl doing sports (which is part of the objective of this thesis), more than willingly engaged in a discussion on girls' experiences and perspectives, and that their comments were quite supportive for the context. Considering the fact that, in Rwanda, girls are not encouraged to do sports, that they are going against a gender norm when they do so, and that girls are rarely heard by authority figures, much less male authority figures, the fact that they engaged

in these interviews, reflected on, and discussed girls' ideas is significant. With more research

integrating decision-makers into a participatory approach, questions on how to position, analyze,

and respond to their reactions will require further study. In conjunction with this issue, we can

also ask the question whether or not qualitative methods should be modified to apply to larger

segments of society and used to connect several stakeholders, as was done in this study? Can this

approach be a different take on mixing methodologies? What are the advantages and

disadvantages? These are all questions that could frame follow-up studies.

Conclusion

This study developed and implemented an adapted large-scale participatory approach and a visual

research dissemination tool in an effort to document and discuss Rwandan secondary schoolgirls'

lived experiences of physical activity and sport in school with key local decision-makers.

Through their photographs and responses, girls demonstrated an understanding of PES issues and

expressed their interest in and desire for programming that is adapted to their level of fitness, that

offers a variety of activities, and that is respectful of evolving Rwandan gender norms and

physical culture. By engaging with the girls in a participatory manner and working with local

decision-makers who are responsible for programming, this research raised important theoretical

and analytical concerns in regards to the positioning of feminist and participatory research results

and suggests further study to help shift feminist debates in PES from body to voice and from

discourse analysis to a participatory analysis taking place directly with key stakeholders.

Now that the MDGs have reached their deadline, world leaders and development experts

in all fields are evaluating the progresses made and taking stock of the challenges that remain to

be tackled in a post-2015 global agenda. In an effort to move beyond and build upon the lessons-

learned in girls' education and health, I add my voice to scholars and experts who call for a more

contextualized, nuanced, and interconnected definition and understanding of girls' education and

health concerns. Though quantifiable outputs and objectives provide valuable information, insight into how girls experience these concerns in intricate and interrelated ways is lacking. As such, lived experiences, personally defined priorities and goals, the right to speak, and the right to be heard need to be integrated into the new set of targets, as well as the mechanisms that will be implemented to reach and evaluate these targets. By focusing on how girls live their lives from a holistic perspective, measures and programming that touch upon many educational and health issues at once, such as physical education and sport, can be better leveraged to impact change in a manner that is more direct and relevant to girls' lives.

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Appendix 1: Procedures of Photovoice Activity

PROCEDURES OF PHOTOVOICE ACTIVITY

Gender Club of KIE
Lysanne Rivard

TIMELINE	ACTIVITY	DETAILS
Morning Session		
7:30	Pick-up research team	1. Iris Guest House (Lysanne) 2. KIE (facilitators)
8:00	Instructions in the car	1. Review training manual 2. Hand out activity sheet 3. Answer questions about topic 4. Review procedures and steps to follow
8:30	Arrive at school	1. Meet and thank the school authorities 2. Ask authorities to sign consent forms for the participation of the students 3. Set up material in classroom 4. Instructions to the facilitators on how to use the camera 5. Review of procedures of Photovoice 6. Signature of confidentiality forms for the facilitators
9:00	Beginning of Photovoice activity	1. Welcome and introduction of research team **2. Explanation of topic and procedures of activity = taking photos on physical activity for girls, photos will be shared with teachers and experts (if the students agree)** 3. Explanation of 2 consent forms that students must sign 4. Secretary + Lysanne: hand out consent forms and help students sign, collect signed forms
9:15	Explanation of research topic	- Questions that the students need to think about: 1) What kind of physical activity do they do? 2) What is it like for girls to do physical activity in school? 3) How is it different than the boys?
9:30	Groups of 5 per 1 camera	1. Secretary and Lysanne: hand out cameras to groups 2. Instructions on how to use the camera 3. Secretary and Lysanne: help students practice taking photos
9:45	**Instructions on 3 photographs to take**	**1. What do girls like about physical activity and sports in school?**

		2. What difficulties do girls face when doing physical activity and sports in school that <u>boys do not face</u>? **3. What can be done to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sport in school?**
10:00	Students discuss in their groups the photos they will take	
10:15	Students take the photographs on school grounds	
11:00	- Students come back to class, select and print their 3 photos - Students glue their photos to the cardboard and write a description of the photo	- Lysanne prints the photos - Secretary goes to each group and writes down in Lysanne's notebook a small description of the photo and the description of the students
11:30	Students present their photos to the group	- Secretary writes down notes on the presentation and discussion of the photos
11:50	Explanation that the students keep their photos and can set up an exhibit of the photos at their school	- Answer questions - Discuss where and when the photos can be exhibited
12:00	Thank the students for their participation	- If there is enough time: take and print a group photo
12:15	Pay the facilitators	- Sign the receipts to confirm payment
12:30	Eat lunch	- Debrief, make suggestions on how to improve the procedures

Afternoon Session		
13:15	Meet new facilitators	1. Review training manual 2. Hand out activity sheet 3. Answer questions about topic 4. Review procedures and steps to follow 5. Instructions on how to use the camera 6. Signature of confidentiality forms
14:00	Beginning of Photovoice activity	1. Welcome and introduction of research team **2. Explanation of topic and procedures of activity = taking photos on physical activity for girls, photos will be shared with teachers and experts (if the students agree)** 3. Explanation of 2 consent forms that students must sign 4. Secretary + Lysanne: hand out consent forms and help students sign

14:15	Explanation of research topic	- Questions that the students need to think about: 1) What kind of physical activity do they do? 2) What is it like for girls to do physical activity in school? 3) How is it different than the boys?
14:30	Groups of 5 per 1 camera	1. Secretary and Lysanne: hand out cameras to groups 2. Instructions on how to use the camera 3. Secretary and Lysanne: help students practice taking photos
14:45	**Instructions on 3 photographs to take**	**1. What do girls like about physical activity and sports in school?** **2. What difficulties do girls face when doing physical activity and sports in school <u>that boys do not face</u>?** **3. What can be done to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sport in school?**
15:00	Students discuss in their groups the photos they will take	
15:15	Students take the photographs on school grounds	
16:00	- Students come back to class, select and print their 3 photos - Students glue their photos to the cardboard and write a description of the photo	- Lysanne prints the photos - Secretary goes to each group and writes down in Lysanne's notebook a small description of the photo and the description of the students
16:30	Students present their photos to the group	- Secretary writes down notes on the presentation and discussion of the photos
16:50	Explanation that the students keep their photos and can set up an exhibit of the photos at their school	
17:00	Thank the students for their participation	- If there is enough time: take and print a group photo
17:15	Thank you to the authorities	
17:30	Leave the school	- In the car: Pay facilitators and sign receipts to confirm payment - Debrief, make suggestions on how to improve the procedures
18:00	Drop off at KIE	

Appendix 2: Photovoice Gender Club Activity

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PHOTOVOICE GENDER CLUB ACTIVITY
Girls' Perspectives on Their Lived Experiences of Physical Activity and Sport

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Organizers

- Lysanne Rivard, PhD Student in Education (McGill University, Canada) lysanne.rivard@mail.mcgill.ca
- Gender Club of KIE

Participants

- Secondary school girls who are members of the Gender Club of their school and who participate or have participated in the past in sports or physical activities. Girls who have not had access to physical activities or sports can also be part of the Photovoice activity.
- 10 groups of 25 students from 5 different schools (2 groups per school) in Kigali and in nearby districts (maximum two hours away from Kigali)

Photovoice Activity

- Using digital cameras, girls take pictures of what they like and do not like about their experiences of sports and physical activities and what they suggest as solutions to improve girls' experiences of physical activities in Rwanda.

- Using a small printer (with battery), the pictures are printed in the classroom and the students present their pictures to the group. Together, they discuss their challenges and solutions.
- The activity takes place on the school grounds, on a Saturday or Sunday, and lasts 3 hours.

Tasks and Responsibilities

Lysanne Rivard:

- ✓ Provide the technical equipment (cameras, printer, photo paper, etc.)
- ✓ Provide training to the Gender Club of KIE members who would like to facilitate the Photovoice activity
- ✓ Supervise the Photovoice activity, handle the equipment and answer facilitators' questions.

Gender Club of KIE:

- ✓ Identify 5 secondary schools where there are Gender Clubs and where the students participate in physical activity (in Kigali and in nearby districts)
- ✓ Obtain the permission from the schools' authorities to do the activity in the school

- ✓ Identify Gender Club members from KIE who are interested in facilitating the Photovoice activity (learning how to do research with a participatory visual methodology)
- ✓ With Lysanne Rivard, help organize a Photovoice training session for the facilitators
- ✓ With Lysanne Rivard, facilitate the Photovoice activities in the schools

Timeline of Activities

- Identification of schools and students: Beginning of January 2012
- Confirmation of participating schools and Gender Club members: End of January 2012
- 10 Photovoice activities: February 2012 (Saturdays and Sundays, 2 groups per day at the same school, one in the morning and one in the afternoon)

Appendix 3: Facts of the Study

Title of Research: Rwandan girls' perspectives on their lived experiences of physical education and sport activities

Researcher: Lysanne Rivard, PhD student, Faculty of Education, McGill University, Canada
Supervisor: Dr. Claudia Mitchell, Faculty of Education, McGill University, Canada
Facilitator: President of the KIE Gender Club
Contact Information: lysanne.rivard@mail.mcgill.ca + local cell phone number; claudia.mitchell@mcgill.ca; email address and phone number of the President of the KIE Gender Club

Before you sign your consent forms, please read this fact sheet. The researcher and/or co-facilitators can answer your questions. We must be sure that you understand this fact sheet before you can join the study.

What is this study about?
The *Girls and Physical Activity Study* is an opportunity for you to share with us your ideas and thoughts on your experiences of physical activity: what you like, what you do not like and how you would make them better.

What is the point of being in this study?
If you join this study, you will get the opportunity to:
• Work on photography. The photography will be about what you think of physical activity. It will also be about understanding what it means to be a women/girl and understanding the unique challenges that you have in having access to and experiencing physical activity in comparison to men and boys.
• Think of new ways for girls and women to get involved in physical activity and to consider how the issues you have raised can be addressed.
• Present your ideas as part of the group to members of the community as well as to other decision makers, like not for profit organizations, government and donors.
• Take action on issues that you and the group believe are important.

What will happen in the study?
You will:
• Learn how to use a camera and take photos.
• Talk about the challenges you face as a girl or a woman.
• Talk about the ideas you have for solving the challenges you have identified.
• Work in small groups to translate your ideas into photography.
• Meet in small groups to talk about your work with the other people in the study.
• Make a poster and present your photographs and issues to the group.
• You will keep your photographs and your posters, which can be used as a photo exhibition for your school.

Could anything bad happen from being in the study?
We hope not, but there are a few risks. We are taking all the steps we can to lessen these risks:
• There is a risk that you may get upset or confused by something that comes up in the group discussions. You may find it hard to talk about issues related to poverty or to other challenges you may be facing in your life.
• People might get angry with you if you take their picture without getting their permission.

- Even though we will all promise to respect each other's privacy, there is a chance someone could break their promise and talk about you outside the group.

What are the good things that could come out of it for you?
- You will get training on how to use a camera. You will learn about how photos can be used to create social change.
- You will get a chance to talk about issues that concern you.
- You will get a chace to talk about the ideas you have that may solve the challenges you face.

How will we protect your privacy?
- Each person who joins the study will promise not to discuss the things said in the workshop outside the group. You do not have to say anything in the group that you don't want to, for any reason.
- The photos that you take for the study will belong to you. We may ask you to let us publish your photos to show the results of the study. We will only use your photos in any public display with your written permission. We will talk with you about which photos we can use. You will sign a form telling us which photos we can use.
- We will not use individual names in relation to photos on display and we will change your name on our records so that you cannot be identified. We will store the study records safely at our project's office, in a place that only the supervisor and / or her assistant(s) will have access to. We will not share any of your personal information without your persmission.

Will the sessions be audio-taped?
- In order for us to understand and record your ideas accurately, all sessions will be audio-taped.
- If you do not wish the session to be audio-taped, notes will be taken.

Your rights as a study member
Everything you do in the study is voluntary. You do not have to take part in activities you don't want to. You can leave the study at any time you want. You do not have to answer any questions you don't want to. Your decision to leave the study will not affect your relationship with us. All data and materials collected in relation to you will be destroyed immediately.

If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a study participant, you can always contact the researcher, Lysanne Rivard, at anytime. She will be happy to hear from you. She can be reached at lysanne.rivard@mail.mcgill.ca or local cell phone number.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights or welfare as a participant in this research study, please contact the McGill Ethics Officer at (+1) 514-398-6831; lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca

Appendix 4: Preliminary report for experts and ministries

Rwandan secondary school girls' perspectives on their lived experiences of physical activity and sports in schools

March 21, 2012
Kigali, Rwanda

Lysanne Rivard
PhD Candidate
McGill University, Canada

<div align="center">

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY

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A. GENERAL INFORMATION

Title of Research: *Rwandan girls' perspectives on their lived experiences of physical education and sport activities*

Researcher: Lysanne Rivard, PhD Candidate, Faculty of Education, McGill University, Canada, lysanne.rivard@mail.mcgill.ca, 0786388501

Supervisor: Dr. Claudia Mitchell, Faculty of Education, McGill University, Canada, claudia.mitchell@mcgill.ca

Collaborators and Facilitators: KIE Gender Club, Executive Committee President (name, email address and phone number)

Research Ethics Certificate: File # 137-1011 Certificate of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Humans, Approval period: November 2, 2011-November 1, 2012-03-20; McGill Ethics Officer Lynda McNeil, lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca, (+1) 514-398-6831

Funding: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada; Sport Participation Canada; Jackie Kirk Fellowship (Faculty of Education, McGill University)

B. PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVE

To better understand secondary school girls' lived experiences of physical activity and sports in school by:

> 1. Asking girls to take pictures of what they like, what difficulties they face that boys do not face, and what they suggest can be done to improve their experiences of physical activity and sports in school.

> 2. Informing teachers responsible of physical activity and sports in school girls' ideas, asking teachers how they experience working with girls and their perspective on what can be suggested to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in school.

> 3. Informing Education, Gender and Physical Activity experts (KIE, FAWE, Gender specialist) girls' and teachers' ideas and asking them their perspective and their ideas on suggestions to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in school.

C. PARTICIPANTS

5 secondary schools (in the Kigali region)
(school names have been removed)
School 1

School 2
School 3
School 4
School 5

Students

196 girls, aged 11 – 18

Teachers

5 teachers responsible for physical activity and sports at their school (Sports Masters, Games Masters, Disciplinary Prefects)

D. DATA COLLECTION

Photovoice method with secondary school girls (February 2012)

Working in small groups, the participants took photographs in answer to the following 3 questions:

1. What do girls like about physical activity and sports in school?

2. What difficulties do girls face when doing physical activity and sports in school that boys do not face?

3. What can be done to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in school?

Interviews with teachers (March 2012)

Content of the interviews:

Description of school's programming
Presentation of and discussion around girls' photographs and issues of concern
Feedback on working with girls
Suggestions for improving girls' experiences

Content: Weekly activities currently implemented on school grounds or on neighboring playing fields

Team Sports (Optional participation)

Basketball : Schools 1, 3, 4, 5
Volleyball: Schools 1, 2, 3, 5
Football: Schools 1, 2, 3, 5
Karate: Schools 2, 5
Cricket: Schools 3, 4
Netball: School 5

Other (Mandatory or Optional participation)

Physical Education Curriculum: Schools 3, 5
Jogging on Saturday mornings: Schools 2, 3, 4, 5
Gym Tonic: Schools 1, 4, 5

Possible future activities

Badminton and Woodball: School 1
Table Tennis, Handball and Rugby: School 2

Introduction of programming

School: January 2012
School 2: 2006
School 3: 2008
School 4: February 2012
School 5: 2003

Objectives

For students to:

- be healthy
- be active at least once a week
- be physically fit and less tired
- relax
- study well
- be busy during down times in order to avoid behaviors (help with school discipline)
- socialize and interact with students of different levels

- develop talent to send to clubs and national teams

Sports Masters/Teachers' training and professional background

School 1: No formal training, is the first Sports Master at the school, professional rugby player, manages and oversees the school's physical activities and team sports, assigns individuals (including students) for training teams as he is not an expert in the sports implemented at the school

School 2: has been Disciplinary Prefect and a teacher in charge of physical activity and sports in 5 schools, received some training at KIE but did not finish the program, professional marathon athlete, also organises physical activities and sports at the community level

School 3: No formal training, is the first Sports Master at the school, developed and implemented programming, Football player and FIFA certified referee (international level)

School 4: No formal training, is Disciplinary Prefect and in charge of physical activity and sports, develops, implements and manages the programming on his own time and out of his personal convictions, background of participating in physical activities at university, hobby of running

School 5: participated in short-term workshops, is certified to train Football

B. Girls' perspectives on their lived experiences of physical activity and sports in schools

Question 1: What do girls like about physical activity and sports in school?

1. Good health: protection from diseases, strong bones and muscles, good blood circulation, keep fit to do other activities

2. To loose weight and keep a good figure

3. To relax, freshen the mind and reduce stress in order to study well

4. To have fun and create friendships

5. To be confident

6. Offers career opportunities

Question 2: What difficulties do girls face when doing physical activity and sports in school that boys do not face?

1. Weakness, less endurance, tiredness, laziness, more easily hurt: "Some activities are harder for girls"

2. Bigger figure: breasts and buttocks

3. Menstruation period

4. Shyness and lack of self-confidence: bigger figure, afraid to be laughed at, cultural beliefs

5. Lack of experienced and trained coaches and Sports Masters, sportswear and shoes, playgrounds (quantity and quality), materials and equipments

6. Lack of encouragement, support and role models: "Some girls think it is shameful to do sports, they are afraid of becoming like boys"

7. Other: lack of time, recuperation, competitions for girls

Question 3: What can be done to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in school?

1. Provide experienced and trained coaches/SMs for girls, sportswear and shoes, playgrounds (quantity and quality), materials and equipments (including sanitary pads)

2. Offer a greater variety of easier physical activities and teach girls how to play different sports

3. Create sports clubs and organise competitions for girls, give prizes and trophies to the winners

4. Increase time and requirements allocated to physical activity for girls and provide recuperation

5. Give an equal chance to girls and boys: motivate girls by providing support and encouragement in order for them to develop self-confidence, use of role models for girls

C. Sports Masters/Teachers' feedback

Observations on working with girls

School 1

- Girls love Gym Tonic classes, much more than boys. Approximately 100 girls enthusiastically participate in the weekly classes. Participation is optional. Even though they are newly introduced at the beginning of this term, the classes rapidly increased in popularity throughout the term. As a result, a second class will also be added next term as the hall is now filled to capacity. Bigger girls also participate. The girls comment that they feel better, they feel less tired, have more energy in class and have fun during the class.

- Boys are aware of team sports, they love participating and they understand the rules and the objectives very quickly. On the other hand, girls need to be explained why they should participate in team sports, teachers need to take the time to teach them the rules and the objectives, and they need to strongly encourage and motivate them to participate.

School 2

- Boys use a lot of energy to perform while playing team sports whereas girls do not since they lack skills and understanding. Some girls are very good but the high performers are boys.

- When playing team sports, when faced with a challenge or an obstacle, boys will face and solve it whereas girls will fear it and be weak in facing the challenge. Boys are confident and do not fear whereas girls do not have confidence and are weak.

- Today, boys and girls are taught under the same conditions and girls can improve their skill level and be high performers like the boys.

School 4

- There was no physical activity programming at the school until this term where the Disciplinary Prefect introduced mandatory jogging on Saturday mornings and mandatory Gym Tonic classes on Wednesday afternoons for the entire school.

- Because the majority of boys have more endurance and are stronger than girls, there are certain exercises that girls cannot do. As a result, two different levels of Gym Tonic classes will be introduced next term, one on Wednesdays and one on Sundays, so that both stronger and weaker students, both boys and girls, can exercise and improve at their own level.

- The Disciplinary Prefect would like more training on a variety of fitness exercises so that he can adapt the Gym Tonic classes to both levels.

School 5

- Girls are generally more vulnerable, have less endurance, and can not do certain exercises past a certain level.

- Girls love Gym Tonic classes. They were introduced last year and are very popular. Participation is optional and approximately 100 girls participate on a weekly basis, including bigger girls. They have fun and see this activity as a form of entertainment.

- Very few girls play Football, does who do tend to be younger, when they are older they feel that it is only for boys and decide to participate in other activities instead.

- There is a need for more coaches and playgrounds to increase the time girls spend doing physical activity in order to for them to become stronger, to develop their endurance, and to improve their level of fitness.

Suggestions to improve girls' experiences

Training

1. Official training courses as well as refresher training courses

2. Workshops where Sports Masters and Teachers can come together and share ideas

3. Technical information and skills training in order to develop skill level and confidence in training and teaching abilities

4. Training on how to manage sports programs in schools

5. Certificates of qualification: short term technical training to be certified to teach a certain sport

6. Training on a variety of easier activities and exercises that can be adapted to girls' abilities and skills

7. Train more women specialists to take charge of sports in schools

Parents' and school authorities' active involvement

1. Inform parents of the importance and benefits of doing sports and physical activity at school so that they can help to motivate and support students by encouraging them to participate and by providing material support (sportswear, shoes, recuperation)

2. School authorities and other teachers at the school need to value and invest in sports and physical activity at school in order to motivate students. They need to also be physically active.

3. Parents and school authorities need to be active role models in order to encourage and motivate students, especially girls, i.e. women school authorities and teachers who take part in the Saturday jogging exercises and Gym Tonic classes with the girls, who coach and manage girls' teams, etc.

Inter-school competitions

1. Organize inter-school competitions year long, not only the first term, in order for students to stay motivated year long, to improve their skills and to stay fit.

2. Offer trophies, cash prizes and sponsorships in order to motivate students.

Other

1. Look for sponsors of competitions and tournaments in schools, i.e. local bank branches.
2. Encourage 3rd level education institutions to have a policy that enables and encourages students to continue practicing sports after they are finished secondary school as this is the best way to develop the country's professional talent.
3. Organize a conference between school authorities, teachers and the government focusing on the promotion and support of sports and physical activity in schools.
4. Introduce new physical activities and sports in schools to reflect different interests, skills and levels of abilities.

Appendix 5: Categorization of Photovoice data

Question 1: What do girls like about physical activity and sports in school?

	School 1	School 2	School 3	School 4	School 5	Total
Physical Health						
Good physical health and functioning of the body	7	3	11	2	4	27
Strength	4	5	3	5	8	25
Lose weight/ keep a good figure	5	4	6	2	2	19
Protection from diseases/fighting diseases	2	3	4	4	5	18
Be physically fit	1	1	2	0	0	4
Total	19	16	26	13	19	93
Mental Health						
Refresh the mind to study well	3	2	2	5	10	22
Relaxation	1	0	5	0	5	11
Reduce stress	0	1	2	0	2	5
Other	1	0	2	3	0	6
Total	5	3	11	8	17	44
Social Health						
Fun	4	1	3	1	0	9
Friendship/socialization	0	0	2	1	3	6
Career opportunity	0	0	2	2	0	4
Keep busy	0	1	1	0	0	2
Other	2	0	0	1	1	4
Total	6	2	8	5	4	25

Physical Health	
Good physical health and functioning of the body	- good health, good growth, blood circulation, keep warm in cold weather, remove waste products from body, balance the body minerals/fats, helps in muscle construction and expansion, good body, relaxation of muscles, make body feel good and work good
Strength	- body, bones, muscles
Protection from diseases/fighting diseases	- headaches, diabetes, obesity, pressure, cough, influenza, heart attack
Mental Health	
Other	- self-confidence/self-esteem (1), being happy (2), "to become beautiful and lovely" (1), like the musical instruments (1), like how they dress during sports (1)
Social Health	
Career opportunity	- future employment and talents
Keep busy	- not be bored, not engage in bad behaviors
Other	- "To do more work that girls like" (1), "To be able to do other activities and work more easily" (1), social recognition (1), learn to "live peacefully in a society" (1)

Question 2: What difficulties do girls face when doing physical activity and sports in school that <u>boys do not face</u>?

	School 1	School 2	School 3	School 4	School 5	Total
Physical Difficulties						
Big figure	4	1	1	1	1	8
Big breasts	7	2	2	1	0	12
Big buttocks	3	2	0	0	0	5
Weakness/tiredness	4	1	8	8	1	22
Pains/injuries/fragility	4	4	6	1	1	16
Menstruation	3	3	2	4	0	12
Laziness	2	0	0	1	1	4
Fainting	0	0	1	1	0	2
Sweating	0	0	2	0	0	2
Lack of recuperation	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	27	13	22	17	5	84
Social/Emotional Difficulties						
Shyness	3	1	5	0	0	9
Lack of time	0	1	0	1	4	6
Lack of permission	0	0	2	1	0	3
Lack of encouragement	0	0	0	1	1	2
Lack of coaches for girls	0	2	0	0	0	2
Cultural beliefs	0	1	3	0	1	5
Lack of confidence	0	0	0	2	1	3
Lack of role models	0	0	0	0	2	2
Lack of participation	0	0	1	3	2	6
Total	3	5	11	8	11	38
Material Difficulties						
Lack of sportswear	1	1	2	1	5	10
Lack of equipment	0	1	0	1	6	8
Lack of playing fields	0	1	3	0	5	9
Lack of coaches	0	0	0	3	5	8
Lack of competitions	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	1	3	5	5	22	36

Physical Difficulties	
Big breasts	- "Uncomfortable/painful when running/playing" - "moving when running" - "everyone looking at you"
Weakness	- "getting tired more easily/quickly than the boys" - "less endurance" - "get easily tired and discouraged"
Pains/injuries	- problem of backbone, pulled muscles, pain in joints, back ache, hardness of the ball

	- "because girls do not participate much in different physical activities"
Social/Emotional Difficulties	
Shyness	- because of figure - "You can fear to play any game or to try what we know" - afraid of being laughed at
Lack of time	- "Girls have less free time in the morning, must clean dorms and other activities" - domestic activities are girls' daily activity while sports are boys' daily activity
Lack of permission	- harder to get permission than boys - "Most parents don't give us the right to go there" - are not given the permission to leave the school ground to play sports like the boys do
Lack of encouragement	- from school leaders
Cultural beliefs and attitudes	- "afraid of becoming like boys" - can not enjoy the activity if boyfriend is also doing sports - are not fed as well as the boys - "some girls think it is shameful to do sports"
Lack of confidence	- culture, bigger figure
Lack of participation	- girls don't know the benefits of sports - "some sports are hard for girls" - "become bored easily" - "some students neglect sport" - "lack of courage"
Material Difficulties	
Lack of playing fields	- proper, safe, well constructed

Question 3: What can be done to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sport in school?

	School 1	School 2	School 3	School 4	School 5	Total
Material Solutions						
Sportswear and shoes	5	2	3	3	3	16
Equipment	3	1	2	4	5	15
Coaches/teachers	2	4	2	2	5	15
Playing fields	2	2	6	2	4	16
Balanced diet	0	2	3	0	0	5
Gift to winners	0	0	1	1	0	2
Sports bras	0	0	1	0	0	1
Menstrual pads	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	12	12	18	12	17	71
Social/Emotional Solutions						
Increase confidence	4	0	1	0	2	7
Support and encouragement	2	2	0	3	0	7
Inform girls about the benefits of physical activity	1	0	3	4	2	10
Teach girls how to play sports	0	1	1	4	0	6
Increase time requirements	2	1	2	4	4	13
Gym for girls	1	3	2	1	0	7
Sports clubs and competitions for girls	0	0	5	4	2	11
Changing beliefs and attitudes	1	1	2	0	0	4
Motivation	1	0	0	1	0	2
Role models	0	0	0	0	1	1
Friendships through sport	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	12	9	16	21	11	69

Social/Emotional Solutions	
Increase confidence	- "To feel like you have the power to play sports or to do physical activity" - "To encourage girls not to be shy and do sports" - "Encourage sports in girls because boys have confidence but girls are shy" - "To have self-confidence when doing sports to show what we can do this on our own" - "Not be scared of what you are doing and having hard muscles"

Support and encouragement	- "Need support so that they can prove what they know" - provide advice - "Encourage schools to give equal chance for girls and boys"
Inform girls about the benefits of physical activity	- better understand "the importance of sports in our lives before getting discouraged by the figures we have" - "Encourage girls about the importance of doing physical activity" - "Encourage the ones that are fat to do sports because it helps them to lose weight"
Teach girls how to play sports	- "Give them the rules and regulations so that they can do sports"
Increase time requirements	- "Girls should do physical activity every day in order to solve a problem of body pains" - "To encourage girls to do physical activity regularly" - "Need to do sports every day"
Gym for girls	- offer more physical activity - different games for girls - "Include easy sports, e.g.: skipping rope, jumping, stretching" - "To free girls to do easy sports"
Changing beliefs and attitudes	- "Girls should love sports" - "Changing minds that girls are also able to do sports" - "We need our rights by showing us that we are equal to boys"

Appendix 6: Interview questions for physical education teachers

Interview with teacher

School:
Sports Master:
In position since:
Date:

1) Introduction

A - Research purpose

To better understand secondary school girls' lived experiences of physical activity and sports in school by:

> 1. Asking girls to take pictures of what they like, what difficulties they face that boys do not face, and what they suggest can be done to improve their experiences of physical activity and sports in school.

> 2. Informing teachers responsible of physical activity and sports in schoolgirls' ideas, asking teachers how they experience working with girls and their perspective on what can be suggested to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in school.

> 3. Informing Education, Gender and Physical Activity experts (KIE, FAWE, Gender specialist) girls' and teachers' ideas and asking them their perspective and their ideas on suggestions to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in school.

B - Consent form and consent to audio-record interview.

2) School information

Number of students:

%/number of girls:

Source of funding for physical activity programming:

3) Description of physical activity programming of school

A - What activities are implemented?
B – When do they take place?
C – Where do they take place?
D – How often do they take place?
E – Who participates?
F – What equipment is available for girls?

4) Responsibility of developing and implementing programming

A – Who is responsible for determining the content of the activities/programming? Is the content different for girls?

B – What are the objectives/goals/purposes of the activities/programming? Are they different for girls?

c) What kind of training is offered/received for developing and implementing activities/programming? Does this training include a gender aspect or a section for teaching girls? If so, how is it different than the boys? If not, why do you think that is? What is your opinion of this?

5) Girls' answers and photographs: PowerPoint presentation

A - Question 1: What do girls like about physical activity and sports in school?

Girls' answers:

Discussion: What do you think of these answers? Is there something that strikes you? Which photo stands out for you and why?

B – Question 2: What difficulties do girls face when doing physical activity and sports in school that boys do not face?

Girls' answers:

Discussion: What do you think of these answers? Is there something that strikes you? Which photo stands out for you and why?

C – Question 3: What can be done to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in school?

Girls' answers:

Discussion: What do you think of these answers? Is there something that strikes you? Which photo stands out for you and why?

6) What is your experience of working with girls?

A – Are there different concerns in working with girls and physical activity/sports in school than working with boys and physical activity/sports in school?

B – How has working with girls in physical activity/sports in school changed over time? What accounts for these changes?

C - What changes would you like to see to physical activity/sports in school programs for girls? What do you suggest needs/can be done to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in schools?

D - How do you see your role in improving girls' experiences of physical activity?

E – What do you suggest program and policy experts do to help teachers and sports masters improve girls' experiences of physical activity in school?

Appendix 7: Interview questions for experts

FAWE INTERVIEW

<u>Date:</u>

<u>Name:</u>

<u>Title:</u>

<u>In position since:</u>

<u>Contact information:</u>

1) Introduction

A - Research purpose

To better understand secondary school girls' lived experiences of physical activity and sports in school by:

> 1. Asking girls to take pictures of what they like, what difficulties they face that boys do not face, and what they suggest can be done to improve their experiences of physical activity and sports in school.

> 2. Informing teachers responsible of physical activity and sports in schoolgirls' ideas, asking teachers how they experience working with girls and their perspective on what can be suggested to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in school.

> 3. Informing Education, Gender and Physical Activity experts (KIE, FAWE, Gender specialist) girls' and teachers' ideas and asking them their perspective and their ideas on suggestions to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in school.

B – Facts of the Study sheet, Consent form and consent to audio-record interview.

2) Description of Program

<u>A. Content</u>

What is FAWE Rwanda's program for the promotion and support of girls' physical activity and sports in secondary schools across the country?

<u>B. Objectives</u>

What are the objectives of the program?

3) Girls' answers and photographs: PowerPoint presentation

Question 1: What do girls like about physical activity and sports in school?

1. Good health: protection from diseases, strong bones and muscles, good blood circulation, keep fit to do other activities
2. To loose weight and keep a good figure
3. To relax, freshen the mind and reduce stress in order to study well
4. To have fun and create friendships
5. To be confident
6. Offers career opportunities

Discussion: What do you think of these answers? Is there something that strikes you? Which photo stands out for you and why?

Question 2: What difficulties do girls face when doing physical activity and sports in school that boys do not face?

1. Weakness, less endurance, tiredness, laziness, more easily hurt: "Some activities are harder for girls"
2. Bigger figure: breasts and buttocks
3. Menstruation period
4. Shyness and lack of self-confidence: bigger figure, afraid to be laughed at, cultural beliefs
5. Lack of experienced and trained coaches and Sports Masters, sportswear and shoes, playgrounds (quantity and quality), materials and equipments
6. Lack of encouragement, support and role models: "Some girls think it is shameful to do sports, they are afraid of becoming like boys"
7. Other: lack of time, recuperation, competitions for girls

Discussion: What do you think of these answers? Is there something that strikes you? Which photo stands out for you and why?

Question 3: What can be done to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in school?

1. Provide experienced and trained coaches/SMs for girls, sportswear and shoes, playgrounds (quantity and quality), materials and equipments (including sanitary pads)
2. Offer a greater variety of easier physical activities and teach girls how to play different sports
3. Create sports clubs and organize competitions for girls, give prizes and trophies to the winners
4. Increase time and requirements allocated to physical activity for girls and provide recuperation
5. Give an equal chance to girls and boys: motivate girls by providing support and encouragement in order for them to develop self-confidence, use of role models for girls

Discussion: What do you think of these answers? Is there something that strikes you? Which photo stands out for you and why?

4) Sports Masters/Teachers' feedback

Observations on working with girls

- Girls love Gym Tonic classes, much more than boys. App. 100 girls enthusiastically participate each week and the classes, although new, have rapidly increased in popularity. Bigger girls also participate. The girls comment that they feel better, they feel less tired, have more energy in class and have fun during the class. However, in the mixed classes where participation is mandatory, the boys have more endurance, are stronger than the girls and there are certain exercises that girls cannot do. As a result, the DP will introduce a 2nd class so that one class can be advanced and the other than be for beginners, for both boys and girls, in order to meet different levels of abilities.

- Boys are aware of team sports, they love participating and they understand the rules and the objectives very quickly. On the other hand, girls need to be explained why they should participate in team sports, teachers need to take the time to teach them the rules and the objectives, and they need to strongly encourage and motivate them to participate.

- When playing team sports, when faced with a challenge or an obstacle, boys will face and solve it whereas girls will fear it and be weak in facing the challenge. Boys are confident and do not fear whereas girls do not have confidence and are weak.

- Today, boys and girls are taught under the same conditions and girls can improve their skill level and be high performers like the boys.

- Very few girls play Football, does who do tend to be younger, when they are older they feel that it is only for boys and decide to participate in other activities instead.

Discussion: What do you think of these observations? Is there something that strikes you?

Suggestions to improve girls' experiences

Training

1. Official training courses as well as refresher training courses
2. Workshops where Sports Masters and Teachers can come together and share ideas
3. Technical information and skills training in order to develop skill level and confidence in training and teaching abilities
4. Training on how to manage sports programs in schools
5. Certificates of qualification: short term technical training to be certified to teach a certain sport
6. Training on a variety of easier activities and exercises that can be adapted to girls' abilities and skills
7. Train more women specialists to take charge of sports in schools

Parents' and school authorities' active involvement

1. Inform parents of the importance and benefits of doing sports and physical activity at school so that they can help to motivate and support girls by encouraging them to participate and by providing material support (sportswear, shoes, recuperation)

2. School authorities and other teachers at the school need to value and invest in sports and physical activity at school in order to motivate girls.

3. Parents and school authorities need to be active role models in order to encourage and motivate girls, i.e. women school authorities and teachers who take part in the Saturday jogging exercises and Gym Tonic classes with the girls, who coach and manage girls' teams, etc.

Inter-school competitions

1. Organize inter-school competitions year long, not only the first term, in order for girls to stay motivated year long, to improve their skills and to stay fit.

2. Offer trophies, cash prizes and sponsorships in order to motivate girls.

Other

1. Look for sponsors of competitions and tournaments in schools, i.e. local bank branches.

2. Encourage 3rd level education institutions to have a policy that enables and encourages girls to continue practicing sports after they are finished secondary school as this is the best way to develop the country's professional talent.

3. Organize a conference between school authorities, teachers and the government focusing on the promotion and support of sports and physical activity in schools.

4. Introduce new physical activities and sports in schools to reflect different interests, skills and levels of abilities.

Discussion: What do you think of these recommendations? Is there something that strikes you?

5) General discussion

A - What do you suggest Gender and Education program and policy experts do to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in school?

B - How do you see FAWE Rwanda's role in improving girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in secondary schools?

C – What barriers or difficulties does FAWE Rwanda face in seeking to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in secondary schools?

Date:

Name:

Title:

In position since:

Contact information:

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5. Lack of experienced and trained coaches and Sports Masters, sportswear and shoes, playgrounds (quantity and quality), materials and equipments
6. Lack of encouragement, support and role models: "Some girls think it is shameful to do sports, they are afraid of becoming like boys"
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1. Look for sponsors of competitions and tournaments in schools, i.e. local bank branches.

2. Encourage 3rd level education institutions to have a policy that enables and encourages girls to continue practicing sports after they are finished secondary school as this is the best way to develop the country's professional talent.

3. Organize a conference between school authorities, teachers and the government focusing on the promotion and support of sports and physical activity in schools.

4. Introduce new physical activities and sports in schools to reflect different interests, skills and levels of abilities.

Discussion: What do you think of these recommendations? Is there something that strikes you?

5) Gender Analysis

A – What do you suggest Gender program and policy experts do to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in school?

B – What barriers or difficulties do Gender program and policy experts face in seeking to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in secondary schools?

<div align="center">**KIE INTERVIEW**</div>

Date:

Name:

Title:

In position since:

Contact information:

1) Introduction

A - Research purpose

To better understand secondary school girls' lived experiences of physical activity and sports in school by:

> 1. Asking girls to take pictures of what they like, what difficulties they face that boys do not face, and what they suggest can be done to improve their experiences of physical activity and sports in school.

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> 3. Informing Education, Gender and Physical Activity experts (KIE, FAWE, Gender specialist) girls' and teachers' ideas and asking them their perspective and their ideas on suggestions to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in school.

B – Facts of the Study sheet, Consent form and consent to audio-record interview.

2) Description of Program

A. Structure

Name:

Faculty/Department:

Number of professors:

Number of students enrolled:

Number or % of women professors: Students:

Number of years to complete degree:

Number of classes:

Number of graduates per year: % of women:

Age of program (when did it start):

B. Content

Curriculum: What are the topics covered and the activities implemented? (Broad description)

C. Objectives

What are the objectives of the program?

D. Equipment

What equipment, materials and playing fields are available?

E. Gender

How are gender issues incorporated into the program in terms of content, objectives and approach to training, both in terms of women Sports Masters and girls engaging in sports and physical activity?

3) Girls' answers and photographs: PowerPoint presentation

Question 1: What do girls like about physical activity and sports in school?

1. Good health: protection from diseases, strong bones and muscles, good blood circulation, keep fit to do other activities
2. To loose weight and keep a good figure
3. To relax, freshen the mind and reduce stress in order to study well
4. To have fun and create friendships
5. To be confident
6. Offers career opportunities

Discussion: What do you think of these answers? Is there something that strikes you? Which photo stands out for you and why?

Question 2: What difficulties do girls face when doing physical activity and sports in school that boys do not face?

1. Weakness, less endurance, tiredness, laziness, more easily hurt: "Some activities are harder for girls"
2. Bigger figure: breasts and buttocks

256

3. Menstruation period
4. Shyness and lack of self-confidence: bigger figure, afraid to be laughed at, cultural beliefs
5. Lack of experienced and trained coaches and Sports Masters, sportswear and shoes, playgrounds (quantity and quality), materials and equipments
6. Lack of encouragement, support and role models: "Some girls think it is shameful to do sports, they are afraid of becoming like boys"
7. Other: lack of time, recuperation, competitions for girls

Discussion: What do you think of these answers? Is there something that strikes you? Which photo stands out for you and why?

Question 3: What can be done to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in school?

1. Provide experienced and trained coaches/SMs for girls, sportswear and shoes, playgrounds (quantity and quality), materials and equipments (including sanitary pads)
2. Offer a greater variety of easier physical activities and teach girls how to play different sports
3. Create sports clubs and organize competitions for girls, give prizes and trophies to the winners
4. Increase time and requirements allocated to physical activity for girls and provide recuperation
5. Give an equal chance to girls and boys: motivate girls by providing support and encouragement in order for them to develop self-confidence, use of role models for girls

Discussion: What do you think of these answers? Is there something that strikes you? Which photo stands out for you and why?

4) Sports Masters/Teachers' feedback

Observations on working with girls

- Girls love Gym Tonic classes, much more than boys. App. 100 girls enthusiastically participate each week and the classes, although new, have rapidly increased in popularity. Bigger girls also participate. The girls comment that they feel better, they feel less tired, have more energy in class and have fun during the class. However, in the mixed classes where participation is mandatory, the boys have more endurance, are stronger than the girls and there are certain exercises that girls cannot do. As a result, the DP will introduce a 2nd class so that one class can be advanced and the other than be for beginners, for both boys and girls, in order to meet different levels of abilities.

- Boys are aware of team sports, they love participating and they understand the rules and the objectives very quickly. On the other hand, girls need to be explained why they should participate in team sports, teachers need to take the time to teach them the rules and the objectives, and they need to strongly encourage and motivate them to participate.

- When playing team sports, when faced with a challenge or an obstacle, boys will face and solve it whereas girls will fear it and be weak in facing the challenge. Boys are confident and do not fear whereas girls do not have confidence and are weak.

- Today, boys and girls are taught under the same conditions and girls can improve their skill level and be high performers like the boys.

- Very few girls play Football, does who do tend to be younger, when they are older they feel that it is only for boys and decide to participate in other activities instead.

Discussion: What do you think of these observations? Is there something that strikes you?

Suggestions to improve girls' experiences

Training

1. Official training courses as well as refresher training courses
2. Workshops where Sports Masters and Teachers can come together and share ideas
3. Technical information and skills training in order to develop skill level and confidence in training and teaching abilities
4. Training on how to manage sports programs in schools
5. Certificates of qualification: short term technical training to be certified to teach a certain sport
6. Training on a variety of easier activities and exercises that can be adapted to girls' abilities and skills
7. Train more women specialists to take charge of sports in schools

Parents' and school authorities' active involvement

1. Inform parents of the importance and benefits of doing sports and physical activity at school so that they can help to motivate and support girls by encouraging them to participate and by providing material support (sportswear, shoes, recuperation)

2. School authorities and other teachers at the school need to value and invest in sports and physical activity at school in order to motivate girls and to show them that this is important for their wellbeing.

3. Parents and school authorities need to be active role models in order to encourage and motivate girls, i.e. women school authorities and teachers who take part in the Saturday jogging exercises and Gym Tonic classes with the girls, who coach and manage girls' teams, etc.

Inter-school competitions

1. Organize inter-school competitions year long, not only the first term, in order for girls to stay motivated year long, to improve their skills and to stay fit.

2. Offer trophies, cash prizes and sponsorships in order to motivate girls.

Other

1. Look for sponsors of competitions and tournaments in schools, i.e. local bank branches.

2. Encourage 3rd level education institutions to have a policy that enables and encourages girls to continue practicing sports after they are finished secondary school as this is the best way to develop the country's professional talent.

3. Organize a conference between school authorities, teachers and the government focusing on the promotion and support of sports and physical activity in schools.

4. Introduce new physical activities and sports in schools to reflect different interests, skills and levels of abilities.

<u>Discussion</u>: What do you think of these recommendations? Is there something that strikes you?

5) General discussion

A - What do you suggest program and policy experts do to help Teachers and Sports Masters improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in school?

B - How do you see your role in improving girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in secondary schools?

C – What barriers or difficulties do you face in seeking to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in secondary schools?

Appendix 8: Photo-report for experts and ministries

The following is an abridged version of the photo-report for experts and ministries.

Rwandan secondary schoolgirls' perspectives on their lived experiences of physical activity and sport in schools

GENDER CLUB OF THE KIGALI INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

LYSANNE RIVARD
PHD CANDIDATE, FACULTY OF EDUCATION
MCGILL UNIVERSITY, CANADA

What do girls like about physical activity and sports in school?

- Good health: protection from diseases, strong bones and muscles, good blood circulation, keep fit to do other activities

What can be done to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in school?

- *"We need our rights by showing us that we are equal to boys"*
- *"Girls should love sports. Girls should do sports more often"*
- *"Changing of minds that girls are also able to do sports"*
- *"Need support so that they can prove what they know"*