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FROM THE PLAYING FIELD TO THE POLICY TABLE

Stakeholders' Responses to Rwandan Schoolgirls' Photographs on Physical Activity and Sport in Secondary Schools

Lysanne Rivard

This chapter explores the use of visual participatory methods to integrate girls' voices into the decision-making processes that shape their experiences of physical activity and sport in secondary schools in Rwanda. It draws on a study in which girls in Rwandan secondary schools, using the visual participatory method, Photovoice, photographed their feedback and their suggestions on how to improve their lived experiences of physical activity and sport in school. Anchored in girlhood studies and participatory methodology, the objective of the study was to ensure that program implementers, experts, and policy makers would actively discuss and reflect upon girls' issues of concern. The girls' photographs and captions served as the basis for interviews with their physical education teachers, gender and physical education experts, and personnel in three ministries. Starting with a brief introduction to the current debate on girls and sport in the Global South and the justifications for selecting Rwanda as a case study, the rationale for an adapted participatory approach is presented, followed by a description of the data collection process. Results are divided into two categories: (1) issues raised by the girls demonstrating their understanding of key concerns currently being debated, and (2) issues raised by the girls highlighting their original contributions to the debate, and responses to the girls' feedback. The chapter concludes with a reflection on integrating key decision makers directly into an adapted participatory research process.

Girls and Sport in the Global South: A Debate Transitioning from "Where Are the Girls?" to "What about Girls' Voices?"

Over the past fifteen years, significant headway has been made in identifying and breaking down barriers to girls' participation in sport and physical education in the Global South. The recurring barriers are the

following: domestic chores (Meier 2005; Pelak 2005; Saavedra 2005, 2009), safety issues (Meier 2005; Saavedra 2005, 2009), the lack of female role models (Meier 2005), the obligation to wear skirts (Elliot and Lemaire 2007[1]), the lack of skills and the belief that girls cannot play (Pelak 2005; Elliot and Lemaire 2007; Saavedra 2009), and poverty (Hardman and Marshall 2005; Meier 2005; Pelak 2005; Saavedra 2005). In addition, the masculinization of sport and physical education is a strong deterrent for many girls who are reluctant to challenge gender norms (Brady 2005; Meier 2005; Saavedra 2005; Larkin, Razack, and Moola 2007; Kay 2009).

Although considerable work still remains to be done in addressing these barriers in various settings, a notable increase in access to sports and physical education programming has enabled critics to turn their attention to the quality of girls' experiences of such programming. Drawing on postcolonial and feminist theoretical frameworks, scholars argue for the rights of beneficiaries to take part in sport and physical education programs, and policy development and implementation, and are thus calling for the use of innovative research methodologies that will enable recipients' active involvement in this process (Guest 2009; Nicholls, Giles, and Sethna 2010; Darnell and Hayhurst 2011; Kirk 2012; Rivard and Mitchell 2013). In support of this approach to research, a 2012 UNESCO advocacy brief on physical education and sport for girls in the Global South calls for methodologies that not only work with "girl-led action" (Kirk 2012: 10), but also directly involve "the three broad levels of policy and strategy, on the professional and institutional, and on the personal and social levels" (9) in order to transform girls' experiences of physical education and sport. Drawing on these studies, this research seeks to answer the following questions: How can girls' voices be integrated into the decision-making process concerning the improvement of the physical activity and sport programming they experience? How successfully does Photovoice provide this opportunity for girls? The objective is to ensure that girls have access to a political space in which they can not only voice their concerns and solutions, but can also be heard, in a timely manner, by relevant and targeted decision makers who can have a direct impact on their lived experiences of this sport programming.

A Rwandan Case Study

I selected Rwanda because it represents an interesting case for both sport programming in the community, and physical education for girls.

Until recently, girls and women were excluded from participating in physical activity because of what is known as precolonial Rwandan body culture;[2] the formal Belgian colonial schooling system and a Westernized sport culture were originally developed to train elite young boys from noble families to defend the country (Bale 1996). This has meant that physical activity and sport are regarded as being primarily meant for boys and men (Huggins and Randell 2007). Following the 1994 civil war and genocide, Rwandan civil society and its social fabric underwent significant changes. An overhaul of major policies pertaining to all sections of society was realized as part of the peace and reconstruction efforts, including gender equality and education. Indeed, the Ministry of Education developed a new physical education curriculum based on the 1978 UNESCO charter (Ministry of Education 1997, 1998), a girls' education policy, and is working toward meeting United Nations Millennium Development Goals 2 (universal education) and 3 (gender equality and women's empowerment).[3] Furthermore, the Association of Kigali Women in Sports, which is the first sport organization for women and girls in Rwanda, has been spearheading programming for girls at the community level since 1997. As for physical education, a bachelor's degree in Physical Education and Sport has been available at the Kigali Institute of Education since 2003, and the number of graduates, both male and female, is increasing every year. Starting with 11 graduates (all men) in 2006, there were 100 graduates (seven women) and 134 students (ten women) enrolled in the program in 2012. The Ministry of Education is also implementing nationwide measures, including a television campaign, to encourage girls' participation in physical education at the secondary school level. Thus, the social and policy climate is ripe for addressing girls' experiences of community sport and physical education in Rwanda and for finding ways to ensure that girls' voices are heard and integrated into the ongoing process of program development and implementation.

Methodological Approach: Bridging the Gap between and among Girls, Teachers, Experts, and Ministries

Feminist Participatory Methodology

Feminist participatory approaches draw on theoretical frameworks and methodologies to gather and bring forward the voices of marginalized populations. Methods, such as the visual participatory method Photovoice implemented in this study (Wang and Burris 1997), 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; Reid, Tom, and Frisby 2006; Mitchell and Reid-Walsh 2009). Typically involving small groups of participants, participatory methods can require several sessions of activities over an extended period of time during which participants actively define, lead, and implement the research agenda (Maguire 1987; Lykes 1997; Yoshihama and Carr 2002; Frisby et al. 2005). Although they are successful at gathering multiple voices, the difficulties of implementing these methods, for both researchers and participants, are well documented. For example, in an effort to dig deeper and to highlight heterogeneity, activities can be labor-intensive and time-consuming. While context-specificity can offer a grounded understanding of a critical issue, it can then become difficult to reach various levels of decision makers and stakeholders (Reid and Frisby 2008). Furthermore, isolating small groups of participants can even be seen to be exclusionary in certain sociocultural contexts. Various feminist scholars working with participatory methodologies have reported the difficulties of transferring research results from an individual/local scale to larger segments of society (Reid and Frisby 2008) and have sought to adapt data gathering processes to respect participants' constraints and concerns while reaching out to decision makers (Gervais and Rivard 2013). Nevertheless, researchers are given strong warnings against tokenistic participation and are encouraged to work with smaller groups of participants in order to meet their various needs, even though this can lead to difficulties in linking personal concerns to larger structures. By seeking to both gather girls' lived experiences and to reach directly targeted levels of stakeholders, this research attempts to find a balance between a participatory approach grounded in individual experiences and having an impact on broader social structures responsible for the development and implementation of programming.

A "Middle of the Road" Approach: Balancing Participatory Objectives with Broader Social Impact

The research model I developed for this study sought to respect the local school context and the various constraints of the participants. As such, it contributes to the literature on innovative context-specific approaches to bridging the gap between girls and decision makers (Kirk and Garrow 2003; Sajan Virgi and Mitchell 2011; Thompson, Folifac, and Gaskin 2011; DeJaeghere 2012). Working with girls at secondary school level attending boarding schools, I faced particular time and mobility constraints since the girls had to follow strict school sched-

ules and regulations. Furthermore, with a very low secondary school completion rate of only 2.8 percent, girls are pressured to study and succeed in school, so that most of their free time is dedicated to academic activities (Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion n.d.). Thus, what might be deemed a tokenistic short-term participation approach can, in this context and with this particular population, offer the advantage of greatly reducing the personal risks and costs normally associated with extended activities and interventions. However, in order to increase the potential impact of short-term participation and a shorter time period there is a need to counterbalance these conditions with a significant number of participants and a pretargeted and relevant audience. In other words, I make the case for working with larger numbers of participants grouped in a heterogeneous collective voice to reach, and have an impact on, various levels of decision makers, thereby helping to bridge the gap between individual concerns and larger social structures. Because the research approach is grounded in the participatory method, Photovoice, girls' personal experiences and suggestions remain the primary data collected in order to improve physical activity programming. This approach respects Reid and Frisby's (2008) recommendation of building programs on life experiences and on what the participants hope to achieve.

Photovoice

In the Photovoice method, originally developed by Wang and Burris (1997), participants photograph their issues of concern and, with the help of their photographic documentation, collectively engage in critical discussions on the issues raised. The photographs then serve as evidence to present policymakers with the participants' priorities, their expertise, and their suggested solutions. For this study, Photovoice was specifically adapted to better address the concerns listed above, while actively engaging girls in the data collection process. First, in order for a greater number of girls to participate, the Photovoice session was adapted to a larger group of participants (twenty-five), curious onlookers were invited and integrated into the activities, and two sessions working with two different groups took place in each participating school, for a total of ten groups in five schools. Second, to respect girls' limited free time (school authorities allowed sessions to take place only during weekends and on Wednesday afternoons when there are no scheduled classes), only one Photovoice session took place per group, and it was structured to last approximately three hours. To adapt to this time constraint and to work within an activity structure that is familiar

to schoolgirls in the Rwandan context, I, as the researcher, asked three predetermined but open-ended questions and girls worked in teams of three to six per camera to photograph their answers to the questions. Finally, a colored PowerPoint document of the girls' photographs with headings similar to an exhibit served as the basis for semi-structured interviews with the girls' physical education teachers, experts, and personnel from the relevant ministries. This ensured that girls' feedback, issues of concern, and suggestions for improvement were not only seen but also discussed by key decision makers.

Data Collection: Combining Photovoice with Girls and Interviews with Key Stakeholders

Phase 1: Capturing Girls' Voices

I conducted the study in five secondary schools on the outskirts of Kigali with 196 girls of eleven to eighteen years of age. The girls were asked to respond, through taking photographs, to 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 boys do not face?
3. What can be done to improve girls' experiences of physical activity and sports in school?

Before they took their photographs, the topic and the questions were introduced to the girls by local facilitators, who ensured that the girls understood the activity and signed the consent forms. Then, in their small groups, the girls brainstormed responses to the three questions and went out into the school grounds to take their photographs. One photograph in response to each question per group was printed onsite using a portable battery-operated photo printer. The girls then made small photo-posters by gluing their photographs onto construction paper and writing a short caption beneath each. A representative of each small group presented their posters and shared their ideas with the rest of the participants. The girls kept their photo-posters.

Phase 2: Reaching Local Stakeholders and Policymakers with Girls' Photographs and Captions

The following section describes how the girls' photo-posters and issues of concern were brought directly to key targeted stakeholders in order for girls' voices to be heard.

Transforming photo-posters into interview and dissemination tools. Afterwards, I grouped the photographs and captions into recurring issues, ranging from most to least recurring. A PowerPoint presentation was then prepared with the top five answers to each question. The issue of concern was inserted as the title of the slide with six photographs illustrating the ideas being conveyed. Each stakeholder received a color-printed copy, which guided the semi-structured interview. The teachers received a paper copy of the presentation and a preliminary report of the research with the top answers of their own schools, while the experts and ministries received a presentation and a preliminary report with the top answers of all of the schools combined. The interviewees kept the documents to share with their colleagues and their superiors (Rivard 2013).

Conducting interviews. The following stakeholders and policymakers were interviewed: girls' Sports Masters (physical education teachers, one per school for a total of five, all men), a gender and education expert from the Forum of African Women Educationalists (a woman), the Sports Master and a Physical Education and Sport professor at the Kigali Institute of Education (both men), a gender specialist from the Canadian International Development Agency (a woman), the Sport and Culture in Education Expert at the Ministry of Education, the Acting Director of Sport at the Ministry of Sports and Culture, and the Adviser to the Minister of Gender and Family Promotion (all men). One interview was held with each person, lasting on average ninety minutes. After a brief introduction to the research and a few questions gathering programming and training information, the entire interview focused solely on the girls' feedback. Stakeholders were handed the PowerPoint presentation of the girls' photographs. On each page, there is the question asked, an answer to that question (taken from the captions), and six photographs demonstrating that particular answer. The stakeholders were told that the photographs represented the girls' feedback and suggestions. They looked at the document at their leisure and controlled the pace of the interview and the discussion. Some of the interviewees skimmed the photographs and looked mostly at the captions, while others paid close attention to the details of the photographs. Whereas some looked at each page and caption and discussed the issues raised at great length before turning the page, others looked at the entire document, made passing comments, and then reflipped through the document to make more detailed remarks and observations. Generally, the stakeholders responded with contextual information, agreement or disagreement with what the girls said, opinions, perspectives, and exam-

ples based on their experiences in other contexts and situations, and so on. 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 Sports Masters.

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 stakeholders to provide their own feedback and perspectives. In other words, through their photographs and captions, girls figuratively participated in a discussion at the policy and program development level by framing and structuring the discussion with key decision makers around their issues of concern, thereby creating a political space and opening a dialogue centered on what they have to say. Although after discussing an issue raised, the teachers, experts, and ministries could sidetrack 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.

Results: Girls Contributing to the Debate with Key Stakeholders

Sports Masters, experts, and ministry officials reacted positively to the girls' photographs documenting their experiences, their issues of concern, and their suggested solutions. The results highlight girls' understanding of and original contributions to key concerns currently being debated.

Question One: What Do Girls Like about Physical Activity and Sports in School?

The girls' response—"to relax, freshen the mind and reduce stress in order to study well"— demonstrates their understanding of a contentious issue concerning their participation in physical education programming. Examples of photographs include two girls looking relaxed and feeling at ease and one girl sitting at a desk reading a book, concentrating, and studying well.

Girls' perspectives. Girls reported that participating in physical activity and sport at school enabled them to de-stress, to relax, to reduce tensions, and to sleep better, which in return increased their ability to focus

and to concentrate. They reported an overall feeling of well-being that helped them to study better. Because of this, they recommended increasing the time and requirements allocated to physical activity at school.

Stakeholders' perspectives. Sports Masters and the Ministry of Education fully agree with the girls on this point. Sports Masters list helping students to relax through physical activity in order to study well as part of their programming objectives. However, both Sports Masters and the Ministry said that girls' participation in physical activity and sport in a school context, whether as part of official programming or as an extracurricular activity, is a very contentious issue with parents and school authorities. The latter strongly believe that physical activity and sport are distractions that take time away from academic lessons and encourage students to neglect their studies. Indeed, the programs implemented in the schools taking part in the study were direct reflections of the school authorities' personal views on physical education. The Sports Master at the Kigali Institute of Education explained, "It's true, in our schools and universities, if the authority does not know sports, if they have never done it themselves, they say, 'What is sport? Why is it necessary?' And therefore sport is not promoted in that institution. If the authority believes in it, sport is implemented at the school." Indeed, the lack of educational value attributed to physical education resulting in crippling programming cuts or removal from the curriculum is a global trend (Shehu 1998; Hardman and Marshall 2005; UNESCO 2012).

Added to this lack of recognition and investment in physical education are extra difficulties for girls who face high dropout rates and gender norms masculinizing sport and physical activity. This creates a triple barrier in the school context: physical education is not valued as an activity beneficial to academic success, girls are put under extra pressure to succeed academically, and gender norms maintain that these activities are for boys. Indeed, the gender and education expert interviewed recalled her own experiences as a female secondary student who had to hide her participation in tennis competitions, including her medals and trophies, from her parents and other family members since they continually discouraged her participation in sports for fear that she would neglect her studies and would develop muscular and "masculine" arms. She confirmed that these beliefs are still very strong today and so ingrained that even she, as a gender and education expert and former athlete, admitted to never having thought of asking the role models who are invited to speak to the girls at the all-girl school to speak about their own participation in physical activity and

sport in their daily lives. The Ministry of Education confirmed that it was currently working on a national television campaign showing secondary school girls taking part in physical activity and sports in school in order to demonstrate that girls can take part in these activities and that they contribute to their academic success and overall social and physical health and well-being.

Girls also contributed an original perspective to the debate, with the most popular response to this question being "to lose weight and keep a good figure." Examples of photographs are: (A) a larger girl stands next to and points to her skinnier friend in order to highlight the latter's thinness and the larger girl's desire to achieve it (see Figure 17.1); (B) two slim girls on the right-hand side are wearing sportswear.

Figure 17.1. Untitled.

The first one is holding onto her shorts pulling them forward to indicate that her participation in physical activity plays a role in her slim figure, while the second girl next to her with her arms stretched out and leaning back indicates her freedom and ease of movement. The two other girls on the left-hand side are not wearing sportswear and are trying to slim down their waists by placing their hands on their hips, indicating that they are larger than the girls who participate in sports and have the desire to slim down.

Girls' perspectives. Girls' response that they wished to lose weight and have a slim figure through physical activity was closely followed by "to have good health." The fact that they were provided as separate answers indicates that the objective of losing weight is for perceived aesthetic purposes rather than for health benefits.

Stakeholders' perspectives. Stakeholders reacted with surprise when seeing these photographs and then mentioned that girls do tend to be bigger than the boys at this age and that they tend to want to lose weight. Indeed, the postgenocide generation to which these girls belong is exposed to beauty ideals defined by slimness. These ideals can easily be identified in advertising across the capital city, as well as in Westernized music culture and beauty contests, such as Miss Rwanda. Interestingly, although sport is heavily masculinized and adolescent girls are deterred from becoming too masculine and muscular, girls report that their main motivation to participate in physical activity and sport is to help them attain a feminine ideal of slimness in order to be more attractive to boys. This objective of femininity and sexual attractiveness through physical activity and sport runs seemingly counter to the masculinization of sports. Furthermore, it adds another element to girls' desire to take part in these activities since this issue is not included in the current "sports for girls as empowerment" discourse promoted by organizations seeking to increase girls' participation. By participating in physical activity and sport with the reported primary objective of losing weight, girls reappropriate the meaning of their participation in these activities.

Question Two: What Difficulties Do Girls Face When Doing Physical Activity and Sports in School that Boys Do Not Face?

The most popular reply to this question was "weakness, less endurance, tiredness, laziness, more easily hurt" and "some activities are harder for girls." In several photographs, girls are leaning over to indicate that they are tired, some are holding body parts (knee, back, etc.) to indicate injury and pain, and all have general facial expressions of strain and difficulty (see Figure 17.2). This is a major concern affecting girls' experiences of physical education programming.

Girls' perspectives. Although girl-specific difficulties were also highlighted, such as menstruation and having breasts, the most popular answer was girls' lack of physical ability in comparison to the boys. Other than an extreme minority of girls who are good at sports and physical

Figure 17.2. Untitled.

activity, the girls' fitness levels, for the most part, are not at the level of the majority of boys'. As a result, girls reported that they had more difficulty keeping up with the physical activities and sports currently available at their school and recommended the implementation of a variety of easier non-sports-based physical activities adapted to their level of fitness.

Stakeholders' perspectives. All stakeholders, except for one, agreed that physical activity is generally harder for girls than it is for boys and that they generally have less ability and are less fit than boys. Sports Masters commented that it is generally harder to motivate girls to participate and that it takes significant effort on their part to get them to participate in the activities that are heavily sports-based. An important contribution to this problem is the fact that the majority of primary schools do not offer physical education, physical activity, or sports. Since gender norms maintain that these activities are for boys, they are exposed to sport culture at a much younger age than girls. As a result, when girls do take part in these activities at the secondary school level, it is often their first experience, which makes it much more difficult for them to keep up with the boys who are more knowledgeable about sport rules and regulations and have more experience playing. The Ministry of Ed-

ucation and the Physical Education and Sport professor confirmed that adaptations to the curriculum were currently being made in order to integrate non-sports-based physical activities that can be more easily adapted to girls' level of fitness.

Question Three: What Can Be Done to Improve Girls' Experiences of Physical Activity and Sports in School?

A popular and original response from the girls was the suggestion to "create sports clubs, organize competitions for girls, and give prizes and trophies to the winners." In one photograph, for example, three girls are lined up next to one another, facing the camera. The first girl on the left is holding her arms up in a victory sign to indicate that girls are winners of competitions, the girl in the middle is making a peace sign to indicate her desire to participate in more friendly matches, and the girl on the right is pointing to her watch to symbolize her request to spend more time playing through the creation of clubs. In another photograph, a group of girls is standing in a circle and holding the camera case to represent prizes won at a competition.

Girls' perspectives. Girls report wanting opportunities to be part of teams, clubs, and competitions adapted to their level of ability and the chance of winning interesting prizes and trophies as reward for and recognition of their hard work and success.

Stakeholders' perspectives. The Physical Education and Sport professor explained that schools train only elite teams to represent the school at regional and national competitions and that the rest of the students are "forgotten." Furthermore, since the annual national tournament occurs at the beginning of the school year, once the school team is eliminated from the competition, it stops participating. As a result, very few students have opportunities to participate in matches and competitions. According to the professor, "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 Ministry of Education is currently developing and implementing a "sports for all" model of competition and sports clubs at the school level in order to give more students access to competitions and allow them to join teams. However, this is not implemented in the majority of schools, and teachers are left with very few opportunities to create teams and

organize matches with other schools. A Sports Master pointed to the significant lack of athletic facilities and playing fields as an obstacle to the organization of clubs and competitions. He also believes that increasing the quantity and quality of playgrounds would encourage and give a chance to the girls who do not make the sports teams to play as well. Currently, the only option available to these girls is jogging over weekends. He added that there had been one cross-country competition organized by a local church and sponsored by a national company in which some of his students participated and won prizes, but that this had been a once off tournament.

Discussion

The results described above demonstrate that girls are aware of, understand, and can contribute, through an adapted participatory process, to a discussion on key issues that can have an impact on the development and implementation of the physical activity and sport programming they experience in schools. One Sports Master commented that, although he was generally aware of many of the issues presented by the girls, the girls never directly approached him or discussed these issues with him. Consequently, because the photographs and captions were gathered through a participatory manner with a larger group of girls, they not only served as evidence of how the girls were currently experiencing the programming and how they would like to improve it, but also served as a captivating tool to share with authorities and parents in order to better inform them and to raise support and funding. As for the experts, they generally agreed with the issues raised by the girls. Through further discussion bringing together concerns and ideas raised by the girls and by the Sports Masters, experts saw the potential that aerobics classes have to motivate girls to participate in a way that is fun and relatively easy, and that respects both traditional gender norms and strict financial constraints, since playing fields and equipment are not required. The girls' requests confirmed the Ministry of Education's current push for a "sports for all" model of physical activity in schools, while the concerns they raised indicated to the Ministry of Sports and Culture that, although many girls do enjoy sports, gender barriers are still present and need to be addressed at the school level if female athletes are to be further developed and encouraged. As for the Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion, the Adviser to the Minister confirmed that girls' and women's participation in physical activity and sport had previously not been an issue of concern for this ministry.

At the same time, as a feminist researcher, I acknowledge that I need to be reflexive about my interpretation of the data and even my presence in the data collection process. For example, what does it mean to occupy the status of a young-looking *muzungu* (outsider white woman) who is physically active and who has the privilege of pursuing her studies? Because they assumed I was in my early twenties and therefore closer in age to them (I am in my early thirties), both the girls in the secondary schools and the university students acting as facilitators interacted with me in a friendly and relaxed manner. The experts interviewed, although also assuming that I was in my early twenties, commented on my status in pursuing a prestigious and advanced degree (Ph.D.), and this may have counteracted some of the disadvantages of being a young-looking woman interviewing members of an older generation. Finally, the one female expert interviewed was impressed by the fact that I was educated, physically fit, and also feminine. She explained that this represented a different conceptualization of sports for girls in Rwanda, where it is assumed that girls cannot be successful in school if they are interested in sports and that girls will become masculinized if they participate in too many sport activities. As a result, my personal commitment to higher education and an active lifestyle shaped my interactions with the participants in this study. However, because I worked within a participatory framework, facilitators, participants, and stakeholders were at the forefront throughout the research process. I was an observer while the facilitators led the Photovoice sessions and interacted with the girls once the session was over, and throughout the interviews, the subject matter discussed centered on and was guided by the girls' photographs and captions.

Conclusion

Although feminist scholars readily acknowledge the myriad barriers and difficulties in implementing participatory methods and obtaining concrete and action-based results (Reid and Frisby 2008), small groups of participants, long-term projects, and multiple activities are the ideals to be achieved as much as possible by both researchers and participants. However, in the face of many challenges and difficulties, I contribute to the debate that explores different combinations of tools that bring together and provide platforms for both speakers and targeted listeners within the same research process, rather than as an afterthought or procedure developed once the research activities are completed. When seeking to bring together various levels of participants and stakeholders

in a targeted, timely, inexpensive, context-specific, constraint-respectful, and productive manner, the potential strengths of shorter-term and larger-scale participatory projects that might otherwise be regarded as tokenistic on the one hand but offer other advantages on the other, also need to be further explored and debated.

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Notes

1. Elliot, Dominic, and Isabelle Lemaire, facilitors/editors. 2007. *Girls that Play.* Association of Kigali Women Footballers, Insight UK, and Nike Corporate Social Responsibility, Rwanda. Participatory Video, 10:01. http://insight share.org/watch/video/girls-play.
2. Precolonial Rwandan body culture, dating back to the sixteenth century, was composed of non-competitive and ritualistic customs and activities practiced by young men at the royal court as part of their training to become "competent soldiers and athletes" (Bale 2002: 34). The activities included "poetry, panegyrics, dancing, self-defense, self-control, fighting, spear throwing, running and gusimbuka," (35) a form of high jumping, as well as "foot racing, archery, and dancing" (37).
3. For more information, see http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/.

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