

Never again: educational reconstruction in Rwanda



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Anna Obura



International Institute for Educational Planning

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List of abbreviations

AA	Aide et Action
ABA	Association Bamporeze ashI, Rwandan NGO
AVSI	Associazione Volontari per il Servizio Internazionale
CA	Centres d'alphabétisation
CCDFP	Centres communaux de développement et de formation permanente – commune level literacy and skills training centres, mainly for adults
CERAI	Centre d'enseignement rural et artisanal intégré (rural and craft training centres running three years post-primary programme)
CFJ	Centres de formation des jeunes (youth training centres)
CPDFP	Centres préfectoraux de développement et de formation permanente, provincial centres advising and monitoring CCDFP, now under MINITRASO
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
DEO	District education officer, a generic term in this report
ERAI	Enseignement rural et artisanal intégré (three years post-primary programme in rural and craft skills)
ETO	École technique officielle
FARG	Genocide Survivors' Fund
FPA	Rwandan People's Army
FRW	Franc Rwandais, currency of Rwanda
GCCPR	Groupe conjoint consultatif sur les politiques au Rwanda
GSE	Groupements socio-économiques (development groups run by MIJEUMA, pre-war)
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
INADES- Formation Rwanda	Institut africain pour le développement économique et social

INEE	Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies
IRST	Institut de recherche scientifique et technologique
ISAE	Institut supérieur d'agriculture et d'élevage de Busogo
JRS	Jesuit Refugee Service
MICS	Multiple Cluster Indicators Study
MIGEPROFE	Ministry of Gender and the Promotion of Women
MIJESCAFOP	Ministry of Youth, Sports Culture and Vocational Training (1998 onwards)
MIJESPOC	Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture
MINALOC	Ministère des Affaires locales
MINEDUC*	Ministry of Education (Rwanda's French short form, also used by Rwandans speaking English)
MINEPRISEC	Ministère de l'Enseignement primaire et secondaire (1994-late 2002)
MINESUPRES	Ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur, de la Recherche scientifique et de la Culture (1994-late 2002)
MINITRASO	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs
MOE*	Ministry of Education (the abbreviated English short form)
MOESTSR	Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research
MT	Mother tongue (Kinyarwanda, in the case of Rwanda)
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
OVC	Orphans and vulnerable children
P1-6	Primary 1-6 or first grade up to sixth grade in primary school in Rwanda
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
RTL M	Radio-télévision libre Mille collines
S1-6	Senior 1-6, seventh-twelfth grade in secondary school in Rwanda
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme

SC/SCF	Save the Children/Save the Children Fund
SNEC	S�cretariat National de l'Enseignement Catholique
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNESCO	Programme for Education for Emergencies and PEER UNESCO Reconstruction
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WB	World Bank
WFP	World Food Programme

*Names of ministries

Ministries have changed their structure and their names over the years. The Ministry of Education was one ministry in 1961-1981. Until late 2002 it was split into two ministries: MINEPRISEC, minist re de l'Enseignement primaire et secondaire, and MINESUPRES, minist re de l'Enseignement sup rieur, de la Recherche scientifique et de la Culture. In late 2002 it reverted again to being one ministry. Despite all these changes the generic abbreviated name in Rwanda for the one or two ministries of education is *MINEDUC*. For brevity, it is referred to as *MOE* in this report.

The Department of Literacy was originally in MININTER, the Ministry of the Interior and Community Affairs, in the direction de l' ducation populaire et des Affaires sociales. In about 1991 it went to MINITRASO, the new Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

The other ministries involved in the education sector are MIJESPOC, MINALOC and, to some extent, MIGEPROFE.

MIJEUMA was the minist re de la Jeunesse et du Mouvement associatif prior to and just after the war. It became MIJESCAFOP Ministry of Youth, Sports Culture and Vocational Training in the late 1990s, then MIJESPOC Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sport.

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Executive summary

This study documents the strategies of the management of education in Rwanda since the 1994 war and genocide. It is intended to be read alongside Lyndsay Bird's study (2003) on the management of Rwandan refugees' education – *Surviving school: education for refugee children from Rwanda 1994-1996*, also published by UNESCO-IIEP in this series.

Never again covers the provision of education for the people of Rwanda, including internally displaced persons and returning refugees. It emphasizes the work of the Ministry of Education in reconstructing the education system. It also analyzes Rwanda's educational objectives and describes the education system before 1994, the heavy damage it suffered during the war and genocide, the efforts made in the wake of the conflict and finally the reorganization and capacity building of the Ministry itself.

Before the events of 1994, a discriminative quota system was used for entry into schools, which was overtly based on ethnic and regional criteria, rather than on scholastic performance. It is now thought that, to a large extent, the education system mirrored and indeed reinforced destructive trends in Rwandan society. The education system was particularly targeted during the conflict: teachers and educated, thinking people were singled out for assassination, and pupils and teachers were both victims and perpetrators of the genocide in state and church schools. As a result, schools were ransacked and destroyed, as was the Ministry of Education. Few teachers were left. Little documentation or school supplies remained. Schools were deserted, and closed. Hundreds of thousands of households were left headed by children.

One of the first actions of government, after the war, was to mobilize resources country-wide and, with the help of external partners, to re-open primary schools. The Ministry of Education accomplished a remarkably rapid restart in a very short time, within two months of the genocide.

The post-war education policy promoted national unity and reconciliation, prioritizing equity of provision and access, and encouraging a humanitarian culture of inclusion and mutual respect. The basis of the education system changed radically in 1994, as any form of discrimination

became illegal. One important step taken was to abolish the classification of learners and teachers by Hutu, Tutsi or Twa affiliation.

The Rwandan curriculum has been the subject of much controversy, with changes, both planned and unplanned, affecting curriculum policy and implementation. Rwandan history is still not taught in schools today, despite official encouragement to teach those elements of history which are not in dispute. Rwanda is simply not yet ready to finalize the task of revising the history curriculum, which has been initiated by national and international historians. No history textbooks have been written since 1994. Nevertheless, there is a strong desire to investigate the causes of the genocide in order to put an end to the culture of hatred in Rwanda. For many, the roots of the conflict are inextricably linked to the version of history that was adopted, legitimized and taught by the colonial regimes. 'Ethnicity' was seen to be an acceptable basis for the establishment of social and institutional structures. As a result, the task for Rwanda's current historians of 'rewriting' Rwanda's history is a weighty one, with important consequences. The very concept of ethnicity has now been questioned in the Rwanda context. New historical evidence is producing alternative understandings of history, ancient and modern, and pointing to possible new and positive insights into the dynamics of Rwandan society. It is also offering explanations about the manner in which Rwandan history was distorted in the first place. The Ministry of Education now sees the need to teach children the elements in their history which are not divisive but, on the contrary, unifying. It has also proved difficult to develop a peace education programme in the country.

Anna Obura also analyzes the relationship between church and state in the education sector. The churches were the sole provider of education prior to Independence, worked with the state post-Independence and, since the 1980s, a 'parallel system' has developed. Communication between the two entities and the co-ordination of education had been poor before the genocide and has continued to be problematic afterwards, despite sporadic efforts on both sides.

Noteworthy achievements have been made in primary-school enrolment in a comparatively short time. Secondary enrolments have also increased significantly, mainly owing to the rapid expansion of private schools. Higher education did not escape heavy damage during the genocide. The Government of Rwanda prioritized its development immediately after

the war and is progressively managing to rationalize budget allocations with the education sector.

In reconstructing the education system, the Ministry of Education had to deal with a chronic lack of qualified teachers, along with an acute shortage of learning materials. Two areas of avoidable waste and cost to the system were identified, namely high repetition rates and rising drop-out rates. Since the war, the government's budgetary allocations for education have increased, thereby reducing the burden of financing education from the local communities.

Anna Obura demonstrates that the Government of Rwanda is making serious efforts to provide an all-inclusive education system and to bring an end to exclusion, alienation and discrimination in education. In conclusion, the study listens to the voices of children learning in school in Rwanda today, and to the teachers. It produces evidence of the joy of returning home, to school, and of the positive value of education in conflict situations.

Series preface

UNESCO is increasingly requested to provide an educational response in emergency and reconstruction settings. The Organization is in the process of developing expertise in this field in order to be able to provide prompt and relevant assistance. It will offer guidance, practical tools and specific training for education policy-makers, officials and planners.

The fifth of the eleven objectives adopted by the Dakar World Education Forum in 2000 explicitly focuses on the rights of children in emergencies. It stresses the importance of meeting "... the needs of education systems affected by conflict, natural calamities and instability and conduct[ing] educational programmes in ways that promote mutual understanding, peace and tolerance, and that help to prevent violence and conflict". The *Dakar Framework for Action* (UNESCO, 2000: 9) calls for national Education for All plans to include provision for education in emergency situations. Governments, particularly education ministries, have an important role to play in an area that has often been dominated by the actions of NGOs and United Nations agencies.

Moreover, the field of educational planning in emergencies and reconstruction is still young. It has to be organized into a manageable discipline, through further documentation and analysis, before training programmes can be designed. Accumulated institutional memories and knowledge in governments, agencies and NGOs on education in emergencies, are in danger of being lost due both to the dispersion and disappearance of documents, and to high staff turnover in both national and international contexts. Most of the expertise is still in the heads of practitioners and needs to be collected, since memories fade fast. Diverse experiences of educational reconstruction must now be more thoroughly documented and analyzed before they disappear.

This task includes the publication in this series of seven country-specific analyses being conducted on the planning and management of education in emergencies and reconstruction. They concern the efforts currently being made to restore and transform education systems in countries as diverse as Burundi, Kosovo, Palestine, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Sudan and Timor-Leste. They have been initiated and sponsored by IIEP,

in close collaboration with the Division of Educational Policies and Strategies in UNESCO Headquarters.

The objectives of the case studies are:

- to contribute to the process of developing knowledge in the discipline of education in emergencies;
- to provide focused input for future IIEP training programmes targeting government officials and others in education in emergencies;
- to identify and collect dispersed documentation on the management of education in the seven countries; and to capture some of the undocumented memories of practitioners;
- to analyze response in eight very different situations to educational provision in times of crisis;
- to increase dissemination of information and analysis on education in emergencies.

IIEP's larger programme on education in emergencies and reconstruction involves not only these case studies, but also a series of global, thematic, policy-related studies. In addition, IIEP is producing a handbook for ministry of education officials and the agencies assisting them, and developing training materials for a similar audience. Through this programme, IIEP will make a modest but significant contribution to the discipline of education in emergencies. Its hope is to enrich the quality of the planning processes applied in this crucial field.

Gudmund Hernes
Director, IIEP

Glossary

The expressions below are Kinyarwanda (Ki.) or Swahili (Sw.).

<i>bodaboda</i> (Sw.)	bicycle taxis
<i>gacaca</i> (Ki.)	a traditional community-based participatory legal mechanism
<i>imidugudu</i> (Ki.)	villagization or regroupment, <i>encampement</i> (Fr.)
<i>interahamwe</i> (Ki.)	‘those who attack together’ – militia attached to the rebel forces opposing the post-war government
<i>nyumbakumi</i> (Sw.)	ten-household cells or <i>cellules</i> (Fr.), the lowest-level administrative group
<i>shamba</i> (Sw.)	plot of agricultural land, fields

Exchange rates

Rwandan Francs (FRw) with US Dollars (USD) 1990-2003

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	Oct. 2003
FRW	82.6	125.14	133.01	144.32	222	290	300	537

Sources : GCCPR, 1996; www.xe.com

Map of Rwanda, 2003



Source: US Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Factbook 2003*
<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/maps/rw-map.gif>

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Objectives of the study

The purpose of the current study on the reconstruction of the education system in Rwanda was:

- to document and make known the strategies used by Rwanda in the management of education after the genocide in Rwanda, from 1994 until the present;
- to identify lessons learned from the Rwandan experience for input into global learning on education in emergencies and reconstruction.

The findings will also be offered as inputs into future educational planning within Rwanda itself. The study will focus on the educational planning and management functions that have been used during the period of emergency and reconstruction with regard to: providing access; ensuring quality and relevance; building planning and management capacity; securing funding; and developing external relations.

Using case studies and policy-related studies as a significant resource, UNESCO-IIEP intends to produce a guidebook, training materials and a training programme for government officials and others on education response in emergency and reconstruction situations.

1.2 Background

The case of the reconstruction exercise in Rwanda is of particular interest for four reasons. First, it involves the provision of education for different categories of learners: for internally displaced persons, populations remaining in disaster sites, refugees, returnees; and the subsequent reconstruction of the system by a newly formed Ministry of Education together with partners. The education of Rwandan refugees in Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), is the subject of the

companion volume to this study, *Surviving school: education of refugee children from Rwanda 1994-1996*, written by Lyndsay Bird. Second, all phases of emergency and displacement are relevant: the initial response, the stable phase, return and reconstruction, leading to a developmental phase. Third, the rehabilitation of the education system was carried out in a very specific and difficult context, in the aftermath of a genocide. Fourth, the Rwandan experience has had a powerful impact on the development of approaches to emergency education response in Africa over the past few years.

Education in emergencies counts

The provision of education in emergency situations can make the difference between going to school – and not going to school; between dropping out and staying in school. For 16 year-old Amos, one of the Rwandan refugee children interviewed for this case study, it was being in a refugee camp which got him into school in the first place.

While the geopolitical and humanitarian-relief aspects of the Rwandan emergency have been analyzed in some depth, the educational response has not received the same attention. It is described in widely dispersed project and mission reports by United Nations agencies and some NGOs, in government reports of consultative meetings, and in reports which cover short periods of the crisis and reconstruction phases. UNESCO notes that, in most countries, the roles of national governments and ministries of education in post-emergency situations need further analysis in contrast to the activities of the United Nations agencies and NGOs, whose activities have been relatively better documented and discussed (Talbot, 2002: 3-5).

A full study of emergency education and reconstruction in the Rwandan crisis has not yet been written. That definitive study should one day be written by a Rwandan national with the same objectivity that today's Rwandan historians exhibit in their current research, and with enough time to record the many disparate experiences inside the country and in the Rwandan diaspora of pre- and post-1959 education experience. Such a study needs to take into account the disequilibrium in the education sector prior to 1959 as well as that prior to 1994, which the present study fails to capture. History is all important in Rwanda. To interpret education

in Rwanda without history is to fail to describe the experience of childhood in Rwanda. In the meantime, this first preliminary study has been compiled, taking it as given that since the introduction of modern schooling in Rwanda there has been disequilibrium and that large social groups and *different* social groups have at one time or another felt excluded from schools and have been deprived of education on grounds of ethnicity and/or regional identity. The experience of exclusion from education has been a critical factor in fuelling conflict in the country. This has major implications for the post-war reconstruction exercise.

Thomas, aged 15 years, says that the four siblings in his child-headed family “cultivate the land and we grow our own food. Sometimes we work in the fields of our neighbours. One can make about 300 Rwandan francs a day. *Amafaranga tuyabona atugoye*” (we get money through hardship). And, “out of these earnings we pay my fees and buy exercise books and other things”.

1.3 Education in emergencies – definitions and global objectives

Emergencies have been characterized as “an unforeseen combination of sudden and brutal circumstances that calls for immediate relief... or a disaster which overwhelms capacity to cope” (Hernes, 2002). They fall into two broad categories: emergencies caused by natural disasters such as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, floods or drought; and those caused by human agency such as war, internal conflict, or genocide. There is a third category which some might now call preventable, and predictable disasters such as recurrent crop failure, famine, hunger. They are predictable in the sense that they may be cyclical or that early warning systems may identify their imminence. They are preventable in the sense that if they are predicted they may, with the aid of planning and technology, be prevented or the effects on populations minimized or avoided.

In dealing with emergencies, assistance starts by addressing urgent needs, in the immediate aftermath of the tragedy, and moves imperceptibly into a phase of reconstruction once some semblance of normality has been restored. The first needs are survival and protection. Aid is concentrated

on providing water, food, medical assistance and shelter. It is now acknowledged that education provision for children has to start as soon as possible during the emergency phase. Each emergency situation is different. The duration of the first phase of an emergency varies and the move to start reconstruction differs in nature and in time. A later phase, often called the phase of development, follows. However, there is no agreement on definitions for these phases and no clear idea of when each phase starts or finishes. For the purpose of this study the term ‘education in emergencies’ will be understood to cover the phases of emergency and reconstruction.

One rationale for recent focus on the field of education in emergencies is that the prevalence of conflictual situations is increasing. These were worldwide in 2001, 37 countries in conflict (Project Ploughshares, 2002). Most of the conflicts are internal. In Africa this is certainly the case.¹ Second, borders of African nations are porous, with populations of the same cultures and communities straddling more than one country. A crisis in one country tends to affect neighbouring countries. The third factor of importance in Africa – different from the previous point – is that conflict and population movement in one country often spills over into the subregion, causing subsequent political crises in neighbouring countries, in addition to large movement of refugees. This is the case in the Great Lakes region of central Africa, in the Manu River region of West Africa, in the Horn of Africa, and it is currently the case in the crisis in Côte d’Ivoire. Fourth, drought and floods regularly and increasingly cause disasters in Africa. The current drought in southern Africa is said to affect more than 13 million people, while a new famine threatens Ethiopia. The present rate of increase in conflict is, as NEPAD notes, cause for alarm since it is the foremost obstacle to economic development and to the well-being of the continent. More and more, conflict risk is being addressed in Africa through preventive mechanisms, using peace-promoting measures and initiating participatory practices in government especially at local levels. Drought and flood disasters are increasingly being understood as effects of weak government, which need to be countered by national and regional planning coupled with rural development. At the same time, while crises multiply and escalate in Africa, prudence dictates that disaster-preparedness skills should be acquired by all governments and agencies and they are cautioned to acquire the skills of dealing with crises. Among these new skills are capacities for coping with education in emergencies.

1 The exceptions include the Eritrean-Ethiopian conflict; and the involvement of nine countries in the DRC.

A second new phenomenon in conflict situations in general is that 80-90 per cent of the victims of war are civilians, and millions are children; whereas in the First World War almost a century ago, only 5 per cent of the casualties were civilians. The nature of conflict has changed.

Third, it is significant that the education system has become a prime target in many civil wars since schools are seen as representing political systems and regimes, and as symbols of peace. They irritate warlords, rebels and militia whose aim is to destroy systems and terrorize people, including children. This has been the case in Somalia, Rwanda, southern Sudan and Angola, where schools were bombed, burned and looted, school materials and equipment were stolen or destroyed, schoolchildren were killed (Rwanda); chased away, abducted (Uganda and southern Sudan); and teachers specifically targeted and killed (Rwanda)² (MINEPRISEC/MINESUPRES, 1994: 7). On the one hand, school is a many-faceted symbol, a passive representative symbol. In this case it can be an inspiration and at the same time be a prime target of destruction. On the other hand, school can be, and it can be seen to be, an active instrument. It can be an organ of destruction, or it can be a mechanism for restoring normalcy or for peace-building. Rwanda has known all these metamorphoses.

Fourth, while many conflicts are internal, the nature of conflict has ostensibly been changing. It is frequently claimed that ethnicity is a major cause of conflict; however, it is more likely that ethnicity is used, politicized and mobilized for fuelling conflict (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000: 9-16; Smith and Vaux, 2003: 5). Education has often been cited as a significant instrument in provoking division and hate. As noted above, it is important for education in emergency situations to acknowledge the role of education before the crisis and to ensure that it is used for rebuilding social relations during the period of relief and reconstruction.

The restoration of an education system in post-crisis situations is now acknowledged to be a strong potential force for social and national reconstruction. It is only relatively recently, within the past five years, that acceptance of this principle has spread. As noted in the Series preface, the *Dakar Framework for Action* (UNESCO, 2000: 9) calls for national EFA plans to include provision for education in emergency situations. Major agencies now recognize officially that children should have access

2 “... les enseignants et les professeurs ont été souvent la cible privilégiée de la barbarie meurtrière ...”.

to education as soon as possible after a crisis and that education should be an integral part of emergency humanitarian services (EFA, 2002: 159; Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2003; Sida, 2002; Sommers, 2002a: 9-11; Sinclair, 2001: 7-17; Pigozzi, 1999). At the Winnipeg Conference on War-affected children, in September 2000, all participants, including major donor governments, affirmed that: "Education must be a priority in humanitarian assistance ... Education is central to humanitarian action." (Winnipeg Conference on War-affected children, 2000). The governments of Norway and Canada have referred to education as the 'fourth pillar' of humanitarian assistance, with food/water, health and shelter (Johnson, 2002: 4; Canada, Government of, 2000).

1.4 Structure of the report

The second section of the present report covers the education objectives of Rwanda, the achievements of the education system prior to the 1994 crisis, and describes the destruction of the education system during the genocide. The third section documents efforts made during the period immediately after the conflict, from July 1994 onwards, for the re-establishment of the Ministry, the re-opening, staffing and equipping of schools. In the fourth section the more organizational aspects of system restoration are examined: the rehabilitation phase; the reorganization and training of staff; and the shaping of new system objectives. Next follows a more analytical chapter reviewing the achievements of the first four to five years (1994-1999). It then takes the reader up to the present day (2002), noting more recent achievements, processes, and visions for the future. The sixth section is devoted to the voices of children and to the story of their experiences, aspirations and perceptions of schooling. The final chapter includes conclusions, lessons learned and pointers to the future.

The problem that faced the Rwandan nation in July 1994 was how to get an education system re-started in the most difficult of circumstances:

"... the great majority of the Rwandese population were eyewitnesses to killings of the most extreme brutality, and many survivors lost virtually their entire family." Two years later, at the end of 1996, "not a single individual had yet been brought to trial and convicted of genocide, either within the country or through the International Tribunal. The long healing process ... has yet to start" (Cantwell, 1997: 15).

Every individual Rwandan had been traumatized in one way or another. All had suffered. The culture of impunity still reigned. Yet life had to go on and the government took the responsibility immediately and firmly on its shoulders to re-start Rwanda. One of its first chosen tasks was to re-start school. But the Rwandan crisis turned out to be “a truly protracted complex emergency” in the region (SCF, 1999b: 2), producing waves of insurgency into Rwanda, continued internal displacement over at least four years, and massive influxes of returning refugees in 1994 and 1996. As an NGO put it in its annual report, in one year the political vista could change considerably: during the first six months of 2000, “we witnessed the resignation of the Prime Minister and of the President of the Republic, the assassination of the President’s counsellor and the accession to power of the current President. Despite all this, the working climate ... remained calm”³ (AA, 2001: 2).

In this mayhem, Rwanda re-opened schools. Moreover, the conclusion of observers in late 2002 is that Rwanda has not only been managed, it has been controlled in-country and the country is now well on its way to development in the sense that sound planning documents are being methodically produced (some still in draft form), together with basic status reports, such as, the *National Development Vision 2020* (Rwanda, Government of, 2002), the *Education Sector Policy* (MOESTSR, 2002c), the *EFA Plan of Action* (MOESTSR, 2002a), and *The Government of Rwanda Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper* (MINECOFIN, 2001b).

The pending challenges are still securing the borders and contributing to calm in the region, reconciliation among communities, retribution from the orchestrators of the genocide, kick-starting the economy, reducing poverty, and ensuring that support from the state reaches out to every poor household. With regard to education, Education for All is the aim. It is a lesson learned through the Rwandan experience that EFA has a unique role to play in a country which has been torn apart by discrimination and exclusion, and where the education system was used as an instrument of social destruction. The lesson learned is that the time for EFA is now, for the state to reach out to every child, in every circumstance, with something that she or he can call school; and to demonstrate to all children that they are, each and every one, the concern of the state.

3 “... on assiste à la démission du Premier ministre, du Président de la République, à l’assassinat du conseiller du Président et à l’arrivée au pouvoir de l’actuel Président. Ceci dit, le climat de travail ... [est] resté serein”.

Lessons learned

- The perceived role and the veritable role of education in the build-up to an emergency is of critical relevance to determining the type of education system to be reconstructed or to be put in place after a crisis. The choice for educational planners is to teach children about righting wrongs by enacting good practice or to demonstrate that wrongs cannot be righted. This implies the need to analyze correctly – even if summarily – the shortcomings or crimes of the previous education system, to declare a new policy and to immediately provide visible and tangible evidence of that change within the school experience.

Chapter 2

Education in Rwanda, 1962-1994

2.1 Background

Ironically, Rwanda had been regarded as something of a development model before 1994, in terms of macroeconomic development. The case is used these days as a good structural adjustment programme (SAP) example which, unaccountably for the macroeconomists, went bad – on the political front. Proponents of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) are being warned today that a re-packaged SAP, without fundamental change, may go the same way. That is, they may fail. Rwanda's experience serves as a warning against divorcing economics from political issues and allowing the macro-affairs of state to ignore or to fail to involve and affect the people who need most political and economic change. The question is still asked outside Rwanda: what caused the genocide? Rwandans have, by and large, answered the question. They present a historical thesis which points straight at the politics of exclusion/inclusion.

Although the economy depended mainly on subsistence agriculture, the cash crops coffee and tea produced increasing export revenues. The GDP rose gradually from year to year and, despite falling international coffee prices, Rwanda managed to follow through on the structural adjustment mechanisms agreed with the World Bank and the IMF. Observers note that declining agricultural revenues and increased demographic pressures, together with severe famines in the mid-1980s, were some of the principal economic factors which aggravated the difficulties of a population ever more regimented under a tight, centralized and increasingly polarized one-party government in the late 1980s. In 1993, 53 per cent of Rwandans lived below the poverty line, a significant increase from 40 per cent in 1985 (Uvin, 1999: 111). The average GDP per capita was US\$290 in 1990-1993 (World Bank, 1998: 1). The irony is that, despite macroeconomic progress in the 1980s, most Rwandans remained poor; and they got poorer. It was estimated that for adequate nutrition an average family of five people needed a minimum of 0.7 hectares and that

43 per cent of rural households had less than this, while as many as 26 per cent were totally without land (Uvin, 1999: 114). Moreover, the average Rwandan family is far bigger than five people.

The point has been made again and again that, unlike Somalia, Sierra Leone or Liberia, Rwanda was a strong state in the late 1980s, not a collapsed or a failed state. The very power of the state, oppressive as it was to major sections of the population, was a significant political factor in bringing the country to breaking point. Historians have noted that the so-called social revolution of 1959 brought no benefits to the majority of the people and that subsistence farmers and poor livestock owners across the country continued to struggle for their livelihoods, in worsening conditions, up to 1994 (Prunier, 1995; Uvin, 1999).

The first years of Independence were difficult for Rwanda. They were directly preceded by the 1959-1961 massacres of Tutsis and the first exodus of an estimated 120,000 refugees which continued until about 1964.⁴ The First Republic quickly ran out of steam. In a coup d'état, a second president took over in 1973, after a second series of massacres, and a second exodus of roughly the same magnitude as the first, resulting in the accumulation of an estimated 700,000 refugees outside Rwanda by 1990, in addition to recent and long-term migrants.⁵ Political power shifted from the central region to the north-west. *The Second Republic, 1973-1994, reinforced the policy of ethnic quotas and regional preferences* in the education system, continuing the divisive legacy of Rwanda since the 1920s.

4 It is reported that a total of approximately 336,000 refugees fled Rwanda during the period 1959-1964.

5 The name for Rwandans identifiable as Rwandans in the diaspora is the Banyarwanda (people of Rwanda). Some inhabitants whose families have been 200 years in the Congo are sometimes to this day called Banyarwanda. Banyarwanda living in neighbouring countries also included voluntary migrants and their descendants, who are not classified as refugees. They encompass a number of different migrant groups: (a) the 450,000-1.3 million descendants of economic migrants who went to the Congo from 1920 until Independence; (b) migrants prior to 1920 who took Ugandan nationality; (c) 1920-1950 migrants to Uganda, who may have totalled 700,000 by 1970 (Prunier, 1995). They were also migrants to the Masisi area of the Congo 200 years ago, whose descendants had their Congolese nationality revoked under the Mobutu regime. Some of them are currently classified as Congolese refugees in Rwanda today and live in refugee camps (personal communication, L. Menéndez, JRS, 22 November 2002).

2.2 Demographic features of Rwanda

The population of Rwanda did not decline, despite the flight of refugees and mass killings of 1994. The population rose, due to three types of immigration and return – but not in this chronological order. In one category were those who had fled in 1994, returning mainly from four neighbouring countries, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Tanzania and Uganda. They returned from short spells in those countries, arriving later in the same year, or in 1996 or even after that point. Second, a substantial number of the 1959 and 1973 exodus came back (MOE, 1998a: 5). These were long-term refugees and exiles, many of them assimilated into the host countries. Third, some of those migrants whose parents and grandparents were born outside Rwanda, returned.

Three demographic characteristics of Rwanda are frequently cited. The first is the high population density, which leads to problems in land availability, as households have very restricted access. In Gikongoro and Butare 30-40 per cent of the families had only 0.25 hectares due to the high population pressure on land (SCF, 1998: 25).⁶ *Vision 2020* states that “less than 70 per cent of rural families ... have ... less than one hectare” and that “the availability of arable land per inhabitant is now no more than 1 hectare for nine inhabitants” (2002: 17). The second issue is the high rate of demographic growth, which compounds the problem of land shortage. This is explained by ineffective family planning programmes resulting in high fertility expectation and low contraceptive use, which was estimated at 21 per cent before 1994 and fell to 7 per cent in 1996 (United Nations, 2000, Gender Section: 5). The third characteristic is the dispersed habitat of families in isolated homesteads on the hills, rather than clustered in villages. Despite the fact that Rwanda is a small country, most families lived in relatively isolated units in the hills until recently. People do not talk about going back to their village in Rwanda; they talk of going to their hill, *colline*. Lack of modern infrastructure in the countryside maintained the relative isolation of families and communes in the past. “The lack of any real village structure in Rwanda is unique in Africa” (SCF, 1998: 9). The current administrative structure of Rwanda is: 12 préfectures or provinces; about 100 districts (the previous *communes*,

6 More and more frequently analysts note that the availability of arable land per head of population is the same in Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda, implying that land use is the critical factor in terms of productivity and that demographic pressure need not necessarily lead to food scarcity.

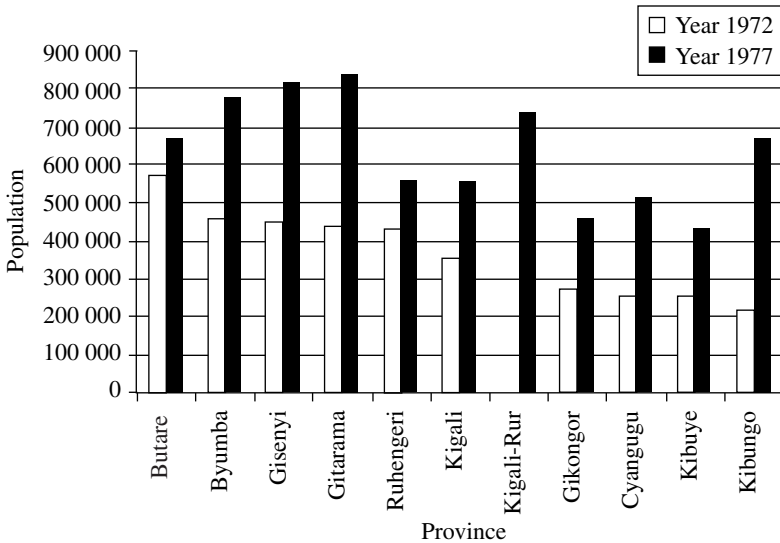
now reduced in number and bigger); sectors; and cells, *cellules* or *nyumba kumi*, a unit of about ten households.⁷

In addition to the three enduring characteristics noted above, there are five newly significant demographic factors since the war. The proportion of women in the (adult) population was estimated at 70 per cent in the aftermath of the genocide (MINEPRISEC/MINESUPRES, 1995: 17). The demographic profile changed, as expected, but varying estimates are reported: the proportion of active adult women in the population was estimated in 1997 at over 56 per cent (MOE, 1998a: 3); and by Veale et al. at over 60 per cent (2001: 62). Women are in the majority of the active population, but they are less literate than men.⁸ They are less involved in the wage sector and therefore generally low-income earners. They bear the direct burden of family survival, and the care of the elderly and orphans. Since the war, and particularly during 1994-1995, the economy depended inordinately on this very vulnerable section of the population. Second, there is a high proportion of female-headed families, estimated to have increased from 21 per cent in 1992 to 34 per cent in 1996 (MOE, 1998a: 3). Twenty per cent of households were reported to be headed by prisoners' wives (Veale et al., 2001: 61). Third, the most tragic post-war phenomenon is the high proportion of families headed by children, by orphans, estimated at 85,000 after the genocide and 40,000 in 1998. Three-quarters of the orphan families were headed by girls (Veale et al., 2001: 62). With the passage of years, the number of child-headed families is declining, but the HIV/AIDS pandemic exacerbates the problem, creating more orphans across the southern, eastern and central African region. The fourth new feature is the considerable change in population per province, as *Figure 2.1* indicates.

7 It is difficult for people to talk of districts after decades of communes. The term 'commune' will frequently be used in this report as a synonym for district, since the commune has a connotation that the district has yet to acquire.

8 A total of 72.7 per cent female heads of families were illiterate, in contrast to 44.6 per cent illiterate male family heads (*Socio-Demographic Survey*, 1996, reported in MOE, 1998a: 7).

Figure 2.1 Provincial demographic profiles, 1972 and 1997



Source: Table A4, Appendix 4

In 1972 the most populated provinces were Butare, Byumba, Gisenyi, Gitarama, Gihengeri and Ruhengeri, in that order. After the war, in 1997, they were Gitarama, Gisenyi, Byumba, Kigali-Rural, and Kibungo and Butare. The highest rates of growth were recorded in Kibungo (213 per cent) and Cyangugu (104 per cent). The overall population had increased by 91 per cent, from 3.7 million to 7.0 million. It is vital to keep track of population changes when assessing education need and the capacity of the Ministry to respond.

Lastly, there is a growing urban/rural equity divide. Ninety-five per cent of the population still lived in rural areas in 1998 (MOE, 1998a: 6), but this was estimated at 90 per cent in 2000 (United Nations, 2002: Inside cover). The population of Kigali continues to grow rapidly. The significant issue, however, is not the urban expansion per se, or the particularly high growth rate of Kigali, but the increasing rural/urban poverty gap. Rural/urban disparities have increased at a faster rate since the war.

A policy of villagization or *imidugudu* was adopted in Rwanda for the mass resettlement of returnees in the late 1990s. It provided security.

For example, sometimes widows opted to live close together for security purposes, as in the example of the Mandela settlement in Nyamata District. Moreover, clustered dwellings facilitated the delivery of basic services, including schools. The policy did not receive unanimous approval and was more gently applied after the initial thrust of 1996. The overall result of a multiple series of flight, displacement and resettlement, is a more clustered pattern of habitation in Rwanda than before the war, which is not necessarily beneficial to agricultural development (author's visit to Gisenyi and Nyamata Districts, and communication with agricultural development officers in Kigali, October 2002).

2.3 Overview of education in Rwanda 1962-1994

Milestones in education development since Independence

There are four milestones in Rwanda's education history since Independence: the start of national education in the 1960s, the education reform in the mid-1970s, reform revision in 1991, and post-war developments. The changing structure of the system is best depicted in a matrix (*Table 2.1*). The table indicates that the structure of education was 6+6 plus three or four years of higher education, except during the 1970s and 1980s, when an eight-year primary cycle was tried, then abolished. Less than 10 per cent of primary leavers went on to secondary school in 1990 (Gakuba, 1991: 8). 'X' in the table indicates that there were multiple-course types and course lengths at post-primary levels, within the secondary-school system: a minimum of two years and a maximum of seven for the classics students. Upper primary and lower secondary were vocationalized and ruralized in 1977/1998, with a seventh and eighth grade added to the primary cycle where rural skills were specifically taught. These changes echoed evolving systems in other countries in Africa during the 1970s. The focus on relevance for rural development in primary schools must have been particularly influenced by the much publicized ruralization programme in the southern neighbour, Burundi. The shape of primary education stayed much the same after 1977, with or without the seventh and eighth grades.

Table 2.1 Milestones in Rwanda’s education history since Independence

Milestones	Primary	Notes	Secondary	Notes
1. At Independence 1962/1963 1966 Education Act	6 years	Official entry age: 7 years	Middle schools 2 or 3 years	3 training sections: agriculture/skills for boys, home economics for girls, craft training
	2 cycles 3+3	Brief experiment with 4+2 cycle. Double shifts in P1-3. Some national curriculum introduced, e.g. national history.	OR full secondary education 5, 6 or 7 years	4 options in Grade 10: general education, classics, teacher training, technical. Most secondary schools run by churches
Mainly a continuation of pre-Independence curricula				
2. Reform 1977/1978^a to ruralize, vocationalize, democratize education; stress MT ^b and local culture	8 years	MT medium in P1-6. Outcomes-based curriculum.	New 3-year post-primary cycle: ERAI ^c and secondary school for few	Post-primary still run mainly by churches. Secondary: general education, teacher-training schools, technical schools
	3 cycles: 3+3+2			
Reform aimed to stop double shifts - but shifts continued. 20% girls/25% boys reached Grade 6 ^d . Ethnic/regional quotas formalized and reinforced. 8 (3+3+2) + X ^e + 3 /4				
3. Reform revision 1991/1992	6 years	Policy unchanged. Same curriculum progression. P7/8 phased out, 1991/1992- 1992/1993	Junior secondary 3-year cycle for all. ERAI system expansion halted	Post-primary still run mainly by churches.
	Reforms seen to be negligible, and did not eliminate ethnic quotas. 6 (3+3) + 6 (3+3) + 3 /4			
4. Post-war Rwanda 1. September 1994	6 years	MT P1-3 French or English P4-6	Junior secondary expanded; senior secondary specialization continues	Crisis: 33% teachers qualified. Rapid private schools expansion (43%). Increased bursaries (MINALOC and FARG)
	2 cycles: 3 + 3			
6 (3+3) + 6 (3+3) + 3 /4				

^a Reform enacted 1978/1979, gazetted by 1985 (MOESTSR, 2000:22)

^b MT = mother tongue, Kinyarwanda

^c Ozinian and Chabrilac (1975: 8)

^d Enseignement rural et artisanal intégré (three years post-primary programme in rural and craft skills)

^e "X" indicates multiple options/course lengths

Sub-sectors in the education system

■ Expanding primary enrolments

Education in Rwanda has been characterized for at least two decades by gross and net enrolments that are relatively high for the East Africa region:

1973	GER 46%	NER N/A
1990	GER 65%	NER 63%

Rwanda achieved gender parity in access to schools in 1990, with less than 1 per cent gender gap. At Independence in 1962, Rwanda had 217,000 children in primary school (Erny, 1978: 236).⁹ By early 1994 enrolments increased eightfold to 1.7 million (MOE, 1998a). The 5,059 classrooms of 1965 had expanded to 18,826 by 1990 (Erny, 1978: 236). The policy of the Ministry was to expand the original schools in preference to constructing new ones, which is corroborated by Brian Cooksey's observations for UNICEF (1992: 14). This is one reason why the geographical distribution of schools has not improved significantly to this day. Data for 1968 reports a total of 2,017 primary schools (Erny, 1978: 236) and a slight decline to 1,884 schools by early 1994, after a process of rationalization and consolidation (MOE, 1998a). However, not all of these were full six or eight-class schools. Teaching and learning materials were in short supply and teachers were insufficiently qualified. Primary teachers were trained through a secondary-school pedagogical course. Due to the constraints on quality in the school system, retention, performance and transition rates did not match progress in enrolment. The transition rates from primary to secondary school were 7 per cent in 1972 and reached a level of 10 per cent by 1992.

While in theory primary education was free (and compulsory), parents nevertheless had to pay 300 FRW per term, or just over US\$5 per year, in addition to uniform and 'other direct and indirect costs' (Cooksey, 1992: 4).

9 217,000 represents a significant increase from the 160,000 enrolment of 1960, two years prior to Independence.

■ Secondary schools

The secondary system was underdeveloped. *Table 2.2* indicates the low proportion of children estimated to be enrolled in secondary school in the 1970s as compared with primary enrolments.¹⁰

Table 2.2 NER 1969/1970 and 1975/1976 across two age bands

Age bands	1969/1970 % of enrolments	Boys	Girls	1975/1976 % of enrolments	Boys	Girls
8-12 years	97.4	105.4	89.4	96.3	98.6	94.0
13-19 years	2.4	2.5	2.5	11.3	9.9	12.6

Source: Ozinian and Chabrilac, 1975: 20.

The selected, few students continued to secondary school. The transition rate in 1990 was reported to be 9.2 per cent (Gakuba, 1991: 8). Some secondary students were placed in vocational/technical streams from the start, curtailing their secondary studies to a minimum of two years. Others stayed for five years in the post-primary system. By 1991 a three-year general academic course in the lower-secondary cycle was fully established for all post-primary students. This ensured that students benefited from a general education programme in lower-secondary school and that specialization was delayed until the tenth grade. A total of 280 secondary schools were operating in early 1994, two-thirds of them private schools (168) and the remainder were government and assisted schools (SNEC, 1999).

■ Other post-primary options

Post-primary vocational centres had been set up prior to Independence, segregating girls and boys for three-year programmes in home-care studies, and agriculture and craft courses, respectively. In the 1970s they were transformed into rural study and training centres, called CERAI (*centres d'enseignement rural et artisanal intégré*), with a revised curriculum including a limited range of general academic subjects.

10 The contrast is striking but the figures in *Table 2.2* cannot be considered reliable and are not used again in this study. They are used here to illustrate the wide gap between primary and secondary enrolment trends.

The objectives of the CERAI were as follows: “*To train citizens who are productive, responsible, progressive and likely to generate changes in the rural areas, in order to influence socio-economic and cultural development*”¹¹ (Gakuba, 1991: 8). Enrolments increased from 16,784 students in 289 centres in 1982/1983 to 27,702 students in 328 CERAI in 1987/1988. Transition rates from primary schools to the CERAI were less than 20 per cent in 1991 (Gakuba, 1991: 12, 14).

The CERAI were not successful due to lack of equipment, trained staff and financial support (MOE, 1998a) and by the early 1990s their expansion was suspended. They closed after the war. The experiment left many disillusioned. Meanwhile painfully few children were accessing secondary schools. This is one of the factors which explains why parents took the problem into their own hands and started opening private secondary schools through parents’ associations. The phenomenon started in the late 1980s as dissatisfaction with post-primary education grew.

■ Tertiary education

In 1972 there were 751 students in tertiary colleges, including the university, in a population of approximately 4 million (Ozinian and Chabrillac, 1975: 14).

School ownership

At Independence in 1962, almost all the schools were owned by the Catholic and Protestant churches. The Ministry of Education in Rwanda developed an agreement with many church-owned schools, and some private and community schools, that the state would pay for teachers’ salaries and other recurrent costs, leaving maintenance, construction and “day-to-day management and administration to the church or other management body” (Cooksey, 1992: 4). They were called *écoles libres subsidiées* or ‘assisted schools’, as they will be known in this report. According to SNEC, the Secrétariat National de l’Enseignement Catholique, in 1990, 70 per cent of the pupils were in Catholic schools, 18 per cent attended state schools, and 12 per cent were in private schools (including seminaries). It

11 “*Former des citoyens productifs, responsables, ouverts au progrès et susceptibles de vivre et de provoquer les changements dans le milieu rural en vue d’influer sur l’évolution socio-économique et culturelle*”.

is not clear whether church management extended to matters beyond the general ethos of the school and the teaching of religion and ethics, the separate lesson called 'la morale'. Documents of the 1980s and early 1990s note the confusion which reigned over the roles of various ministry and church inspectors in the field, official school visitors and school managers (SNEC, 1987-1993; SNEC, 1992). But during the three decades prior to the crisis there was frequent and increasing tension between church and state over school management rather than constructive collaboration. This is discussed more fully in *Section 4.3*, below.

School and the ethnic question

The colonialist government and the church schools gave preference to the Tutsis, as illustrated in *Table 2.3* below. Astrida College was the most prestigious educational institution in the country.

Table 2.3 Astrida College enrolment by socio-identity group

	Tutsi pupils	Hutu pupils
1932	45	9
1945	46	3
1954	63	19
1959	279	143

Source: Prunier, 1995: 33.

By the 1970s, entry to all government and assisted schools and tertiary institutions was determined by 'ethnic and regional' quotas. Each school had to respect the ethnic quotas. With regard to entry to secondary school, the results of the primary examinations were never published and children were admitted – or not admitted – on criteria which were not available for scrutiny: 85 per cent entrants according to performance (unpublished) and ethnic/regional quotas, 10 per cent selected by the churches and 5 per cent by the Ministry of Education. The policy of ethnic quotas was regularly monitored and analyzed, even at primary level, as indicated in *Table 2.4* below. It is difficult to find documentary evidence of pre-war discrimination in practice. This page was, however, published in a Ministry annual report in 1990.

Table 2.4 Primary-school enrolment by province and socio-identity group, 1989/1990

Province	P1					P1-P6				
	Hutu	Tutsi	Twa	Others	Total	Hutu	Tutsi	Twa	Other	Total
Butare	21,080	4,095	102	180	25,467	90,052	21,146	323	731	112,252
Byumba	25,468	533	53	210	26,264	109,477	3,138	154	1,278	114,047
Cyangugu	13,744	1,481	59	39	15,323	66,344	8,573	183	247	75,347
Gikongoro	11,933	2,011	52	2	13,998	57,014	9,906	195	27	67,142
Gisenyi	25,259	962	170	7	26,398	107,265	4,002	304	53	111,624
Gitarama	25,939	2,315	90	36	28,380	119,142	13,402	321	142	133,007
Kibungo	17,930	1,426	27	36	19,419	80,519	8,672	93	198	89,482
Kibuye	13,725	2,274	29	6	16,034	58,846	10,556	72	19	69,493
Kigali	33,041	3,439	98	357	36,935	147,084	19,801	283	1,918	169,086
Ruhengeri	26,686	136	67	10	26,899	116,169	728	124	28	117,049
Total	214,805	18672	747	883	235,107	951,912	99,924	2,052	4,641	1,058,529
Percentage	91.4	7.4	0.3	0.4	100	89.9	9.4	0.2	0.4	100

Source: MINEPRISEC, 1990: 63.

Ethnic quotas for schools were based on “a theoretical national population of 90 per cent Hutu, 9 per cent Tutsi and 1 per cent Twa” (Cooksey, 1992: 18). However, *Table 2.4* indicates that the Twa admission levels were far below the official quota. Even performance was analyzed by social group. It was concluded that: “There does not seem to be a significant difference between the performance of the different ethnic groups” (Cooksey, 1992: 18). The Education Act of 1985 expressly stated the policy of ethnic criteria: CERAI students (in post-primary vocational colleges) were selected “*On the basis of the best results, while respecting ethnic and gender balance*”¹² (Chapter 2, Article 54, p. 20; see also Chapter 3, Article 60 – MOE, 1987). It is not clear if the criterion of gender was used.

12 “*Sur base des meilleurs résultats ... en suivant l'équilibre ethnique et de sexe*”.

There were different perceptions of the quota system: “[It] not only ignores differences in performance, but also differences in enrolment ratios [per commune]”. Cooksey describes this as avoiding elitism according to the Government of Rwanda policy and ignoring the use of representational selection by population, but notes that it had the effect of ‘diluting’ the quality of secondary-school entrants. In the early 1990s, 63 per cent of the secondary entrants were from farming backgrounds, which is another way of stating that they were Bahutu.

In quiet revolt at the increasing tensions in secondary schools, a number of parents’ associations were formed to set up private secondary schools. They did this with the apparent encouragement of the government of the time, which accorded ‘assisted school’ status to several of the schools. This gave the freedom to parents whose children had not been selected for government schools to set up a compensatory, but more costly system.

In 1994 the Vice-President looked back over the education system and, voicing problems relating to the curriculum, he said there had been a “*serious lack of integration of human values*”¹³ (MINEPRISEC/MINESUPRES, 1994). UNICEF (1995: 26) described the pre-war schooling system as having “to a large extent reflected the destructive divisions in Rwandan society”. In 2002 the Minister of Education was to say: “It is generally felt that the education system ... failed the nation” (NCDC, 2002: 2).

Just before 1994

The war came at a critical time for the education sector. The major reform of 1977/1978 had recently been revised, in 1991/1992. The crisis caught Rwanda in the middle of:

1. rationalizing ongoing overloaded syllabuses which included environmental studies, health, child care, nutrition, agriculture, etc., while the MOE was advised on incorporating AIDS-prevention education – HIV prevalence was already 30 per cent among pregnant women in Kigali in 1992;
2. redesigning learning materials;
3. planning the redeployment of P7-8 teachers, whose classes had been closed in the early 1990s;

13 “[une] insuffisance grave dans l’intégration des valeurs humaines”.

4. developing new curricula for the new six-year primary cycle and lower-secondary/CERAI, incorporating some of the P7-8 topics into P1-6 programmes, especially child health and nutrition;
5. discussion on alternative utilization of primary-school workshops;
6. addressing the selection process for admission into CERAI and secondary schools (Cooksey, 1992: 19).

The Ministry of Education summed up the situation prior to the war, noting that school equipment and teaching/learning materials were generally insufficient, many teachers were not qualified, and the negative effects of these two factors on the quality of education (MINEPRISEC/MINESUPRES, 1994: 9). A large number of schools were in a state of disrepair in 1992. Funds were being collected by churches, school proprietors and benefactors for their rehabilitation (MOE, 1994: 20).

2.4 The destruction of the education system

The war which swept over Rwanda during the past four years practically ruined the country, for no sector of national life was spared. The massacres markedly diminished our human resources; socio-economic activities were paralyzed; all kinds of infrastructure were destroyed.
(MINEPRISEC/MINESUPRES, 1994: 7, translated)

Parents and pupils were reduced to starvation and development programmes [were] suspended.
(MOE 1998a, translated)

■ The human tragedy

The loss and tragedy that Rwandans had to cope with immediately after the genocide was unimaginable. About 800,000 people had been killed. Two million people – or one-third of the population – had fled the country, to Zaire, Uganda, Burundi and Tanzania. One million more were internally displaced. As many as 60 per cent of the women were now heads of families. The number of girls and women about to give birth as a result of rape, as a Ministry of Education report notes in sadly measured terms, could not be calculated: “*An as yet unknown number of young*

girls have unwanted pregnancies and are preparing to become mothers; such people are still marginalized in our society"¹⁴ (MINEPRISEC/MINESUPRES, 1994: 20). Many of these girls had been in school only months before. We have no idea, to this day, of how many ever went back to school. Of the more than 15,000 unaccompanied children in zones beyond 'la Zone turquoise'¹⁵, one-third were still in temporary centres in late 1994 (Prunier, 1995; UNICEF, 1997c; Veale *et al.*, 2001).

Unemployed youth were more numerous than before, swollen by the ranks of returning refugees and demobilized soldiers, more than ever in need of training. But the vocational training centres were destroyed, or non-functional, some were limping along 'in slow motion' (MINEPRISEC/MINESUPRES, 1994: 19). Young people in difficult circumstances included the handicapped, orphans, traumatized adolescents, youth who were blamed for having participated, willingly or not, in the genocide, many of them in prison; returning refugee youth; demobilized child/youth soldiers. "Young people today suffer from the lack of a civic benchmark which would enable them to adopt values favouring a sound development."¹⁶ They were lost, demoralized, disoriented (MINEPRISEC/MINESUPRES, 1994: 20).

■ The infrastructure and the system

Schools: In April 1994, with the onset of the genocide, schooling came to an abrupt halt. Teachers and children were killed or fled; schools and colleges were destroyed, burned, looted and pillaged, and their vehicles stolen. Of the 1,836 schools, 65 per cent were damaged. Only 648 were operational in October 1994; 1,188 needed urgent repair. Almost one-quarter of the schools were still occupied by refugees returning from the Congo and Burundi, by military forces or displaced people, especially in the south-west, in Cyangugu, Gikongoro and Butare. Byumba/Umutara to the north-east became host to most of the incoming returnees who had fled to Uganda 30 years previously. All the schools had been looted and pillaged (MINEPRISEC/MINESUPRES, 1994).

14 "*Beaucoup de jeunes filles, dont le chiffre est encore à déterminer, ont une grossesse non désirée et se préparent à devenir mères, statut encore marginalisé dans notre milieu*".

15 French troops were deployed in an area which came to be known as 'la Zone turquoise'.

16 "*La jeunesse actuelle souffre d'un manque de référence civique qui leur permette d'adopter des valeurs en vue d'un bon développement*".

Vocational training and adult education: The post-primary CERAI rural training centres were damaged and looted. They stopped and did not re-open again. The National Centre for Training and Professional Improvement was extensively damaged during the war and had not reopened by 1998. The adult education sector had almost collapsed under the weight of accumulating problems and lack of support in the late 1980s. It is reported that 80-90 per cent of the education centres (CCDPF and CPDFP) also stopped operating in 1994.

The Ministry: The Ministry of Education was brought to a standstill. The walls of the ministry were shelled, with all windows blown out, and doors broken, furniture smashed and looted, and documents pillaged and scattered. *“The building ...was severely damaged and is in a very bad state of repair: the office doors were smashed, the windows were broken, walls were badly perforated by shells; cupboards and drawers were broken open and much of the Department’s property carried off”*¹⁷ (MINEPRISEC/MINESUPRES, 1994: 17). Ministry staff fled. Many were massacred. Many have still not returned. Even today no one knows the statistics of the dead, the injured or the fugitives. By July 1994, when the new Minister took over, the government had “no financial resources, no equipment or supplies, and almost no manpower” (Cantwell, 1997: 17).

Teachers: Teachers symbolized the elite and the educated in Rwanda. They became a particular target during the genocide. Teachers were also perpetrators of the genocide and participated in the killing of close family members. 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. Of almost 19,000 primary teachers before the war, 60.1 per cent had been classified as qualified by the Ministry of Education (UNICEF, 1992: 33; Aguilar and Richmond, 1998: 125).¹⁸ In September 1994 only 45 per cent of qualified teachers remained in the primary system. In secondary schools after the war, only one-third of the teachers were qualified. By 1997 the distribution of trained teachers became increasingly skewed in favour of the capital city, where 90 per cent of the primary teachers were qualified, in comparison with the

17 *“L'immeuble ... a été gravement touché et est en très mauvais état : toutes les portes de bureau sont défoncées, les vitres sont cassées, certains murs ont été sérieusement troués par les obus ; les armoires, les tiroirs ont été forcés et une grande partie du patrimoine du département a été emporté”.*

provinces of Byumba, Kibungo, Kibuye and Umutara with about 25 per cent qualified teachers (MOE, 1998a: 44, 66; World Bank, 2002: Chapter 5).

The university: The one state university was specifically targeted by the massacres and suffered enormous destruction. Only 18.54 per cent of the former staff remained four years later, in 1998 (MOE, 1998a; SNEC, 1999).

Other MOE institutions: The National Archives lost all its documents. The National Library was burned down. Only one of the eight staff of the National Commission for UNESCO remained. Provincial and local education offices had been ransacked. It seemed at the time that all records had been lost. Certainly, equipment, supplies and vehicles were pillaged and lost. The MOE textbook production centre was badly damaged. It had reportedly been “over-centralized and inefficient” (Cooksey, 1992: 20) and was never re-opened.

It was the responsibility of the Ministry of Family Affairs and the Advancement of Women to look after the material and psychological welfare of unaccompanied children and to reintegrate them back into society, into foster families, and into schools and training programmes.

2.5 The status of children after the genocide

Unaccompanied children: 100,000 children lost their parents or were separated from them, 40,000 in Rwanda alone (UNICEF/ Government of Rwanda, 1996).¹⁹ The task of tracing families far exceeded the capacity of any one agency to cope and was complicated by two massive population movements: the exodus in 1994 and the forced rapid return at the end of 1996. It is noted that Save the Children (SCF) initiated

18 Data on teacher qualifications are the most difficult to reconcile in Rwanda, partly due to divergent views on criteria constituting minimal qualifications for teaching. Some reports state that less than 25 per cent of teachers in lower primary classes were qualified in the early 1990s (UNICEF, 1992: 33, reported by Aguilar and Richmond, 1998: 125).

19 Differing sources of data place the number of children separated from their families as between 400,000 and 500,000; and 116,877 registered inside and outside Rwanda (MINITRASO, reported in SCF, 1998: 15). “Differing agencies have collected figures on unaccompanied children and there are discrepancies in the numbers ...” (SCF, 1998: 15).

a separation-prevention mechanism in 1996 as refugees were returning, with the purpose of minimizing children being separated from their parents on the traumatic return. A co-ordination network was established including the International Committee of the Red Cross, UNICEF, UNHCR and SCF; training for government and NGO staff was organized; and “local leaders were encouraged to follow up children after they were returned to their families, to provide protection and look out for potential cases of child abuse”. As SCF explains, “conflict destroys family ties and changes family dynamics and many children could be at risk” when they returned home. Children were always asked which relatives they felt secure with and where they wanted to live. A total of 54,000 children were reunified with their families by 1999 and 11,002 families were still being traced (SCF, 1999a: 12,15).

Trauma: “Virtually all children have lived through severely traumatizing experiences during the war, either watching family members being tortured and killed, or being themselves wounded or threatened”. A UNICEF/Government of Rwanda survey (1996) confirmed the extremely high prevalence of traumatic exposure during the war, of stress and grief (see *Table 2.5*).

Table 2.5 Children’s exposure to war scenes

Exposure	Yes %
Have you experienced death in your family?	80*
Have you witnessed with your own eyes someone being killed or injured?	70
Did you hear people screaming for help?	79
Did you believe you would die?	91
Did you witness rape or sexual assault?	31
Did you see dead bodies/parts of bodies?	88
Did you see other children participate in killings or injuring?	36
Did you try and protect yourself during the war?	80
Did you hide under dead bodies?	16

*Figures have been rounded up.

Source: UNICEF, 1996.

“Children have lost trust in adults, and now consider them killers [and as people] who failed to provide protection when it was needed” (SCF, 1999a: 11).

Child aggressors: The other tragedy was that some children were accused of genocide and murder. In 1998, 200 children, who would have been under the age of 14 years in 1994, were still being held in Gitagata centre, due to their suspected involvement in the genocide. Legal and humanitarian protection, and education, was being provided by UNICEF and others. The centre is now closed since the children have grown to adulthood. Another 200 or more cases of young people aged between 14 and 18 years at the time of the genocide were to be brought to the courts in 1998 (SCF, 1998: 50). The future of these children was totally jeopardized: “Children who took part in the violence have been rejected by society” (SCF, 1999a: 11).

Child-headed households: It is estimated that between 200,000 and 300,000 children live in child-headed households (Veale *et al.*, 2001: xi). According to UNHCR, “an estimated 45,000 households in Rwanda today are headed by children, 90 per cent of them girls” (UNHCR, 2002: 6). “Many of the children spend three days each week visiting their parents in prison and providing them with food. This has put a huge strain on children, making them providers for their parents in prison and siblings at home” (SCF, 1999a: 11).

Poverty: In 1993, 53 per cent of all households were reportedly living below the poverty line, increasing to 66 per cent in 1996 (United Nations, 2000 Gender Section: 3).²⁰ Prices of basic foodstuffs continued to rise in 1997. Many families were handicapped in marketing their produce, due to the poor road infrastructure affecting access to markets. Commercialization is underdeveloped in many areas (SCF, 1998).

Health indicators: In 1999 it was reported that many children were underweight, stunted or wasted. Protein-energy malnutrition affected

20 A further example of widely divergent statistics and the difficulty in selecting the data set to cite is the following: In 1999 90 per cent of the population were estimated to be living below the poverty line as compared with 60 per cent before the genocide (SCF, 1999a: 12); while in 1998 an estimated 11 per cent poverty rate for 1994, presumably before the crisis, and 65 per cent for 1995, had been noted in a draft document (SCF, 1998: 24).

26.2 per cent of children aged 12-23 months in 1997. Those children have now reached the age of six years and would have entered first grade in September 2002. Pre-war maternal mortality ratios were 'very high', at 800/100,000 (SCF, 1998: 29).

Female-headed households: The rate of female-headed households rose from 25 per cent in 1994 to an estimated 34 per cent in 1996 (United Nations, 2000 Gender Section: 3). It has been demonstrated that children in these families are particularly deprived.

Women's lack of access to resources: Women have never had the right to inherit or to own land or property in Rwanda and, in consequence, they had little access to credit. Only 5 per cent of the loans from the *Banques populaires* were allocated to women. They were mainly engaged in subsistence farming. Men controlled the cash crops. Two-thirds of the female-headed households had not completed Grade 3, as compared with the male figure of 48 per cent (United Nations, 2000 Gender Section: 6).

Female victims: It is estimated that 30 per cent of girls and women aged 13-35 years were victims of sexual aggression during the genocide. Rape and forced prostitution were used as weapons of war during 1994. The survivors were faced with severe health complications, with unwanted children born of rape, with HIV/AIDS, social isolation and ostracization. Contraceptive prevalence diminished after the genocide, from 21 per cent before 1994 to an estimated 7 per cent in 1996, yet HIV prevalence rates are reported to be approximately 30 per cent (United Nations, 2000 Gender Section: 2, 3, 5).

Conclusion: A few points on the situation of women have been highlighted above, so as to indicate that children in female-headed households were in a particularly precarious position, both from a psychological and an economic point of view, in addition to those children in the truly horrendous position of heading or living in child-headed households. The consequences are disastrous for children "caught up in adults' wars where their rights to protection and care are ignored and where they are increasingly seen as legitimate targets of violence" (SCF, 1999a: 3). To attempt to give something back to children in such circumstances, to restore some semblance of normalcy, to offer structure to their lives, to make them feel cared for once again, humanitarian aid now gives a central role to education in the reconstruction process. The

Rwandan emergency brought home to the government and the international community the critical role schooling would have in rehabilitating the children. It is one positive legacy of so much suffering in those tragic times, that international agencies have also agreed to incorporate education into relief programmes.

School enrolment data on countries in emergency or refugee settings are almost always below 100 per cent. Rwanda's net enrolment rate grew from 61 per cent in late 1992 to 75 per cent in 2002. Refugee camps in Kenya currently indicate GERs of 44 per cent [Dadaab] and 79 per cent [Kakuma] (Obura, 2002: 10). The major conclusion of this report is *that it makes no sense to enrol less than all the children*. Second, those children who remain out of school are the ones who need school most. It is not relevant to point to neighbouring countries with enrolment rates under 100 per cent, or to argue that children are not all in school in 'normal' stable countries. The first rejoinder is that there is nothing normal about an enrolment rate less than 100 per cent in a 'stable' country which has been independent for 40 years. Education programmes in emergency situations are meant to reach everyone, particularly those most in need. It is not acceptable for food programmes to miss out on those with the highest rates of malnutrition, disease or deprivation, or those with the least land. It is not acceptable for health programmes in emergencies or in refugee camps to target 65 per cent of the population, or 75 per cent or even 90 per cent. They go for total coverage. For exactly the same reasons, basic education programmes *must* target all children, everywhere.

Chapter 3

The emergency

Starting from Zero – or Rwanda’s capacity to reinvent itself
(UNICEF, 1995: 30)

The new government had nothing – no financial resources, no equipment or supplies, and almost no manpower – but it rapidly made clear that it was intent on effecting any necessary changes in Rwandan society, even if this involved, precisely ‘starting from zero’.
(Cantwell, 1997: 17)

In the case of Rwanda, the education system survived in the heads of those practitioners who remained within the country or who swiftly returned. Very few of the teachers were left. 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. The schools were closed; empty and quiet after the holocaust. Unlike the case of Somalia, where the pre-war curriculum was totally lost for a decade before resurfacing, the Rwandan curriculum remained available for reference in the few documents that ministry officials were able to collect together. But it was repudiated. The country wanted to make a fresh start. It wanted to get rid of anything in the education system which echoed what was euphemistically called “*the errors of the past*” (*les erreurs du passé*) in official documents, but which evokes an emotional response even today from all educational planners in the country. The Ministry of Education wanted to start all over again. A number of events then happened simultaneously. This chapter was going to be nicely structured into a subsection on the re-establishment of the Ministry, followed by the opening of schools. But things did not happen that way. Everything happened at once; and the chapter will take its cue from the events as they happened.

3.1 First steps

In an amazing feat of determination and courage, the Ministry of Education re-opened primary schools in September 1994, two months after the end of the genocide. The story told by ministry officials at that time is a compelling one. The decisive factor in restarting schools fast is the level of determination of a ministry. The re-opening of schools in Rwanda was Rwanda-driven, sometimes in the face of incredulous or reluctant bystanders. Agencies which come to the aid of such actors are not forgotten a decade later and the experience paves the way for good co-operation at a later stage.

Re-establishment of the Ministry

The genocide was over in the first days of July. The new government assumed power on 18 July 1994. A Minister of Education was appointed. Over the days and weeks, individual staff resurfaced from exile and from hiding. As each one ventured into the old ministry building, torn and shelled and open to the elements, finding their way through the débris of broken furniture, stepping over burnt and torn papers, dust, rubble and stones, they were given a very special welcome. They stood wondering. Standing. Shocked. There was not one chair to sit on. No one knew how many colleagues had been killed.

Re-opening schools

Primary schools: The Ministry gathered the children back into school. It went around the country opening schools and conducted a strenuous campaign of social mobilization on the radio, in public speeches and through its visits. Before, the radio had been used as a treacherous divisive weapon. Now it called the children back to school.

Regional leaders were identified, the *préfets*, and asked to join in the Ministry's campaign to restart education. Each local leader set the dates for re-opening in his area and the national radio announced it, explaining that the Ministry would preside over the event. The Minister himself, with a small band of colleagues, went from province to province, from district to district, from school to school, speaking to heads, teachers and parents, exhorting them to bring their children back to school. In some cases the visitors from Kigali reached schools with two children and two or three

teachers. But the word went out, and children trickled in as the Minister waited. The atmosphere was tense, excited. But, eventually, children came.

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.

The author remembers visiting a school on a cool, leafy hillside in the south in 1995, with the sun filtering through the trees onto a calm school playground, while children and teachers sat quietly at their lessons in the remaining battered earth-walled buildings. In the middle of the swept playground a patch of long grass was growing, unkept, interspersed with rags and rubble. The questions in my head must have been apparent to the headmaster: “If you look carefully among the grasses you will see pieces of the bones of the children who died,” he said. At recreation time children ran around the clump of long grasses, calling to each other in play. It was reportedly not until 1996 that the precious remains were finally gathered and buried with ceremony.

It was not at all easy for the Minister of Education to persuade people to bring their children back to the schools. The Minister brought with him, when he could, ministry officials in Kigali who originated from the districts and who might have credibility in their home areas. And it was these local sons and daughters who talked and cajoled, and who won the day ... The parents slowly brought their children back to school.

Provincial education officers’ stories to the author were further evidence of extraordinary commitment to re-establishing schools. But these were not ordinary times. Even in the worst periods of insecurity in the north, provincial officers demonstrated leadership and courage, going out into remote areas to support and encourage their field officers. Travelling, just moving from one place to another, was the most dangerous thing to do at the time. Yet the provincial education officers travelled to and from Kigali in bush taxis, physically carrying millions of Rwandan francs in

monthly salaries for their teachers, and up and down into the mountains and the *collines*, over the swamps, to reach their teachers and support them. This is one area in which aid agencies could assist in the future: facilitating ministry/field telephone communication and by sharing transport, working together on a vehicle-use plan rather than waiting to be asked on a frequent ad-hoc basis if there is transport in a particular week to province A or B. That is a position no ministry likes to be in.

“We were the life-line of the system. If there was no pay, the teachers would not be able to stay in the classrooms. They would have had to go out looking for food. My colleagues used to ask me: Aren’t you afraid, travelling so much? But we carried on. [*The speaker shrugged his thin shoulders.*] And every time we came back to the office, everyone breathed a sigh of relief, to see we were safe.”

Secondary schools: Once the primary schools were functioning, classes for the secondary twelfth-grade (S6) students restarted, on 20 October 1994. The Ministry felt that it had to look after the vital terminal class of the schools, to keep them in the system, ensure that they completed their 12-year programme properly and give them certification at the end of it. These graduates would be used immediately as new primary teachers and they were an important human-capital resource. It was also politically important to demonstrate to the children who came back from exile that the government was immediately ready to provide for all-comers among schoolchildren, of whatever language and school background. It was a success and S6 pupils managed to sit for their school-leaving examination early the next year, losing only nine months in all. Secondary and tertiary institutions managed to catch up on their programmes gradually throughout 1995 and 1996 and expanded at an accelerated rate, with the opening of several private schools.

The new education policy after the war targeted national unity and reconciliation. It outlawed any form of discrimination and specifically prohibited any regional or ‘ethnic’ identification of learners and teachers. Advancement was to be based solely on merit. All applicants were welcomed and accepted into the schools. Children were of a wide range of ages, from a diversity of schools systems in the neighbouring countries, speaking different languages, traumatized, orphaned, lost, bewildered and

frightened – but suddenly hopeful. Those who came to the school gates had no documentary evidence of their school status in September 1994, but they were not turned away for lack of proof. In most cases, as the children interviewed in this study were to relate, they were not tested but, after a process of negotiation where the child and the parent expressed their preference, they were allocated to appropriate classes.

Supplies: There is no doubt, from the accounts of a wide range of observers, that the rapid distribution of supplies was a major factor in getting schools functional again. They were packaged in a multi-purpose box or chest, which served as a strong transporting container and as a useful store in the classroom. The box of supplies, including a teacher's guide for initial literacy/numeracy was called a TEP, a Teacher Emergency Package. They were provided and distributed through the joint effort of UNESCO, UNICEF and the Ministry of Education. As soon as the emergency phase was considered over by the Ministry, they requested the name TEP to be changed, to reflect the reconstruction phase reached. Subsequent differences between agencies and MOE over the name of the package and the package itself, is exactly the sort of situation to be avoided in future since it distracted from priorities at the time and demonstrated how agencies could be sidetracked by internal interests and away from the best interests of the partner they were serving. Supplies are supplies and there is no need to give them any special name. There were other problems with TEPs: the claims of TEP to constitute a special or new methodology and even a programme were ill-founded, but they were believed by many, and nationals were the first to declare that if TEP was a course, then Rwanda would use its own curriculum in preference to an imported one. First, the TEP teachers' guide was generic enough to have been described as a general teacher support. The methods proposed were common early primary methods. Second, the teachers' guide did not constitute a programme, course or curriculum, and agencies should have noted this. The government ordered the removal of TEP, but authorized the continued distribution of supplies in ordinary cardboard boxes. The issue should never have arisen in the first place. (Chorlton, 1996; Aguilar and Richmond, 1998: 129-132; Aguilar and Retamal, 1998. For a broader discussion of educational supply kits, see Sinclair, 2001: 57-66.)

The arrival of immediately usable supplies lifted the morale of the teacher, the children and all concerned. They lacked only a blackboard.

Later, portable blackboards were added to the distribution – and all school reconstruction designs included blackboards built into the plaster of walls in every classroom.

Tertiary institutions: The government gave the highest priority to the re-establishment of the one public university in the country, the National University of Rwanda. It was re-opened, consolidating the two campuses into one campus for the immediate future, due to reasons of cost and security. National funds were made available to recruit and remunerate regional and international staff in order to ensure the functioning of the university, and urgent appeals went out to bilateral and multilateral organizations to provide further funding for the university, for other government institutions of higher education and for the immediate development of higher institutions in the private sector. The Ministry explained that some of the projects marked as high priority might not seem vital, but it was the firm conviction of the government that they were key instruments for immediate capacity building, “*in order to replace, as a matter of urgency, the trained elite who died as a result of the massacres of April 1994*”²¹ and in order to kick-start the critical sectors of the economy and society, “*those key sectors are agriculture, the economy, industry and education*”²² (MINEPRISEC/MINESUPRES, 1994: 37). These events have been described in some detail since the international community is accustomed to focusing on schools in the aftermath of a disaster, leaving higher education to a later stage of recovery. The Government of Rwanda was adamant: it would not wait for anyone to help it with higher education. It would do it with or without external assistance, since it was urgent in its mind, vital as a spur to development and an inspiration to the whole nation. Over the years 1995-1997, 322 of the 448 lecturers in the university were visiting lecturers, paid from government, and later from external sources. Eight of the 448 lecturers were women. Yet international recruitment could have specified that women lecturers were required. Gradually the number of expatriate lecturers was reduced and, by 2000, the remaining ones were mainly remunerated from national funds, which indicates the continued importance perceived by the government in ensuring that all vital lectureship posts were filled. It took time to marshal external assistance, but it was provided, generously.

21 “... pour reconstituer d’urgence le personnel disparu suite aux massacres d’avril 1994 qui ont frappé l’élite formée”.

22 “[l]es secteurs clés que sont l’agriculture, l’économie, l’industrie et l’enseignement”.

Distribution of roles to support education: Four other ministries were given roles to play in re-establishing vocational education, peace and literacy programmes: the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MINITRASO), which organized adult education and literacy; the Ministry of Youth (MIJEUMA), with the mandate for sports education and, later, for peace education; and the Ministry of Gender (MIFAPROFE), which ran literacy programmes for women. MINALOC (the Ministry of Local Affairs) was entrusted with integrating returnees back into their communes and seeing that children were sent to school. But it was difficult to follow up the hundreds of thousands of cases; and the roles of MINALOC and the NGOs operating in the area were not co-ordinated (Veale *et al.*, 2001). Some areas, such as Umutara, had fewer NGOs than others, which led to scarcity of field officers and insufficient support. In other areas MINALOC tended to withdraw from follow-up services when NGOs were on the ground, without general consultation between all parties, which led to concern over the sustainability of the international – and even national – NGO services provided. It seems that even now, in 2002, there needs to be a thorough investigation of the roles of each ministry/set of actors, review of roles and tasks if necessary, and subsequent sound monitoring to ensure that the people who need the most support will receive it in the future.

3.2 Structural change

Immediate enactment of new prime policy: The ‘past errors’ alluded to above referred to the systematic use of ethnic and regional quotas, rather than performance, as selection criteria for access to education at every level – and quotas were used for entry into first grade (see *Table 2.4* above). Post-war Rwanda concentrated in the early days, and then in the months and years that followed the genocide, on *equity of provision and access*. There were no entry criteria for admission to primary school. Admission to lower and upper secondary, and tertiary levels, was strictly on merit, that is, on performance in public examinations.

Vocational education: The government responded quickly, and with political sensitivity, to widespread dissatisfaction with the CERAI (middle-level vocational three-year post-primary centres). These increasingly unpopular centres were closed down. Eventually they were replaced with youth training centres (CFJ, *Centres de formation des jeunes*). It took time. Vocational education and training is still in need of review (World Bank, 2002).

Policy planning for reconstruction: As early as November 1994, the first steps were taken to prepare the ground for developing a new national education policy and a new policy on vocational training (MINEPRISEC/MINESUPRES, 1994: 59). The present study covers the areas of policy development and implementation over the eight years of reconstruction (*Sections 3-5*). It includes reference to policy declarations, which are the outcome of meetings and conferences; ministerial declarations; statements on the curriculum and on syllabuses; and, more recently, the sectoral planning drafts inspired by or emanating from *Vision 2020*, Rwanda's blueprint for national development, and from the all-encompassing poverty reduction strategy programme (MOESTSR, 2002a; MOESTSR, 2002b; MOESTSR, 2002c; MOESTSR, World Bank, Sida, DFID, 2002).

Ministry of Education institutions: The Ministry gradually set up new departments and rationalized some functions of the Ministry, creating, over time, a new inspectorate, a new national examinations council – recently made autonomous – a separate national curriculum development centre, and reshaping the planning division into a full directorate. These developments are described in the present report (*Sections 3-5*).

External relations: The first instinct of the government and the Ministry was to depend on itself, to determine its priorities and to drive forward, fast, to effect them. It opened the schools. International partners came forward to assist. As agencies and embassies returned to Kigali they contacted the Ministry and offered assistance, which was welcomed. Contact abroad was made in October 1994, in Geneva, with the Director General of UNESCO at the 44th Session of the International Conference on Education, which culminated in the first planning conference in Rwanda in November 1994. The World Bank also offered assistance. The Joint Evaluation Report of 1996 covers many of these interventions and offers (MOE, 1996; Millwood, 1996).

Emergency curriculum inputs: In the literature of 1996-1998 there are several references to landmine-awareness education, trauma alleviation training for social workers and teachers, and peace education (Aide et Action, 1995; UNICEF, 1995, 1996, 1997a and 1997b; Zarchin, 1997; Save the Children, 1998). It is likely that the first was useful, but no assessment was made and people do not seem to remember it today. That does not mean that it was not effective. With regard to trauma-alleviation training,

from the start, the notion of putting mainly untrained teachers through trauma-alleviation sessions was debatable. But in the circumstances, needs were considered acute (see *Table 2.5* above) and it was believed that the session could help, rather than hinder. Again, no assessment or cost analysis has been carried out. Educationist observers felt at the time that if teachers could be encouraged to listen more to children and to empathize with them, the session could be useful for *any* teacher and particularly useful for adults handling children in times of emergency – although the cost and delivery method was queried. Given the almost total lack of referral services and professional personnel in Rwanda – there was certainly no trauma-alleviation service to refer children to, apart from one centre in Kigali – it was unlikely that teachers could ever do much in a professional sense for traumatized children. The traumatized teachers were themselves battling with each day as it came, in very difficult circumstances. It is possible that teachers learned something from this programme. We do not know. Peace education was not included in the curriculum of the schools in the 1990s (see *Section 5*).

Teacher training: Nearly every report that one reads on agency or organization input refers to some teacher training carried out between 1994 and today. Yet this is the area with the least surviving and least detailed information. Reports tend to state the number of ‘teachers’ ‘trained’ or reached. In rare instances they mention the number of days, but not the hours. They never state who the trainers were. Nor do they refer to results. No assessments seem to have been done (Chorlton, 1996). TEP proponents are quick to point out, sensibly, that the two-day sessions they organized were, in their own view, totally insufficient as a training programme, but served as a morale booster and as an exposure to classroom management for the entirely new teachers (Aguilar and Retamal, 1998). There are no substantial data on the cost of the two-day sessions, nor their efficacy. Observers are left wondering whether what must have been the massive cost of reaching out into every province, district and commune, could not have produced some tangible result. At the very least, there should have been a follow-up in-servicing mechanism. The question to ask is: when in the turmoil of an emergency, is there time to think twice? to do things differently? to do them well? The lesson learned is that, as this report points out, teacher capacity building is important, that it needs to be done early, as early as possible; there needs to be a plan; the programme(s) should be of the highest quality manageable at the time; they need to be assessed, documented and followed up.

The nature of external relations: There is a perception on the part of the Ministry that external agencies did not co-ordinate with the MOE and did not consult sufficiently with the Rwandan authorities: “they should at least have consulted with us”, was a recurrent theme among officials in 2002. There were, however, several introductory then ongoing meetings, formal and informal, in many offices in Kigali from July 1994 onwards, documented by agencies and donors. A first formal consultative meeting with UNESCO took place in October 1994 in Geneva, bringing together the Director General of UNESCO and the Rwanda Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education and the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research; a meeting in Rwanda, on 7-8 November of the same year, of the MOE, UNICEF, UNESCO and other partners, to make an inventory of needs in the formal and non-formal systems of education and to plan for future action. The November 1994 report noted “the close collaboration between UNESCO/UNICEF and our country” (MINEPRISEC/MINESUPRES, 1994: 7).

One interpretation of these events is that the Ministry felt disempowered in the aftermath of the crisis. It was without sufficient human or financial resources at that time, it was still in the process of re-establishing the Ministry and must have felt unequal in terms of capacity to respond to the situation, in comparison with the bigger aid agencies and donors. It could be concluded that arranging for consultation is insufficient and that the nature of the consultation needs to be re-assessed so that in future circumstances the host Ministry regains as soon as possible a sense of significance and control.

3.3 In the schools

Finding, attracting, recruiting and remunerating teachers

To overcome the shortage of primary teachers the Ministry called for secondary leavers and even secondary drop-outs to come and fill the vacant posts (UNICEF, 1995: 28). As noted above, in late 1994 the Ministry assisted 12th-grade students to sit their final examinations. Its strategy was to channel them as soon as possible into primary teaching posts. This was a well thought-out yet very quick response on the part of the Ministry of Education. Less known – and perhaps the most important contribution of all to attracting teachers into schools and to supporting those first days in school – was UNICEF’s one-off contribution to teachers’ salaries, which

23 “... la collaboration étroite entre l’UNESCO/UNICEF et notre pays”.

amounted to US\$800,000, called ‘a one-time incentive payment’ (UNICEF, 1995: 30). Under normal circumstances, international development agencies try to avoid paying the salaries of civil servants. But these were exceptional circumstances. Looking back, many people have lauded that courageous step of breaking with tradition that helped to assist teachers back into school. Many organizations gave teachers food rations (see *Section 3.4* below). There was no problem in recruitment procedures once a teacher presented an application, with documentary evidence of qualifications. Through its provincial and commune offices and through the radio the Ministry went out appealing for anyone that was educated to come and work as a teacher. Since cash and work were hard to access at the time, there were many applicants, but insufficient for the needs and insufficient funds available to pay a reasonable salary. As and when donors made grants available to the Ministry of Finance, the general government budget was used to transfer funds to line ministries for salaries and other expenditure.

There was an even more critical shortage of secondary teachers. Across the spectrum of secondary schools in Rwanda, government and private: “[m]ore than two-thirds of all teachers do not have the necessary qualifications to teach at the secondary level”; and in state and assisted schools “[m]ore than three-quarters ... only have a diploma of end of secondary studies” (MOE, 1998a: 75). One emergency strategy used was to provide accelerated training for the new upper-secondary leavers, in order to deploy them as lower-secondary teachers. A second strategy was in-service training. In order to encourage the expansion of secondary education, a decision was taken to assist private secondary schools (MINEPRISEC/MINESUPRES, 1994: 34). As noted above, training occurred, but no reports were available in 2002 on the type or quality of the training.

1994 curriculum

The subject of national curriculum change in Rwanda is dealt with in detail in *Section 4* below. In the current chapter only the emergency experiences of curriculum will be reported. Inspired by their design of educational provision in refugee camps, some external partners have envisaged developmental phases for education in emergency situations (UNHCR, 1995: 25-37; Aguilar and Retamal, 1998: 8-37). Yet, both in refugee camps and in countries emerging from crisis, what teachers know

is the familiar pattern of formal schooling. They do not take easily to initial-phase games and activities sessions, with which they are not familiar; nor to some transitional introductory phase to formal schooling. They know formal schooling, they are familiar with their old curriculum and they prefer to go into class and start teaching what they know best. This is the conclusion drawn from several interviews in the Ministry of Education, consultation with aid workers in the mid-1990s, both in Rwanda and in Rwandan refugee operations (personal communication in Rwanda and by telephone in October/November 2002 with Narcisse Musabeyezu, Pascal Habufite, Mark Richmond, Lyndsay Bird, Pilar Aguilar, Jill Zarchin). This is a major lesson learned in Rwanda. Attempts to change this familiar pattern by external partners, whether with school games or TEPs, did not go down well and even led to serious disagreements. This conclusion does not invalidate the sound theoretical basis of the three-phased development proposed for emergency education but points to the difficulty of its implementation. It is proposed here that the games and play of the first phase be incorporated simultaneously into emergency schooling and maintained at an intensive level throughout and after the emergency, coupled with initial and ongoing training for teachers in this domain. The introductory second phase of the model could be more difficult to achieve.

As early as November 1994, the Ministry of Education was formulating new objectives for the education system and, significantly, planning a new curriculum.

Objectives of the new education system in Rwanda, 1994

“... to create policies which are in keeping with the new reality ... to correct the errors of the past ... they also aim to build an appropriate educational system, which satisfies the wishes and needs of the population ... to train people free of ethnic, regional, national and religious prejudices, conscious of human rights and responsibilities ... conscious also of their membership to the international community”.
(MOE, 1994: 25, translated).

Syllabuses would be modified as necessary; some content would be offloaded; rationalization of primary and secondary curricula would be carried out to ensure consistency between the two levels; ‘foreign languages’ would be given a more prominent place. This, in effect, referred to the

introduction of English as a major subject for everyone and medium of instruction for some. As much space was given to defining higher-education objectives as the primary and secondary sub-sectors. The 1994 curriculum plan refers first to the new tertiary curriculum which would promote “*An authentic humanism, nourished by national and universal values*”²⁴. A second goal would be to enhance the quality of education at this level. The aims for primary, secondary and tertiary education make no mention of science or technology education, which is a common element in the education plans of neighbouring countries. In Rwanda in 1994 planners emphasized the humanistic culture to be promoted (MINEPRISEC/MINESUPRES, 1994: 26). This was an understandable reaction to the very recent, terrible experience of genocide, which must have been uppermost in the minds of the planners at the time, and still is.

It is noted in Progress Reports of UNICEF (1995, 1996) and by UNESCO (Aguilar and Richmond, 1998: 27) that a Peace education pilot programme had been set up with the intention of incorporating it into the primary-school curriculum and non-formal education programmes through teaching materials and teachers trained in Education for Peace techniques. It did not happen and there are no detailed accounts available today about the pilot programme, nor any assessment report. Interviews with agency staff would indicate that the Ministry of Education ‘was not ready’ for the programme and the position of the Ministry may not have been understood by external partners at the time.

During the late 1990s the Ministry was certainly struggling with the *idea* of a peace education programme, and to give a central role to “civic and moral education, the universal and Rwandan values related to peace, tolerance, respect for others, equity, solidarity, democracy and peaceful co-existence”, to producing a “responsible, creative and progressive citizen ... of integrity” (MINEPRISEC/MINESUPRES, 1994: 7). UNICEF dispatched new instructions to the Kigali office to support the development of the programme. To give some idea of the context at the time, there was a problem across the board with the notion of ‘reconciliation’. The terrors of the genocide were still fresh in everyone’s minds. For some, if peace education necessarily meant incorporating reconciliation, then there was a problem. Wiser heads and experience will suggest in the future and in new circumstances, an easier route to take

24 “... un humanisme authentique nourri des valeurs nationales et universelles”.

than to allow an impasse over one concept. Rwandans were plainly ready to move ahead with other critical aspects of peace-building, for example, their emphasis on equity and inclusion. The entry point could have been there, starting with the classroom, the playground, the school, and moving to the community. There could be a role in future for a full-time experienced peace education programme designer (or regional long-term consultant) who would be willing to spend some years, not just the 18 months or two-years short emergency contract, in following through with a country's unique path back to peace, and assisting to develop peace education over time. This is exactly where two-year contracts, or a series of different consultants, can only fail to make an impact.

The children

The effect of trauma on children was uppermost in the minds of agencies working in the education sector (see also *Section 2.5* above). Since all Rwandans were traumatised it is understandable that it was external partners who seemed to drive trauma alleviation programmes, and there was no hesitancy on their part on this score. A number of responses were designed for this. For example, support programmes were designed by UNICEF for 6,600 children in centres, 200,000 in foster care, as many as 100,000 severely traumatised children, 2,500 former child soldiers, nearly 3,000 in child-headed households and 2,000 in 'detention and rehabilitation centres' (UNICEF, 1998a: 32). The UNESCO/UNICEF trauma alleviation programmes targetted primary teachers who had contact only with children in schools; and some children in a special centre in Kigali. The programme exposed teachers for the first time to issues of trauma in the classroom setting. 'The Ministry of Education/UNICEF Trauma Recovery Programme trained 8,200 primary and secondary school teachers in basic trauma alleviation methods ... [consequently] teachers have helped more than 32,000 children' (Retamal and Aedo-Richmond, 1998: 133). Rwanda had no nonformal programmes for children before the war and did not provide them after the war, except through some ad hoc activities of NGOs.

In practice, the children of the poor found it difficult to enter primary school. First, many of these children did not have the time for school. They were busy freeing their parents for income generating or assisting them directly in this. If they had time for school they needed to surmount the administrative hurdles of getting an attestation of need from the local

sector leader, and giving proof of having paid health insurance levies. The orphans in child-headed families – if they had time for school – were in a particularly difficult position in terms of finding out about strategies for getting into school and applying for a fees waiver. Many of them resigned themselves quickly to forgetting about school.

Some children out of school may have been reached by the community sports programme and could, in theory, have been exposed to the peace education component in the programme. The Ministry of Youth figures are not available on this exercise started, and there are no reports on the type of attention given to children, apart from classical sports activities.²⁵ There are no reports available today on the peace education programme which was sponsored by UNICEF, in 1997-1998, regarding the content or the impact of these activities since those years. 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 good to hear that sports activities per se are flourishing, without external funds, and in collaboration with the Ministry of Gender. They have branched out into sports for girls and women. It was always 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. The lesson learned in this instance is that without an evaluation it is impossible to know which children were reached by the sports programme and whether it handled peace education effectively once UNICEF relinquished assistance for the peace education programme.

3.4 Shared responsibilities for education, across government ministries

MINAPROFE, the Ministry of Gender, and MINITRASO, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, were involved in adult education programmes. MIJEUMA, the Ministry of Youth, ran the sports programmes for youth mentioned above. MINITRASO organized literacy programmes through the 12 provincial CPDFPs and the 154 CCDFPs (communes centres), targeting the full operationalization of the centres by 1997, and supported by UNICEF. At community level MINALOC, the Ministry of

²⁵ The author observed the first Peace Education training of trainers in 1998, conducted by MIJEUMA, the Ministry of Youth. It proved difficult to orient the sports training programme into new fields relating to peace-building beyond the routine sports activities that the Ministry of Youth had been familiar with.

Local Affairs, was mandated to look after children returning home from exile and, in particular, to follow up on children reunited with their families, children in foster families and child-headed families and destitute children. However, it was difficult to arrange follow-up for all these children.

3.5 Agencies – the teacher emergency package

In May 1994 UNESCO PEER started translating the Somalia TEP (Teacher Emergency Package) for “non-formal primary education in emergency situations such as refugee camps” into Kinyarwanda and adapted it for Rwandans in refugee camps outside the country. It was designed “to initiate literacy and numeracy for the benefit of illiterate children” (Aguilar and Richmond, 1998: 129).

The Education Section of UNICEF returned to Rwanda in July 1994 and provided space for the UNESCO education staff. The two agencies operated joint programmes out of a joint education office until 1996. This is reported as a gain for both programmes and has been recommended for other emergency situations. According to UNICEF, the short-term aim of the joint programme was to revive primary education and “to expand access to basic education to the largest possible number of Rwandan children and youth”. The long-term aim was to support the government in laying “new foundations for a more equitable and efficient educational system” (UNICEF, 1995: 26). In addition to distribution to refugees in neighbouring country camps, 9,000 TEPs or boxes of supplies for 80 pupils per package were distributed inside Rwanda, reaching about 600,000 children, in 1,707 schools by February 1995, with two-days training for 11,700 teachers. The kit cost US\$ 170, just over \$2 per pupil. The TEP, or supplies programme, was “at the heart of the joint UNICEF/UNESCO emergency education programme” (UNICEF, 1995: 26). For a review of the debate on the use of education kits in emergencies, see Sinclair (2001: 57-66).

3.6 Non-governmental organizations (NGOs)

The NGOs made a highly significant contribution to humanitarian assistance during the emergency phase. A few selected inputs will be described here, to illustrate the type of assistance given. The overwhelming need at the start was for food and water, medical supplies, health care, and shelter. The resettlement of returning refugees was a massive operation and, as noted elsewhere in this report, the needs of unaccompanied children,

sick children, traumatized children, orphans were the focus of many agencies and organizations. Those who gave food aid included CARITAS Rwanda, CRS (Catholic Relief Services) and the Red Cross agencies, including ICRC; resettlement assistance was given by Trocaire, CONCERN, Action Nord-Sud, AVSI (Associazione Volontari per il Servizio Internazionale), Red Barnet, World Vision, CARE International and Aide et Action, for example. Family reunification was the main focus of Save the Children-UK, with UNICEF.

Point d'écoute (Listening Point): The local NGO *Point d'écoute* was set up in 1998 in Gisenyi Town, to address the needs of street children, just after the worst of the rebel incursions from the west. In Gisenyi Town, the street children are mainly from Gisenyi Province, some orphans, some from destitute families, some from negligent families. So far 234 children have been reunited with their families and *Point d'écoute* has assisted the families with income-generating projects. They follow-up on the children once they have returned home, through their officers based in the field, and assist the local authorities in setting up a fund for the schooling and health care of the children. Once the children have managed to stay home for two months, *Point d'écoute* knows that it is time to look for a school. The NGO has managed to fund 78 children in school, getting a total of 118 into schools, and 15 children over the age of 16 years in vocational training in auto-mechanics, bicycle repair and food-preparation courses. Schools will accept children up to 12 years in first grade. *Point d'écoute* is currently working with the remaining 219 children whom the project has identified. It meets the children over one and a half days per week, for a variety of activities, including literacy classes, life-skills sessions, hygiene education, HIV-prevention education, other information inputs; and it is beginning to use child-to-child methods of information sharing and peer support. It does not offer shelter. There are as many as 40 children in its programme, 13 year-olds, who explicitly do not want to go to school. But *Point d'écoute* perseveres. It says that, in time, the children out of school begin to envy those in school and see the attraction of learning something.

The NGO regularly collects data on street children in Gisenyi Province and produces useful analyses on the issue. One of the strategies includes involving the total community in the reintegration of children back into society. The NGO is now well known in the province and has acquired considerable credibility and respect when it speaks for street children.

The director of the NGO has strategically placed himself on the Social Commission of the Municipality, which gives him access to information, gives his work an audience and enables him to speak with authority before the municipality on the issue of street children. He is sometimes invited to sessions of the Provincial Commission for Education, a broad-based body which determines the policy and plans for education development for the province. His voice will be one of those speaking up for alternative education programmes.

Cacuba Primary School IIa in Gisenyi, with 1,600 pupils, had registered 15 pupils who had previously been destitute or on the streets. We met eight of the children aged between 12 and 15 years; happy, smiling, clean children, who were ready to talk about how much they enjoyed school. Cacuba IIb had 25 destitute children. It was not clear if they had all lived on the streets or if they had been taken into the schools to prevent them ending up on the street. The lack of data was the fault of the author, who was not in a position to verify the information due to lack of time. The point being made is that when schools take in destitute or street children they rightly attract assistance. In this case Cacuba IIa had help from Compassion International, CARITAS-Italia and the local NGO *Abadahogera*, in addition to the collaboration over the identification and orientation of the children by *Point d'écoute*. However, it is said that not many external NGOs are interested in supporting education. It is not clear whether a co-ordinating process in the future would be useful in streamlining aid to destitute children or aid to destitute children in the same school. External NGO assistance in Rwanda continues to be intermittent and precarious, making it difficult to envisage long-term plans. *Point d'écoute* also accesses FARG, the Genocide Survivors' Fund, and MINALOC bursaries for secondary schoolchildren. FARG assistance is more generous – it includes uniform, some other clothing, a mattress, soap and toiletries.

Gisenyi Town is evidently a great draw for children from the whole province. The Provincial Education Director explained that of the 1,010 children sitting for primary leaving examination in 2002, three-quarters of them came from Gisenyi Town schools. This points to the need to strengthen schools at the periphery of the province.

Bamporeze Association, or ABA, was set up in 1996 by a group of individual women who spontaneously wished to assist very needy families in worsening economic conditions. ABA works in three rural districts in a

variety of programmes targeting assistance and capacity building to child-families and female-headed families, focusing on income-generating projects and training in agricultural techniques, and including assistance to education. It directly funds school expenses for several children. It works closely with MINALOC and with UNICEF, UNHCR, WFP and other donors and NGOs. Its work is intensive in each of these regions, it gets to know the communities well and is confident that it identifies beneficiaries efficiently and that the assistance it gives to destitute children for schooling is well used. One project has assisted children family heads in setting up brick-making and pottery-production units; another has funded a hairdressing shop and a little restaurant run by children family heads. Interaction with the women and children includes a number of educational and information dissemination activities (interview with Bamporeze, October 2002).

INADES-Formation Rwanda (Institut Africain pour le Développement Economique et Social): A third NGO to be cited in this report is INADES-Formation Rwanda, one of up to 10 national INADES NGOs across Africa. They have been working in Rwanda from 1976 and have long experience in rural development training, targeting agricultural techniques in particular and working with farmers' organizations. In recent years they have included focus on peace-building. They have considerable external links and funding, and work with a number of local partners including MINALOC, and several national NGOs, such as IMBARAGA and INGABO. They have a well-established national headquarters in Kigali and the regional headquarters is in Abidjan (visit to INADES-Formation Rwanda, October 2002; Information flier/booklet, undated).

FAWE Rwanda: FAWE Rwanda is another but more recent national chapter of a regional organization known as FAWE (Forum for African Women Educationalists). The NGO was established in 1997, to focus on girls' education which has been identified as a particular need in view of the poor national indicators regarding maternal mortality ratios and other indicators on the health status of women, multiple problems associated with child mortality rates, women's comparatively low literacy rates, problems associated with the legal status of women including their lack of access to the inheritance and ownership of land, low rates of access to credit, poor representation in decision-making roles such as parliament, the top echelons of government, industry, and the civil service, etc. The relatively restricted life chances of women are all the more surprising

since there is gender parity in primary schools with regard to national access, repetition and retention/drop-out rates. But the problem has been identified more specifically as emanating from higher wastage rates in upper primary and lower performance in examinations from upper primary onwards, which affects girls' entry into the secondary cycle and university. As in other countries in the world, the comparatively lower achievement levels of girls can be traced to the hidden curriculum, the overt curriculum and to the attitudes of teachers (and there are other educators regularly and officially visiting schools in Rwanda, including church educators with conservative attitudes), head teachers, the broader management structures of schools including school committees, and the education system in general (Abagi *et al.*, 2002; visit to four schools in Nyamata District, October 2002).

Since its inception FAWE has taken a high-profile advocacy role that it plays well in most countries in the Africa region, constantly bringing the issues of girls' education to the attention of MINEDUC, lobbying and charting the progress of girls in the education system. One of its major achievements is to have developed a close working relationship with MINEDUC to the extent of being offered office space in the Ministry, and regular invitations to senior policy meetings. Having first set up a girls' secondary school in Kigali – which in time attracted government assistance and has been included among the government-assisted schools – FAWE is now in 2002 turning its focus to extension, spreading FAWE activities to 16 primary schools in rural areas, thereby hoping to have an earlier impact on those populations most in need of direct support regarding girls' education; and lobbying for the establishment of five more girls' secondary schools, while continuing FAWE outreach to the current 34 secondary schools (D. Mutoni, personal communication: 16 December 2002).

Aide et Action (AA) is an international NGO and has been in Rwanda since 1982. Its list of achievements is impressive: 999 new permanent classrooms built between 1982 and 1999, 766 classrooms rehabilitated, in addition to a plethora of capacity-building activities. AA never left Rwanda, even during the darkest days of the genocide. It was one of the first NGOs to respond to the call of the government to assist in re-opening schools in the country, in September 1994, despite the fact that it had only 14 of its 42 staff remaining (AA, 1995: III,1). It took its cue from the Minister “*To restart primary schooling rapidly*”.²⁶ It took an immediate

26 “... *de relancer rapidement l'école primaire*”.

decision to go back to work in the 14 communes where it had been active before the war. Its first action was to bring learning materials to the children; clothes, chalk, teaching materials and umbrellas to the teachers; and typewriters to district offices. It also sent soap, hoes, brushes and jerry cans to the schools and one football to every single school in the country. In 1995 it was effectively active in a total of 14 communes, constructing and renovating buildings, providing furniture to schools, supplies, textbooks, writing materials and sports equipment. It was courageous enough to return to the Ruhengeri district where it was still difficult to work, in 1995, due to insecurity. One measure of the reputation of AA is that it received World Bank financing for construction in four sites. It also managed to return to its capacity-building work at school and district level, together with health education and teacher training. Each site of intervention became a focal point for a series of different training programmes. It collaborated with the ministries MINITRASO – school supplies for orphans; MIJEUMA, supporting sports competitions, and donating supplies to the Belgian Red Cross. In 12 short months, December 1994-December 1995, it had reached 120,000 pupils, 2,000 teachers and 185 schools. This was a tremendous feat for a single NGO. Unlike some organizations which waited for textbooks to be reprinted – since there were no stocks left after the looting and destruction of the war – AA polycopied textbook material for its schools and delivered it quickly into the hands of teachers and pupils. It immediately started strengthening parent/teacher associations; and gave assistance to vocational and informal education activities. “Our field of action is vast and varied”²⁷ (AA, 1995: II,3). While the efforts and the coverage were laudable, there is no record of co-ordination with other NGOs or agencies working in the same districts. The efforts of AA are, on the one hand, an example of effective, wide and rapid response and achievement, in reaching the needy. On the other hand, however, it highlights the dispersion of effort in NGOs and agencies, with no co-ordinating body within the country to advise on geographical or programmatic focus, and with more than one agency engaged in national programmes in terms of geographic spread. The question has to be asked: Why was one co-ordinating body not set up either by government or through the agency system, that is, by the NGOs, the United Nations system or with direct or indirect bilateral assistance, to increase effective action on the ground? The last word on AA goes to its administrative costs, which were at a most creditable level of only 14 per cent in 1995.

27 “*Notre champ d’action est donc vaste et diversifié*”.

3.7 Bilateral and multilateral aid

Regarding general assistance to Rwanda during the emergency, the DANIDA-sponsored joint evaluation report of 1996 is the most comprehensive depository of information (Millwood, 1996). The number of public and private international donors which contributed to programmes of assistance in Rwanda and the Great Lakes region after the genocide were legion. Many of the projects for relief and social welfare included support for the repair of schools and the distribution of supplies, and for a variety of teacher support programmes, on which little documentation now exists.

Flash funds were used for a variety of support mechanisms to reintegrate families into their home communities. Among those mechanisms were projects to expand education facilities so as to cope with the influx of returning children. For the estimated 200,000 new pupils and 6,000 teachers, 30 per cent of the funding was allocated to build 2,167 classrooms and repair 677 damaged ones, to construct 20 primary schools and to upgrade the teaching skills of 4,500 newly returned teachers, in collaboration with governmental and non-governmental national partners. Agencies involved with education included ICRC, UNHCR and UNESCO/UNICEF, and the World Food Programme, which distributed food rations to all sectors. The UNICEF funds alone for the Emergency Flash Appeal November 1996-January 1997 disbursed to Rwanda came from the governments of Finland, Italy, Japan, Sweden, Switzerland, and from the European Union and UNICEF National Committees of Australia, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain and the United States of America, and the Asker Council in Norway, as hundreds of thousands of refugees returned to Rwanda. In five days, as many as half a million refugees streamed through Gisenyi; and a total of 768,500 from Zaire and 500,000 from Tanzania over the three months. "The mass repatriation threatened to hamper the country's promising but fragile post-war recovery" (UNICEF, 1997a: 19).

To give an example of indirect assistance to education, UNHCR worked with ministries and local associations on projects benefiting women in Rwanda, and initiated the Rwandan Women's Initiative in January 1997 to support capacity and institution-building among Rwandan NGOs. Projects supported girls' education in addition to income generating,

vocational training, adult literacy, legal assistance and communication. The many UNDP programmes also included funds for the rehabilitation of schools. It was estimated that 100 NGOs were working in the health sector (Veale *et al.*, 2001). Far fewer were working ostensibly in education, but a significant amount of funds found their way to school rehabilitation, as aid to basic services, without this assistance being recorded in a central information bank. The result is that there is no full survey of NGO assistance to education during the post-crisis years – and it must have been considerable. The brief snapshot of the work of AA bears witness to this factor (*Section 3.6*). It is not the objective of the present study to carry out such a survey, since the focus is on government mechanisms of system reconstruction, but it would be useful to have a clearer idea of local and international NGO involvement in and contribution to the education sector.

3.8 An illustration of co-ordination challenges: peace education in Rwanda

Rwanda did not succeed in developing a peace education programme in schools in the 1990s despite the new elements appearing in several subject syllabuses. The Ministry of Education admitted as much when it appealed in 2002 for action and expressed its firm wish to develop a sound peace education programme for schools. In a sense it might seem as if the Ministry left this programme till last; and the present report gives some attention to explaining this phenomenon. Earlier intentions to start peace education programmes are reported in the peace-promoting culture conference in 1998, organized by then Ministry of Youth, Sports, Culture and Vocational Training (MIJESCAFOP/UNESCO, 1998), with assistance from the Newick Peace Initiative based in Nairobi, bilateral agencies and UNESCO. A wide range of participants attended the meeting and presented papers. In the meantime the Ministry focused on the other subjects on the curriculum, incorporating peace education notions into subjects such as civic education, moral education, physical education, etc., and has recently focused on getting a Life-skills programme off the ground, which will incorporate an HIV-prevention component.

The 1994 conference on emergency aid and support for the reconstruction of the education system had advocated the promotion of a

culture of peace, and authentic national cultural development²⁸ (MINEPRISEC/MINESUPRES, 1994: 23) and had translated this into the need for drawing up a new Education Act to replace that of 1985 and banning discriminatory practices in schools. There was no specific reference at that time to any plan for running peace education programmes in schools. No doubt it was too early. A peace education programme, designed in 1997 in the Ministry with the assistance of UNICEF (guidebooks printed and distributed in early 1999), was initiated through sporting activities in schools and the wider community under the aegis of the Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sport. It is significant that the 1998 conference on promoting a culture of peace, which included inputs from the Ministry of Education, made no reference to this development (MIJESCAFOP/UNESCO, 1998).

The Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sport was surely an appropriate ministry to initiate peace education with access to all the youth in the country. But while sports have continued to flourish there is little evidence – partly due to lack of assessment – that the peace education element has been effectively maintained. The explanation may lie in the lack of intensive preparation and lack of capacity building inside MIJEUMA; and to the fact that the Ministry of Education was split into two around this time, leaving primary and secondary education in one ministry and locating higher education in another. The result was some shifting of departments and half of the peace education programme was taken from the Ministry of Education to MIJEUMA, with half of its MOE staff. Each remaining team in MOE and MIJEUMA continued to plan peace education programmes but both were weakened by the split. In addition, UNICEF did not renew the post of international education officer to Rwanda, late 1998-2001, which left the agency understaffed in its education sector at a critical time for supporting peace education; and UNICEF funding to peace education in MIJEUMA stopped soon after the departure of the 1998 UNICEF education officer. Yet, ground-breaking programmes need a great deal of support, and staff continuity, particularly in the initial stages, to build up a critical mass of core programme leaders. It is possible that once the peace education programme moved out of the Ministry of Education, the Ministry lost sight of the programme and, coupled with the lack of funding in 1999 and the loss of support from a major agency, the programme became invisible to the Ministry of Education. In any case, the inputs to

28 “... la promotion de la culture de la paix ... [et] un développement culturel national et authentique”.

the peace education programme now look far too slight, compared to the effort that UNHCR, for instance, has expended to initiate and maintain a sound peace education programme in several refugee sites across Africa.

Further, there could be a parallel with the teaching of Rwandan history, in that while peace elements and elements of the history of Rwanda are in the syllabuses, there is no evidence that they are being taught, and informal observations to the author would indicate that they are not being taught. This would explain, in the case of peace education, the Ministry's interest in life-skills in 2002 as one way of breathing new life into peace-related topics.

3.9 Conclusions and lessons learned

While inter-ministerial collaboration occurred from the start, there seems to have been much duplication of effort, which may have been due to hasty planning, as illustrated in the very detailed early planning documents of November 1994. Also, there was concentration by external partners on school reconstruction and supplies rather than on system building.

Lessons learned

- **Ministry lead is the decisive factor**

The decisive factor in re-starting schools fast is the level of determination of a Ministry. The role of agencies is to discern the level of will and capability and to assist rapidly.

- **Ministry communication capacity is vital and, in future, needs more generous assistance**

Communication was important for the Ministry. It used the radio; it also sent word out, somehow. And it travelled to as many places as it could. The physical presence of the Minister was a decisive factor at that difficult time. Perhaps the fact that Rwanda is a relatively small country helped in this. This is one area in which aid agencies could assist in the future: facilitating ministry/field and field/field telephone communication and sharing transport using a common transport plan.

- **Co-ordination of effort should be stressed from the start**

The need for improved co-ordination at every level is constantly stressed by all actors.

- **Field roles need better definition**

There needs to be a thorough investigation of the roles of each Ministry/set of actors regarding the provision of basic social services in the field, a restatement of roles and tasks if necessary and subsequent sound monitoring to ensure that the people who need the most support will receive it in the future.

- **Focus on the nature of consultation**

The nature of the consultation between a newly emerging Ministry of Education and external partners needs to be re-assessed by the external partners, so that the host Ministry regains as soon as possible a sense of significance and control. Simply arranging for consultation is insufficient.

- **External partners need to listen carefully**

Sensitive consultation with the national authorities is vital. The reluctance of the Rwandan Government to use imported programmes, such as TEP purported to be, and the objection to the name 'Teacher Emergency Package', should be noted for the future. A distinction needs to be made between agency assistance to supplies and to school programmes (curriculum), and between supplies which will in time be locally available and unreplenishable imported supplies.

- (a) A supply kit today would no doubt be far slimmer than the TEP sent to Rwanda in 1994, containing essentials only, with a blackboard. Many lessons have been learned on this score since 1994.
- (b) Materials for teaching a programme (curriculum) need to be addressed separately, and faster than was the case in Rwanda in the mid-1990s. It is neater to separate the two issues so as to distribute supplies fast and to address the curriculum needs appropriately (and fast).

- **External partners must be willing to become team players, for the overall good**

It is not clear why an NGO or an agency or a smaller-than-national organization should spread further than one comprehensive site (of whatever size). It should clearly indicate which areas it covers and where it stops. Enormous costs are swallowed up by transport, in peacetime and war, by non-national agencies that spread themselves too thinly, sacrificing field efficiency for agency/organization profile or publicity.

- **Strengths lie in making some judicious exceptions to agency practice**

The exception made by organizations/agencies in paying teachers' salaries or incentives (or food rations, at the start) was an excellent mechanism to kick-start salary payment. Since it was a one-off measure it succeeded and seems not to have created a negative precedent or dependence.

- **Much greater emphasis is required for teacher capacity building**

Teacher training is likely to be of poor quality during emergencies – although no documentation exists to illustrate this. Increased efforts need to be focused on this area, while keeping (unsustainable) supplies-distribution costs as low as possible. Teacher training needs to be done early, as early as possible; there needs to be a plan; the programme(s) should be of the highest quality possible at the time; teacher-training programmes need to be assessed and documented. Thinking and planning should be way ahead of teacher programmes implemented, in order to incorporate the necessarily short crash initial courses into a more long-term structure of teacher upgrading.

- **Emphasize the familiar rather than innovation at the start, to gain ground more rapidly**

Teachers and school systems do not take easily to innovative initial-phase games and activities sessions, with which they are not familiar; nor to some transitional introductory phase to formal schooling. These are the recommended first two phases of a three-phase restart of

formal education according to current education in emergencies thinking. Schools know formal schooling, they are familiar with their old curriculum and, whatever forward-thinking internationals think of the perhaps classical and maybe dull pre-war schools and curricula, teachers prefer to go into class and start teaching what they know best, especially after the unsettling experience of war. They do not want to be distracted or stressed with innovation. This is a major lesson learned. Both refugee schools and re-started national schools should be encouraged to go back immediately to activities they are familiar with. Provision of games and activities for the children – who are all traumatized or disoriented in some way in a conflict situation – should be approached from another angle: as a new necessary component of a new school order, such as a compulsory games period per school session/day, in addition to including more class and playground games and activities in teacher-training programmes. Immediate training/orientation needs to be given to teachers, minimal supplies are needed (some balls). Any other materials should be made by schools, if necessary with materials provided temporarily by agencies, e.g. cardboard, string, wood planks, nails, hammers, etc., that is, materials that the schools will soon find again in their environment.

- **Increase support capacity to returnees at field level and follow up; use local resources more effectively**

Follow-up in the field is vital in order to keep track of the most needy cases, to ensure that the poorest children come to school or that special education programmes are created in the field for children with specific educational needs, such as those with only three hours to spare per week. Rwanda distributed the tasks for assisting returnees to various ministries, but it is likely that demand outstripped the capacity of field officers. Field-level synergy between ministries, local structures (e.g. churches, health services and community leaders) and NGOs needs to be strengthened in future.

- **Do not lose sight of vocational education; propose proven short-term packages**

Vocational education and training planning lagged behind attention to formal education. Experiences from elsewhere, such as informal-

sector and farm-related skill development, need to be packaged for new emergency situations to expose planners faster to vocational training options.

- **Constantly evaluate, and back up innovation with critical programme support inputs**

The lesson learned on sports education and peace education is that without an evaluation it is impossible to know which children were reached by the sports programme and whether it handled peace education effectively once the external partner relinquished assistance for the peace education programme.

Chapter 4

Processes of reconstruction

Immediately after the genocide there was general disarray and bewilderment. However, the country's leadership provided tangible, firm direction and thrust, derived from a clear vision of the future. The Ministry of Education had gone out into the provinces and had made its presence felt everywhere. The nation was to be reconstructed, healed, unified. This major effort of reconstruction and rehabilitation was taking place in a context where, as everyone saw it, the education system had failed the nation and needed fundamental transformation. The education system had been transformed overnight, outlawing any form of discrimination. One of the next major tasks ahead was to change the curriculum.

4.1 Curriculum metamorphosis

In the present section, the milestones of curriculum change during the period 1994-2002 will be highlighted. They include:

- (a) changes in curriculum *policy*;
- (b) official changes in curriculum *implementation*;
- (c) *curriculum events* or *happenings* which occurred without planning.

The first two could be classified as authorized change or the results of deliberate curriculum decisions; and the latter could be described as inadvertent, and it is interesting to note the difference. In the Ministry of Education and in the agencies, many who were involved in education during those years agree that so much was happening at once, on so many fronts, that curriculum change was both deliberate and, at times, unplanned. Nine distinct curriculum policy decisions, implementation changes or events can be discerned (see *Table 4.1* below). The obstacles to change are also noted in this section.

Curriculum decisions and events

The Ministry opened schools in September 1994 but there were no books or paper to put into the hands of teachers or learners; and it repudiated the curriculum that had gone before. There is little documentation, and few archived speeches of the time, but a recent overview provided by the current Minister confirms what Rwanda felt about the school curriculum:

Disorientation of the pre-war curriculum

“It is generally felt that the education system, and specifically the school curriculum, failed the nation in 1994. It is felt that the curriculum was both silent in areas where it should have been eloquent and eloquent where it should have been silent. For instance, there was too much about human differences and too little about human similarities. Too much about collective duty and too little about individual responsibility. Too much about the past and too little about the future. Too much about theory and too little about practice. My Ministry, after it re-established itself after the events of 1994, was very well aware of all these shortcomings and took prompt steps to remedy them.”

Romain Murenzi, Minister of Education, 14 May 2002 (NCDC, 2002: 2).

■ Institutional change, resulting in new learning

The first step taken was to imbue school ethos with the philosophy of national unity, reconciliation and healing, with emphasis on the attributes that bind all Rwandans together, purposely downplaying dividing factors in order eventually to eliminate them. This could be understood as a fundamental change of outlook in the aims of the education system, which was to change the hidden curriculum, with or without syllabus modification, and the learning agenda. A new set of values was to be taught: to highlight the similarities among Banyarwanda within the borders of Rwanda and the policy of inclusiveness; to promote individual responsibility (John Rutayisire, Director of the National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC), personal communication, 11 October 2002); to focus on a progressive future; and to ensure the relevance and applicability of the curriculum to daily life, as Romain Murenzi noted (NCDC, 2002: 2). Gamaliel Mbonimana (1998: 37) would allude to the traditional values in

Rwandan society of *ubumwe*, that is, unity and solidarity, and *ubupfura*, or nobility of heart and goodness, self-control, courage, magnanimity and respect for the ancestors. In searching for a way of building peace, Tito Rutaremara (1998: 29) would analyze the events of 1994 in a global and historical context almost coldly in his attempt to overcome the agonizing burden of the past. And, his conclusion was: “We need ... to make ourselves more human... human rights need to be taught at grass-roots ... level. Slowly we will become more human”. The Minister’s point: “too much about collective duty and too little about individual responsibility” was echoed in the NCDC. It said that too much emphasis had been placed, in the past, on loyalty and even on blind obedience to the group and to the community. NCDC wanted to ensure that children learned critical thinking skills and analytical skills; and learned to take individual responsibility for their decisions and actions. It emphasized that blind obedience to authority would not produce a healthy and productive nation.

The new set of values would necessarily be rooted in Rwandan culture, as explained by the Ministry, so as to avoid the extreme alienation Rwandans had suffered during enforced enculturation from the west. The case of Rwanda and Burundi is now being recognized by a growing number of historians as a particularly acute form of social manipulation. Mugesera (1998 : 45) warns that it will not be easy to develop a national set of values in an increasingly globalized world: “*moral and economic globalization manifests itself as increasing precariousness for millions and millions of people, both morally and economically*”.²⁹ He states that creating positive social values cannot be divorced from social justice, which should arise out of just economic living conditions : “*the dominant values, no matter how good in theory, cannot validly be applied to the excluded and the marginalized*”³⁰; and, “*the system of democracy and human rights, in sum western values, should find its expression, among us, in a system of housing and education ...*”.³¹ This line of thought brings us back to the importance of EFA, of schooling every child (see the discussion above, at the end of *Section 2.5*).

29 “... la globalisation aussi bien morale qu’économique se traduit par la précarisation croissante de millions et de millions d’individus, aussi bien sur le plan moral qu’économique”.

30 “... les valeurs du monde dominant, si bonnes théoriquement soient-elles, ne sauraient s’appliquer valablement aux exclus et aux marginalisés”.

31 “... au système de démocratie, de droits de l’homme, bref de valeurs à l’occidentale, devrait correspondre, chez nous, à un système de santé de logement, d’éducation ...”.

One measure enacted in schools was to ban the categorization of learners and teachers by Hutu/Tutsi affiliation. The revolutionary new policy was enacted at the school and classroom level, through systemic institutional change. The hidden curriculum had changed. This had the effect of putting all subject teaching into a new political context. Readers can be the judge of some of those changes as they listen to the voices of children recounting their school experiences in *Section 6*.

■ Increased language learning

Another significant change was to recognize and officially reflect the post-war diversity of Banyarwanda children within the borders of Rwanda and to accommodate their educational experience in exile of several curricula and languages within a new Rwandan curriculum. It was another step in the direction of inclusiveness. This accommodation of diversity was called harmonization and was an attempt to welcome the children back home, to a school system which would take account of their diverse past schooling experiences. The second curriculum modification in 1994 was the strengthening of foreign language learning at all levels of the system. In primary schools this meant:

- (a) the initiation of French as a compulsory subject from Grade 1;
- (b) the introduction of English for the first time in Rwanda's educational history into the primary curriculum, as a compulsory subject from Grade 1;
- (c) the use of an international language, French or English, as the medium of instruction in upper-primary grades (P4-6) – the decision to be made at school level.

■ De-emphasis on mathematics/science learning

The addition of the new subject on to the primary curriculum increased the subject load and the language load. At the same time, there has been a noticeable lack of attention to mathematics and science learning in education conferences since the war, and in terms of time allotted on the primary-school timetable for science learning. This may have happened by default rather than by design.

- Postponement of Rwandan history teaching

An additional curriculum decision taken in 1994 was to modify the history syllabus and to postpone the teaching of history at primary and secondary levels until this was completed. The teaching of history in Rwanda is discussed in depth in *Section 4.2*, below.

- Reuse/reprint of pre-war core textbooks in mother-tongue medium

The next priority was the provision of textbooks. Curriculum-compliant textbooks support the official curriculum, without changing or undermining it. Non-compliant textbooks necessarily modify the intended curriculum. The reprinting of the two core primary textbooks – first language and mathematics books, two for each of the six grades in primary school – was the fourth curriculum step after the crisis. The continued use of mother tongue in the mathematics textbooks would have supported mother-tongue use at upper-primary levels and made it more difficult to use French or English during the mathematics lesson. The result in the classroom of this specific language emphasis can be termed a *curriculum event* rather than a curriculum decision, since the decision to reprint was focused on providing texts and not on changing the curriculum. However, the curriculum *result* of a decision on *materials* was not in line with the curriculum policy of the time. Teachers and pupils were desperate for materials. Almost every school had lost their textbooks. In order to provide pupils with reading materials as fast as possible, and teachers with some reference textbook to use during lessons, MOE settled on an interim solution. It reviewed the pre-war syllabuses and textbooks saved from pillage and approved the content of the language and mathematics primary books with no changes (personal communication, V. Kabarere, UNICEF, 17 December 2002). The curriculum effect of this decision was to maintain the use of Kinyarwanda in the first three grades in accordance with the post-war policy.

However, the use of mathematics teachers' guides and textbooks in Kinyarwanda in upper primary would encourage the use of the same language at that level, which was contrary to the new policy, but there was little choice in 1994-1997 given the priority goal at the time of getting learning materials into classrooms fast. The Rwandan Government reiterated its commitment to the development of the national curriculum with national materials. The UNESCO/UNICEF programme, one of the most substantial at the time,

responded by allocating major funds for reprinting the 12 national textbooks, two per class for six classes. This took time. Some textbooks reached schools in mid-1996, but it was mainly to cope with the sudden influx of returnees later that year that a major print-run was organized in 1997 (personal communication, M. Mukyuhi, UNICEF, 17 December 2002). As early as 1995, some NGOs, for example, *Aide et Action*, had responded quickly by polycopying Kinyarwanda language textbooks for immediate use in some of the schools they were assisting: “*impression sur stencil et diffusion à 200 exemplaires*” (AA, 1995: 13).

Looking back, one has to ask why it took nearly three years to get materials to learners. Rwanda did not move in an uninterrupted manner from the major crisis in 1994 to growing stability and peace. On the contrary, there were repeated serious disruptions of security. It took time in 1994 to ensure security and the control of the national army in the south; one million refugees returned suddenly, late in 1996, from neighbouring countries; and there were repeated incursions into northern provinces lasting until 1998. Population movement within the country never ceased as people tried to settle down and then had to move again, particularly in the north. Distractions for the Ministry were many due to continual fire-fighting in the field: re-opening more schools, finding teachers and field education officers, rehabilitating yet more schools, requesting increased distribution of supplies from partners.

With regard specifically to the textbook-production exercise, the Ministry of Education insisted on local printing despite the time lag involved. Agencies then needed special authorization from their international headquarters for local procurements, spare parts had to be brought in from Germany for damaged printing presses, and technical printing capacity needed to be restored. It was a time when ministries of education in Africa still clung to the principle of producing national textbooks not only within their borders, but by the Ministry itself. Since then, major changes have occurred in most countries liberalizing textbook production, including in Rwanda. The situation might not repeat itself in the future in the region. Production would be liberalized, more efficient and faster. There could have been a second delaying factor, namely the agency focus in 1994-1995 on distributing TEPs (Teacher Emergency Packages), which were writing materials with a first-grade teacher’s guide. But the Ministry had a broader perspective. It was concerned with the full primary cycle and with simultaneously providing writing and reading materials for pupils, together with teaching materials for teachers. This could also explain the claim of several individuals in the Ministry of Education in 2002 that ‘there was no

consultation' in the early years, while it is evident that there was a plethora of meetings between the Ministry and its partners. It could be that they remember that some external partners were simply not listening to one of the Ministry's priority considerations during the 'consultations'.

- Subject/syllabus development

The Ministry approved the continuation of work on some subject syllabuses, for example, STE (science studies in primary schools) and French-language development. These were ongoing national curriculum development programmes assisted by the German and French governments, respectively. They are acknowledged to be sound programmes which have consistently produced syllabuses and learning activities that are well in tune with the participatory learning techniques promoted by contemporary education theory. Work on the new English syllabus was initiated but the effective implementation of the English curriculum started with donations of English-language textbooks to schools, the *Oxford Primary English* series, which had been designed for the region. This could be termed the sixth curriculum step, or event.

- Lack of curriculum context

There is no evidence that any of these three syllabuses, STE, French or English, was harnessed after 1994 to carry the themes of national reconciliation across the curriculum. This could be considered a lost opportunity and, in line with the analysis in this section, be termed a curriculum event, the seventh curriculum step, in this case an omission. One likely explanation for this is the lack of an overall curriculum policy, as compared with an intention of initiating change; and to the tradition of *syllabus* development rather than *curriculum* development in Rwanda. The National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC) is a very new institution and one of its priority tasks has been the creation of conditions since 2000 for developing a holistic curricular perspective, to translate *Vision 2020* and education-sector policy into an all-encompassing curriculum. Such a curriculum would take the totality of children's educational needs in Rwanda into account. Curriculum developers need to select among those needs for learning programmes which are appropriate for school delivery or, in other words, to choose prudently among options so as to cater for those needs that schools can effectively cater for.

■ Increased curriculum fragmentation and load

At present, there is too much dispersion and ‘distraction’ in the Rwanda curriculum, which renders the system ineffective and too costly. There is a tendency to add to the number of subjects on the curriculum rather than integrate new curriculum content. The upper secondary epitomizes this problem. All-encompassing curriculum review would exploit the potential of harnessing each existing and approved curriculum component or subject or topic, for the goals of national reconciliation and development. Such a goal can be achieved by matching content choice with the selection of specific learning methodologies and activities, and with the support of deliberately chosen school institutional practices. This point needs emphasis, since the curriculum in schools is far more than the sum of subjects on the timetable. It is the very life of the school.

The curriculum steps described above as official decisions and unplanned events were, in summary (*Table 4.1*):

Table 4.1 Series of curriculum decisions and events in Rwanda

A. Curriculum policy changes and authorized implementation changes	B. Curriculum events or happenings
1. School ethos imbued with the philosophy of national unity: concretizing this by elimination of discriminatory entry or promotion requirements	1. Re-use/reprint of pre-war language (MT)* and mathematics textbooks (in MT); prolonging the pre-war curriculum (interim solution re-educational materials), which re-emphasized MT learning up to sixth grade [Authorized reprint; unplanned language teaching outcome]
2. Foreign language learning increased (English introduced on to the curriculum)	2. Use/acceptance of donation of specific off-the-shelf textbook series, which determined the English curriculum [Authorized use; unplanned curriculum]
3. Rwanda history teaching postponed (interim curriculum solution)	3. Missed opportunity of harnessing all subject development (STE, French) for holistic curriculum objectives
4. To support ongoing syllabus development (science and technology education, and French)	4. No emphasis/de-emphasis on mathematics / science learning in policy documents, resulting in highlighting languages at the expense of mathematics/science
	5. Increased fragmentation and load of the primary curriculum (retention of pre-war subjects, addition of new one)

* MT = Mother tongue

Formalizing curriculum decisions

■ The 1995 Declaration

The Ministry of Education produced a major policy declaration on the new direction of education at the April 1995 Conference on Policy and planning of education in Rwanda (MINEPRISEC/MINESUPRES, 1995). It stated that Rwanda would produce:

- citizens free of ethnic, regional, national and religious prejudices;
- citizens committed to human rights and to their obligations to society.

The role of the education sector was to contribute to national reconciliation by:

- creating a culture of peace, emphasizing positive, non-violent national values; and promoting the universal values of justice, peace, tolerance, respect for others, solidarity and democracy;
- eliminating negative and positive discrimination³²; and promoting access to higher levels of education using criteria based solely on student competency.

The Declaration was to have a major influence on the direction of the education system and on curriculum development. It focused first on the eradication of prejudice and discrimination. This is always the first observation any Rwandan will make on the education system since 1994, noting that it no longer classifies children or teachers along regional or ethnic lines. The statement highlighted the role of the education system as a major socializing agent for promoting social cohesion, and emphasized the role of citizens to commit to peace, and to the well-being of the total society.

Outcomes of the 1996 Curriculum harmonization workshop

A month-long seminar-workshop on Revising and harmonizing the teaching programme for primary-school education was held in September-October 1996³³ and was attended by a wide variety of participants, 200 in

32 The term used for positive discrimination was 'favouritism'.

33 With support from UNICEF/UNESCO and the Government of Canada, in addition to the World Bank and the European Union.

all (MOE, 1996). It was to follow up on one of the resolutions of the Murambi Seminar, of November 1995, dealing with language policy development. It also built on the ‘provisionally accepted orientations’ contained in the document *Politique sectorielle de l’éducation* [Education sector policy] of August 1996 (MOE, 1996). The purpose was ‘to revise and harmonize’ the primary curriculum and ‘to define the new profile’ of the primary leaver. The conference report explains that the goal of the meeting was to be attained by moving directly to the selection of compulsory subjects for each level of education; determining timetable allocations at lower and upper-primary levels; and selecting subject content for the syllabuses. The seminar seems to have focused more on syllabuses than on curriculum but it produced a mission statement.

In the mission statement it is important, first, to note the continuing emphasis on *eliminating discrimination* and, second, to note the *types* of discrimination proscribed, mirroring the 1995 declaration. It starts specifically with ethnic and regional discrimination which had been blamed for fuelling conflict over decades in Rwanda. The second objective is closely linked to the first, that is, the pursuit of human rights; as is the third, the search for justice, equity and ‘a culture of peace’. The list of values in the third goal reflects universal ideals, mirroring the UNESCO values relative to peace education, but the fourth goal is a resolutely national aspiration, affirming Rwandan culture and the positive elements of that culture.

Mission of the education system

- To prepare a citizen who is free from ethnic, regional, religions and sex discrimination;
- To prepare a citizen who is aware of human rights and responsible to society;
- To promote a culture of peace and emphasize national and universal values such as justice, peace, tolerance, solidarity and democracy;
- To promote a culture based on genuine Rwandese culture, free from violence;
- To promote freedom of formulation and expression of opinion.

[MOE, 1996: 6]

The nine outcomes targeted in 1996 or the desired characteristics of the primary leaver are listed here under the categories of skills, the adoption of practices, and knowledge (MOE, 1996: 7):

Skills: The classical four language skills, in three languages; ‘respond appropriately to physical, biological, economical, sociocultural and emotional phenomena related to her/his life’; apply basic mathematics to daily life; find practical solutions for everyday life; acquire ‘physical fitness’ and health-promoting behaviour; promote tolerance, reconciliation, peace and attainment of national unity’; acquire the skills to ‘be able to pursue further studies’.

Practice: Sports.

Attitudes: Learn to be ‘open to the world’.

Knowledge: Master basic mathematical notions; ‘understand the historical realities of the Rwandese people’; ‘acquire appropriate moral, religious, civic and aesthetic values’.

The learner profile described is typical of 1970s curriculum statements in the region which the Rwandan educational planners would have been using in neighbouring countries during the years of exile, and are more classical than the mission statement might have led one to expect. However, the familiar goals are enriched with contemporary thinking on health-promoting behaviour and the importance of skills acquisition. For the second time, on the same page in the conference report, comes a reference to peace-building: ‘promote tolerance, reconciliation, peace’; and to supporting the ‘attainment of national unity’. Nevertheless, the same words and aspirations which are echoed in many other curricula across the continent and elsewhere, take on a poignancy for Rwanda. To write in an educational plan, two years after a genocide, that peace is the objective of the educational exercise, is to commit to a special pursuit in the education programme of that elusive goal. The pre-war curriculum had also aspired to promote national unity. In 1996 Rwanda documented the fact that it would determinedly try again. The subjects selected for the curriculum are listed below, in *Table 4.2*.

Table 4.2 Subjects selected for the primary curriculum, 1996

Compulsory subjects in lower primary	Compulsory subjects in upper primary	Observations
Kinyarwanda, French, English, mathematics, SET*, religion, ethics, civics, arts, PE, manual work	Kinyarwanda, French, English, mathematics, SET, religion, ethics, civics, arts, PE, manual work <i>Adding:</i> history, geography, home work	All classes to have 31 x 30-minute periods per week, during 5 mornings and afternoons

* The science and elementary technology syllabus included elements from biology, physics, chemistry, agriculture, hygiene, environmental education, home economics, and craft.

In sum, the new elements in the curriculum as compared with pre-war days were: 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. The decision to include peace education at primary and secondary level would involve integrating it with language teaching and social sciences (MOE, 1998a: 56).

Pedagogical issues

The highlights of the 1996 conference were:

- (a) children in first grade were to have as many lessons per week as in sixth grade;
- (b) most primary schools used double shifts in lower-primary classes, yet no adapted curriculum or timetable was designed for the majority of pupils and teachers in this situation;
- (c) schools were given the freedom to use class teachers, that is, one teacher for all the subjects in a class, or subject teachers, at any level of the primary cycle;
- (d) the curriculum was subject-heavy – lower grades had 11 subjects and the upper grades studied 14 subjects;
- (e) three languages were to be introduced in first grade simultaneously, including literacy in the three languages;
- (f) little attempt was made, with the exception of SET, to integrate subjects, for example, social studies or language across the curriculum; religion and ethics were considered separate subjects;
- (g) civics education was to include: the culture of peace, human rights, and the theme of reconciliation.

A new element was that sex education and AIDS *awareness* would be integrated into: biology, hygiene, religion, ethics and languages. Despite the fact that HIV was ravaging the eastern Africa region, there was only one country in Africa which had a skills-oriented HIV education programme. It was Zimbabwe. Rwanda had not been exposed to the Zimbabwe programme at the time, in 1996.

The seminar report highlighted decisions on language learning which were:

- in lower-primary grades Kinyarwanda would be the medium of instruction and syllabuses would be written in the same language – with the exception of English and French lessons, and syllabuses;
- in upper-primary grades the medium of instruction would be either English or French, using syllabuses written in the relevant language – except for the Kinyarwanda syllabus and Kinyarwanda lessons.

(paraphrased from MOE, 1996: 15)

As in all the post-war curriculum meetings in Rwanda, language issues tended to take the front stage. Neighbouring countries had been focused on science and technology education at school and tertiary levels for some decades and it had been a common feature for humanities or social sciences to take a back seat since the 1970s. Despite the crucial social role of the social sciences in Rwanda in the late 1990s, they did not receive a great deal of attention in the reports on curriculum-development debate. This was not due to negligence, if the climate of thought can be understood by outsiders. It may have been the extremely difficult and sensitive nature of the issues.

Lessons learned

- Supply writing materials; first, the blackboard and chalk, second, slates and chalk to pupils and some exercise books. Restrict delivery to essential low-cost supplies, replenishable in future from the local environment. Stockpile such materials, if necessary, in the region.
- Provide text materials to teachers and classes without delay, distinguishing between interim and medium-term measures.
- Provide governments with a guide on textbook and emergency-materials provision options.

- Be aware that without teaching materials, syllabuses will not be taught – noting lessons learned on the subject of history (see below).
- Lighten curricula, if possible, during the emergency and immediately after, so as to concentrate on fundamentals first and to ‘clear space’ for subsequent curriculum innovation.
- Early on move from tinkering with syllabuses to curriculum overhaul; and at all times be aware of curriculum balance.
- Be aware that the structure of the education system is as much an item of learning as the syllabus topics. If the aim is to teach equity, schools must practise it through entrance mechanisms, relationships within the school, etc.
- Designate a team of ‘curriculum watchers’ to monitor and assess the curriculum-development process, so that curriculum *events* as well as decisions can be anticipated and translated into *decisions*.
- Provide educational planners and decision-makers with exposure to innovations and global developments as soon as possible, structuring the process.

4.2 Teaching history

The detailed attention in the current section on history education is justified by the nature of the emergency that this study addresses. The emergency in education in Rwanda arose from a genocide. The psychosocial results were devastating. Now, Rwandan nationals are pointing also to how the education system was used over several decades as an instrument for fomenting exclusion and hate. Lessons from history were concretized in the daily life of the school by the relentless exclusion from the system itself, first of Bahutu, then of the Batutsi, and the continuous exclusion of the Batwa, as *Tables 2.2 and 2.3* above indicated: “*School segregation – the only people admitted were the children of chiefs supporting colonization and those who came from the favoured ethnic groups ... The colonial and missionary powers determined who would have access to schooling and education on the basis of ethnicity. By so doing, they were also defining, on the basis of ethnicity, who would occupy important political posts*”³⁴ (Shyaka, 2002: 132). Consequently, there can be no meaningful analysis of educational reconstruction in

34 “... la ségrégation scolaire – y étaient admis seuls les enfants des chefs secondant la colonisation et ceux des ethnies préférées ... En définissant ethniquement l'accès aux écoles et à l'éducation, les pouvoirs colonial et missionnaire définissaient ethniquement ceux qui devront occuper les fonctions de responsabilités politiques”.

Rwanda without giving attention to the focus of interest among the nationals themselves. At the core of that concern is the teaching of history.

Rwandan history is still not taught in Rwanda, eight years after the war. The subject has been too difficult to handle in the classroom since the genocide, despite the existence of new syllabuses published in 1997. The crux of the matter is that there have been no history textbooks written or published since 1994 and it is not proving easy at all to tackle the problem of writing those textbooks, or translating into pedagogical terms, *for children*, what history learning ought to be today in Rwanda. Syllabuses tend to be lists of topics, which are of no direct assistance to primary teachers, who are searching for guidance on how to conduct their lessons, without access to the findings of history research.

Rwandans have wanted to understand the genocide and to explain it to themselves, in order to prevent another genocide. They say that to eradicate the culture of hatred in Rwandan society, they must trace the genesis of the genocide: “*Recognition of the genesis of the antagonism must be at the heart of our processes for managing and resolving our conflicts, for the sustainable development of our peoples*”³⁵ (Shyaka, 2002: 143). For many, that source is the perception of socio-identity (SI) dynamics and culture in Rwanda (Ntaganda, 2002: 111), which in turn has its roots in the version of history promulgated by colonial regimes prior to 1994 and continued in a similar vein by post-independence regimes. Historians are calling the colonial and post-independence versions of Rwandan history and culture *a set of myths* – since they have reason to consider that the perceptions or myths are not substantiated by historical evidence.

Eugène Ntaganda (2002: 104) notes that four explanations are commonly cited for the events of 1994:

- the strong sense of ethnic identity and group psychology in Rwanda;
- traditional excessive obedience to authority;
- strict conformity to group norms;
- the political ideology which legitimized ethnicity as the foundation or keystone of official social and institutional structures under post-colonial regimes; and also, during the colonial regime, 1926 to 1962.

35 “*La prise en compte de la genèse des antagonismes doit être au coeur des mécanismes de gestion et de résolution de nos conflits [et] pour le développement durable de nos peuples*”.

Increasingly, observers are accusing the post-colonial power elites, rather than the people, of planning and orchestrating violence leading up to 1994: “*I support the view that the elites in power are responsible for the recurring massacres in Rwanda*”³⁶, and of deliberately using ethnicity as a political instrument. This was practised first by the Belgians, “*manipulation of ethnicity for political reasons*”³⁷ (Shyaka, 2002: 131); and then by the post-independence regimes: “*They tried to manipulate the population for unavowed political purposes*”³⁸. They do not subscribe to a spontaneous popular uprising or mass anger (“*colère spontanée*”) of the Hutu, as some had called it, but place the blame squarely on the political elites (Ntaganda 2002: 103). In the view of Faustin Rutembesa (2002: 99), the aim of contemporary Rwandan historians is to scientifically review the depiction of the history of Rwanda by those same elites: “*One of the tasks which fell to history teachers in particular was to learn objectivity*”³⁹; to deconstruct it, to understand and re-present the past from a variety of perspectives to the Rwandan public and in schools, in order to better understand the negative conceptual constructs of Rwandan society before the genocide. Rutembesa considers that historians have a specific role to play in the reconstruction and the revival of Rwandan society, by contributing constructively to the “*The larger, but fundamental debate on the contribution historians can make towards helping people understand the present*”⁴⁰ (Rutembesa, 2002: 102).

New historical evidence is indeed pointing to, first, the erroneous *content* of the pre-1994 perceptions of history and to the unscientific *manner* in which the myths were constructed. They are generally seen by European and Rwandan intellectuals as the product of the European world view in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which saw Rwanda/Africa and its culture/s through a Eurocentric cultural prism, and a prism particular to those centuries (Prunier, 1995). This world view distorted and also maliciously misrepresented the real dynamics of Rwandan society at the beginning of the colonial period. The political imperative of the

36 “*Je souscris à l'idée selon laquelle les massacres récurrents au Rwanda sont de la responsabilité des élites au pouvoir*”.

37 “*... la manipulation de l'ethnicité à des fins politiques*”.

38 “*[ils] ont tenté de manipuler la population à des fins politiciennes inavouées*”.

39 “*... une des tâches qui revenaient particulièrement à l'enseignement de l'histoire était de prendre la bonne distance ...*”.

40 “*... débat plus large mais fondamental sur ce que peut être la contribution des historiens à la compréhension du présent*”.

colonizers was to ensure domination. It is argued that the strategy they chose to achieve this, the 'divide and rule' principle, was taken to extraordinary lengths in Rwanda. Shyaka (2002: 131) feels that the explosive nature and the extent of the genocide are directly related to the nature and the extent of the enmity created among socio-identity groups in the past, festering over six or seven decades. It was based on a particularly vicious and simplistic dichotomization of Rwandan society which denied and obliterated the complexity and subtleties of relationships among the socio-identity groups. Imperialists translated experience from one continent to another, the notion of caste and pariah, for example, from India; and notions of racial hierarchy and of socio-economic class hierarchy from Europe. The Batwa became the invisible, outcast, dehumanized, third socio-identity group of colonized Rwanda.

The genesis of the content of Rwandan history perceived by the colonizers

The content of history in Rwandan schools was derived from misunderstandings and misrepresentations of Rwanda culture by the European explorers, missionaries and colonizers, which they created for themselves in an attempt to explain African cultural phenomena through their own world view (Uvin, 1999; Shyaka, 2002: 126). For instance, they failed to notice or understand the importance of the institution of clans in Rwanda, where the 18 clans include Hutus and Tutsis alike. Eleven of the 18 clans include the Twa (Kagabo, 1998: 19). National historians are of the opinion that clan affiliation was of more importance to Banyarwanda in the past than socio-identity group affiliation. However, it was the European perceptions and descriptions of Rwandan society which were presented to Rwandans. The history of Rwanda was not part of the school curriculum before Independence. As in other colonies, the history of the metropole was taught. However, Rwandans were forced to assimilate these same representations of their history, the erroneous and alien conceptual constructs of history, by the nature of subjugation to colonialist regimes, and by a process of insidious de-structuralization. Rutembesa (2002) stresses the use of *mots-marqueurs* that is, lexical devices or code words, which were used in public discourse, in history and civics classes and throughout the school system, before Independence and after, to reinforce the official, stereotypical, simplistic and erroneous version of Rwandan history. The myths pitted one community against another, and the seeds of conflict were sown. Shyaka (2002: 130) describes the "*Progressive*

*breakdown of elements of an identity common to Hutu and Tutsi on the one hand; on the other the crystallization of an exclusive otherness, defined as genetically inherited by Westerners”.*⁴¹ The process accelerated and intensified, culminating in a genocide.

Rwandan intellectuals believe that just as the myths were constructed, they can be de-constructed but this time in a scientific manner, and a new understanding of the history of the Banyarwanda can effectively be re-constructed. It is not the intention of the leading historians to create one sole history of Rwanda or to construct a new historical dogma or ideal fantasy. On the contrary, they look forward to an ongoing process of research which will contribute a number of voices and perceptions of the history of Rwanda. Given the recent findings on the nature of Rwanda's past, it means that a better understanding of history would promote social cohesion and national unity. Ntaganda (2002: 119) talks of ensuring that Rwandans regain ownership of their own history. In brief, history should contribute the instruments or methods of its discipline to the reconstruction of Rwanda, should help to elucidate the past and assist in building the future. Rwandan history should be resubjected to scrutiny and the appropriate methodologies (Ntaganda, 2002: 99).

According to an anthropological perspective, tribes are differentiated by their language, religious beliefs, customs; and they trace their origin to one common ancestor. These attributes of ethnic affiliation point to the Banyarwanda as being one tribe, rather than three tribes, but this principle has not been effectively propagated yet. It is generally acknowledged that the Banyarwanda had formed one kingdom, one state and one people for about one hundred years prior to independence, under the growing centralized power of the monarchy. Historians have produced evidence that before that, in the mists of time, the three groups, Batwa, Bahutu and Batutsi, cohabited in Rwanda and their lives co-mingled peaceably, in “[an] ancient cultural, linguistic and anthropological unity”⁴² (Misago, 2002: 8).

Colonial history portrays Rwandans as belonging to three distinct groups, which the colonizers called three ethnic groups or tribes. With

41 “... *déstructuration progressive des références identitaires communes aux Hutu et aux Tutsi d'une part, de l'autre la cristallisation de l'altérité exclusive rendue génétiquement héréditaire par le regard occidental*”.

42 “[Une] *unité ancienne tant culturelle, linguistique qu'anthropologique*”.

insubstantial evidence, one group was presented as indigenous or aboriginal to the country; and another group was depicted as having migrated recently, anywhere between the tenth and fifteenth centuries, into what is now the territory of Rwanda. Since Independence the latter group was depicted as recent immigrants and foreigners and, by extension, with a tenuous right to Rwandan citizenship or land. Second, the geographical and supposed racial origin of the groups was important to the colonizers. Attention centred misguidedly and irrelevantly on what was called: *antériorité* and *origine* – on who arrived first in Rwanda, and the disputed provenance or geographical origin of peoples. After Independence distorted historical perceptions were included in civics education classes, and were incorporated by the total curriculum and the education system itself (Rutembesa, 2002: 83).

The colonizers defined the Tutsis as not only an alien group but as an alien race and then endowed them with superior qualities. The Hutus were depicted with inferior attributes. It was a characteristic of that period in Europe to classify peoples and to then attribute superior or inferior qualities to them: “[*The Hutu and the Tutsi*] were taught that the former were an inferior race and the latter a superior race. This provoked resentment on one side and vanity on the other”⁴³ (Shyaka, 2002: 129). Shyaka demonstrates how both socio-identity (SI) groups were indoctrinated with the erroneous and, as some have called them, the diabolical myths, for a century.

New findings, gathering data from archaeological, ecological, linguistic, anthropological fields of research, indicate that the theory of recent arrival or in-migration by any one or more SI groups is now untenable. The ancestors of the three Rwandan SI groups lived in the Rwandan territory and the Great Lakes region since ‘prehistoric times’, that is, at least two and a half thousand years ago. Quantitative linguistic research has evidence of the assimilation of the Sudanic and Cushitic languages in the region by Bantu languages, and therefore points to the possibility that Sudanic and Cushitic-language speakers predated Bantu speakers. In any case, the conclusion of Rwandan historians is that *it is not relevant or useful, in terms of social development or of future history content for schools, to give any importance to which group arrived first in the region, since*

43 “[*Les Hutu et les Tutsi*] apprenaient que le premier est de race inférieure et le second de race supérieure ; de quoi attiser des ressentiments de frustration d’une part et de vanité d’autre part!”.

this might fuel claims and counterclaims to original habitation of Rwanda. On the contrary, the new evidence points to cohabitation, and a high degree of assimilation and integration of the groups, although they retained some distinct socio-identity features. The concept of cohabitation and common interests is a theme that government would like to emphasize. Lastly, historians insist that the sequence of arrival of ethnic groups in the region in the remote past, has no relevance in terms of a priority claim to citizenship in modern Rwanda. They feel that a proper understanding of Rwandan history can succeed in invalidating the pernicious myths which led to strife.

Eugène Ntaganda's recent research provides additional data in terms of the perspectives of ordinary people, generally unschooled people, by describing commonly held beliefs about Rwandan history among a cross-section of 70-80 year-old people who would have acquired their attitudes in the 1940s and 1950s. As many as two-thirds of the respondents believed that all Rwandans share a common ancestor, Gihanga, which is a remarkably unifying concept. Ntaganda's view is that schooling has distorted history. This perception is confirmed by Mugesera (1998: 42), who claims the concepts imbibed about Rwandan society and the teaching of French history to the pre-Independence elites in secondary school had negative effects. Students learned about liberty, equality and fraternity ("*liberté, égalité et fraternité*") in the French Revolution but the same students were later to orchestrate massacres, falling prey to ethnocentric racism, exclusion and extermination ("*l'ethnisme, l'exclusion et l'extermination*").

Rwandan historians are saying that Rwanda has suffered the same psychological damage as the rest of Africa, but to a particularly acute degree, and as victim of a more distorted representation of its history and culture than other peoples of Africa. The onus of restructuring the history of the country is heavy and the consequences for the history curriculum are critical.

To recap on the measures taken by the Ministry of Education to address the problem. First, a number of seminars, workshops and conferences have addressed the issues over the past eight years; have demonstrated remarkable consensus on the need to reconstruct the history of Rwanda, and to teach children about unifying historical forces in Rwanda instead of divisive ones. Second, a syllabus of history for primary schools was produced in 1997. The syllabus now needs to be translated into a

series of classroom lessons before Rwandan history can be taught in schools. There are divergent voices on what is happening at present. Some say that the history of Africa and of the rest of the world, continues to be taught as before 1994, but omitting any reference to Rwandan history. Others say that some of the topics on Rwandan history are being taught while others – too delicate to handle – are being avoided. No doubt, both these statements are true of specific schools. It is clear that teachers urgently need guidance.

It is taken as given by national historians that the reconstruction of history is a dynamic and multi-faceted process. They say that there will never be one definitive history of Rwanda, and it will not be the aim of national historians to produce one. They have agreed to accelerate research and to contribute to a national commission on the history of Rwanda, which will share the objective and necessarily diverse findings of historical research with the government, and specifically with the Ministry of Education. The Ministry will then make its own *pedagogical* use of the findings. Recent moves to intensify curriculum development in NCDC will depend on the acceleration of historical reconstruction by the commission. It is expected that the commission will be set up soon and that across the curriculum, the new findings on the shared historical experience, the overwhelming number of similarities between socio-identity groups in Rwanda, the peaceful cohabitation of socio-identity groups, will be used in many subjects. The findings will have an impact on reading texts in language classes, on the social dimensions and social uses of science, and on subject methodologies emphasizing collaboration rather than competitiveness.

The historians of Rwanda have convincingly argued that the Bahutu, the Batwa and the Batutsi are socio-identity groups, that is, they know themselves and are known by others as belonging to specific groups. They therefore have a group identity. These identities seem to have changed over time. They are not racial or ethnic or clan groupings or caste identities; and they do not seem to be socio-economic identities. More importantly, they say that historical evidence points to the mutability of the groups and to the fact that these identities did not play as predominant a role in the past as the colonizers believed. Given the events of 1994, they see the need for de-dramatizing and downplaying the importance of these socio-identity groups in modern Rwanda, while putting emphasis on the forces which unify the three groups among the Banyarwanda people.

Lessons learned

- Within the first 12 months initiate discussion on history teaching and civic education, knowing that curriculum building will take time in these sensitive but most important subjects.
- When the time is right, assist curriculum developers to go beyond syllabus/topic listings to envisaging the lessons, to trialling lessons and to developing teachers' guides and theme/topic materials for pupils. Go slowly.
- Keep in mind that moving from the stage of rebuilding national history to producing a pedagogical course, needs several intermediate steps.
- Note, in the light of experience, that without teaching materials, teachers will simply not teach difficult or sensitive topics.
- Find ways of assisting the media to regularly disseminate research findings in populist terms, so that constructive and unifying ideas can circulate.

4.3 Church and state

At present approximately 70 per cent of the primary schools are owned by the churches in Rwanda, mainly the Catholic and Protestant churches. About one-third of the secondary schools are owned by the churches, and half are private schools. The history of education in Rwanda is closely bound to the history of the work of the churches in education.

From 1900 to 1994

In 1900 the first school was established in Rwanda by the Catholic White Fathers. Both the German and Belgian colonial administrations left education largely to the churches, limiting themselves to policy, curriculum planning, co-ordination, and overall inspection under a 1925-1926 convention between the state and missionary societies. It was this convention which created the *libre subsidié* school system, or 'assisted schools' as they are called in this report, alongside state schools. The state was to give financial support to the running of assisted schools, including teachers' salaries.

The majority of church-owned schools are founded and run by the Catholic Church (see *Figures 4.1* and *4.2*). In this section most of the

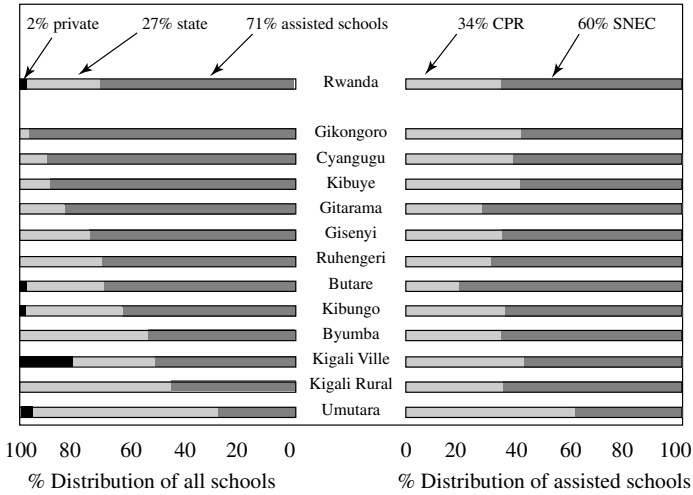
information relates to the Catholic Church and the state. Where all churches are involved, this is indicated.

Immediately after Independence, in August 1962, the Rwandan Government signed a new convention with the Catholic and Protestant Churches classifying schools into state schools, assisted schools and private schools. The state recognized the right of parents to freedom of school choice. In 1965 a protocol was signed with the Catholic Church which in effect nationalized many of the primary and secondary church schools. From this time on there have been contentions over the ownership of the land, school buildings and school property in those schools originally founded by churches. The relationship between the state and the Catholic Church reached its lowest ebb in 1992 when the church warned that unless the state implemented their part of the 1987 convention, the church would pull out of the contract. The state made a conciliatory gesture in 1993 but the issues remained unresolved in early 1994.

Milestones in church/state relations since 1962

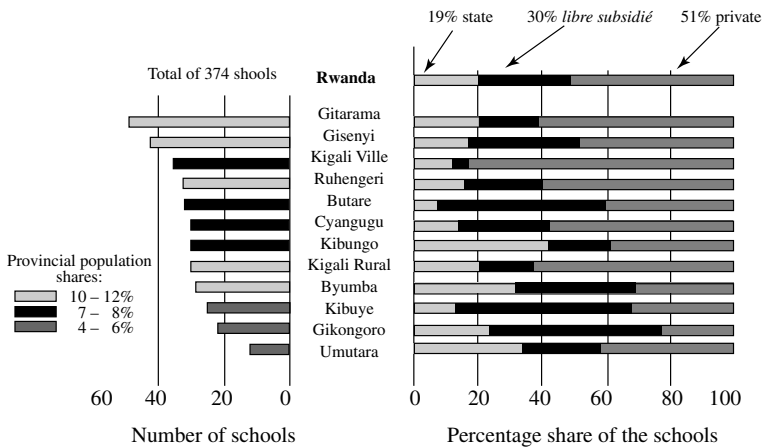
1962	Règlement conventionnel – MOE/churches
1966	Loi scolaire – included definition of state/churches partnership
1967	Arrêté présidentiel ; Commission ministérielle – to improve state church partnership
1985	<i>La Loi organique</i> – Education Act
1986	Arrêté présidentiel – status of assisted primary and secondary schools, and CERAI
1987	Convention scolaire – Government/Catholic Church
1995	Joint Commission set up for Government/Catholic Church
1997	Interim Convention – not implemented

Figure 4.1 Institutional composition of primary schools by province, Rwanda, 2000



Source: World Bank (2002, Figure 5.1).

Figure 4.2 Number and institutional composition of secondary schools by province, Rwanda, 2000-2001



Source: World Bank (2002, Figure 6.1).

The major problem areas quoted by the Catholic Church were lack of respect for and implementation of the 1985 Education Act (*'La Loi organique'*) and the protocol of 1987 on the part of MOE: poor communication practices, lack of consultation and lack of information sharing relative to administrative issues, making collaboration difficult on both sides; lack of response and delayed response to correspondence from the church, agreed communication channels not used; problems with the approval, recruitment and transfers of teachers and heads; interference in school management; overcrowding schools beyond the stipulated maximum of 46 pupils per class; confusion over the roles of various school administrators and actors, supporters, inspectors and visitors; appropriation by the state of multiple management roles which, according to the 1985 agreement, were to be shared; unilateral re-allocation of some school funds to local education offices (for petrol and office supplies); and failure to involve churches in curriculum development. Part of the problem, according to the churches, and agreed by the Minister in 1993, was the imprecise wording of the 1980s agreements, particularly with regard to the specific roles of the partners at commune, sector and school level (Kalibushi, 1995). This had led to confusion in the field, to wrangling, duplication of effort, perceived interference and misunderstanding.

Statements by SNEC (Secrétariat national de l'Enseignement catholique) over the past 15 years make the same references to Vatican and church documentation, and to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but there is no mention in the documents of the early 1990s of more recent milestones in global education development, such as the Convention of the Rights of the Child, or the World Conferences on Education for All in Jomtien 1990 and Dakar in 2000.

In 1994

The Catholic Church approached the state as early as August 1994, immediately after the war, to renew the partnership in education. The state responded favourably. All the churches rallied to the cause in the field, assisting the state to re-open primary schools. They worked with NGOs and other agencies⁴⁴ to provide food rations for teachers since there was nothing in government coffers for teachers' salaries. Two funds were set up by the Catholic Church to finance the reconstruction and rehabilitation of schools. Several religious orders managed to identify funds from external sources.

44 SNEC reports specifically refer to SRO Rwanda 2000, CRS, CARITAS-Rwanda, UNHCR, WFP, with funds from the European Community; and assistance from French Co-operation for secondary schools.

In early 1995, the Catholic Church's long list of requests for guidance from MOE indicates the confusion of the times and the difficulties in re-opening secondary schools. They included questions on: several policy and administrative issues that needed urgent clarification, instructions on fees, guidance on history, civics, foreign language syllabuses, teacher qualifications and equivalencies, procedures for incorporating returning refugee students, the status of students currently still in military service, etc. (SNEC correspondence, 6 March 1995). A second time in 1995 the Catholic Church reiterated that the legal framework in which the churches were operating was outdated, imprecisely worded, and was in urgent need of revision (Kalibushi, 1995). In mid-February 1995, the long-awaited Joint Commission between the Government of Rwanda and the Catholic Church was set up and the church authorities expressed their satisfaction over this positive move. They stated their commitment to the post-1994 education policy – to aim to educate “*a new Rwandan citizen, set free from all prejudice and imbued with the values of peace and democracy*”⁴⁵, quoting the Minister of Education – and their hope for a revision of the 1985 and 1987 agreements with clear and implementable statements (Kalibushi, 1995). A draft Interim Protocol was drawn up to clarify the roles of Catholic Church and state, updating the 1987 Convention. It was signed on 30 March 1987 between the Ministry of Education and the church, but it was not approved by the Cabinet nor implemented.

SNEC became aware for the first time of the multiple internal restructuring tasks that lay before it, such as, the establishment of inspection units, youth education units, financing modalities, fund-raising, full quantification of the costs of Catholic schools to the church, etc. and the need for fundamental review of the role of the Catholic Church in the education system of Rwanda (SNEC, 1999: 2, 4).

If the situation had been tenuous with the government before the events of 1994 it became all the more difficult in the late 1990s, described as “*disarray in the relationship between the Rwandan State and the Catholic Church*”⁴⁶ (SNEC, 1999: 3), despite the initial expressions of goodwill. This was a period when private schools were blossoming and appearing to cope successfully with the challenges of the times. A new

45 “... un Rwandais nouveau, libéré de tous préjugés et imprégné des valeurs de paix, de démocratie ...”.

46 “... une grande confusion dans la collaboration entre l'État rwandais et l'Église catholique”.

factor after the war was that the Ministry was staffed with many new officials who had no immediate knowledge of Rwanda church/state history.

Trends 1994-2000

It had been estimated by SNEC (1999: 9) that 60.1 per cent of the teachers in Catholic schools were qualified in early 1994. In 1996-1997 only 33 per cent of the teaching force in Catholic schools was reported as qualified. This is a measure of the situation the state and the churches had to face when they tried to re-open the schools. In 2000, 71.4 per cent of the primary schools fell into the assisted schools category. School management arrangements are shown in *Table 4.3* and *Figure 4.1*.

Table 4.3 Primary school management, 1999/2000

	No. (%)	Management No. (%)
State	567 (27.1)	
Assisted	1,494 (71.4)	SNEC 896 (60) CPR 506 (34) Others 90 (6)
Private	31 (1.5)	

Source: World Bank, 2002: Figure 5.1.

The churches managed almost all (94 per cent) of the assisted primary schools. The Catholic Church managed 60 per cent of the assisted schools and the Protestant Church managed one-third.

Table 4.4 Secondary school management, 1999/2000

	No. (%)	Management No.
State	72 (19.0)	GOR
Assisted	112 (29.6)	SNEC 61 CPR 31 Others 20
Private	194 (51.3)	SNEC 28 CPR 37 Others 129
Total 378 (100) GOR 65 (17) CPR 71 (19) SNEC 93 (25) Others 149 (39)		

Source: World Bank, 2002: Table 6.1.

In 1999-2000, SNEC managed a quarter of the secondary schools, CPR another one-fifth of the schools. A total of 44 per cent of secondary schools were managed by churches. Two-fifths of the schools were managed privately or by other organizations. The government managed less than one-fifth of the secondary schools (see *Table 4.4*).

Unfinished business

The historical stages of state/church partnership seem, in summary, to be the following: the church was once the sole provider of education in Rwanda, prior to Independence, supervised from a distance by the colonial administration; it then became a reluctant partner of the state, after Independence in 1962; and the third stage could be described as an almost parallel experience which developed during the 1980s and has continued.⁴⁷ At present, there is a state of limbo. It is in everyone's interests to ensure that there is not only co-ordination of effort from now on, but two-way collaboration and a greater measure of integration in the sense of planned and efficient complementarity.

Responsibility, oversight and management roles between state and church remain unclear. Neither the state nor the churches have succeeded in facilitating the partnership. By 2002 the patience of the Catholic Church ran thin again (SNEC, 2002: 8). The church reiterated the same points and quoted the same reference documents as in the early 1990s. It would seem as if both sides wished for collaboration but that they never managed to achieve it. During the hard times, the Head of State would nevertheless acknowledge the significant role of the churches in education: "*In our country the Church has played an important role in education and social development. This role must continue. As a result, the Church must find a basis for coordinating its efforts with those of the State; it must also establish the best techniques for collaboration and co-operation*"⁴⁸; and the President of the Episcopal Commission would be happy to quote the speech (Kalibushi, 1987).

47 One parallel exercise, involving the state on the one hand and the churches on the other, is the collection of data. The church collects its own data, and produces its own reports, parallel to the state exercise, but not in collaboration with the state nor benefiting from the expertise of the state. Data collected are not always identical.

48 "*L'Église a joué, dans notre pays, un grand rôle dans l'éducation et le développement social. Ce rôle doit être poursuivi. Aussi, faut-il chercher le terrain d'associer ses efforts à ceux de l'État et mieux définir les meilleurs moyens de collaboration et coopération*".

In the new millennium, and after the genocide, there is an opportunity for the two parties, state and churches, to review their stand in the light of the events of 1994 and with reference to the most recent thinking on education. The dialogue could change and the deadlock could be broken. A neutral mediator could be invited to facilitate a very different type of dialogue between the two parties. They might use the government education policy as a basic working document, while making place for other references within this broad framework, if they could be accommodated. In terms of the welfare of the education system, a fundamental reassessment of roles and objectives is urgent.

As in most countries in the region, the national education system is probably in great need of the churches in the day-to-day running of schools, while the churches need to be clear on and commit themselves to the overall goals of the national education system; and to develop transparent and modern institutional management practices in line with state requirements. The Ministry needs to accelerate curriculum rationalization, which would contribute to the clarification of church roles in schools with regard to religious instruction, teaching ethics, church pastoral work, and any other role which may be assigned to the churches within the schools. All parties should discuss these roles anew and reassign the sites, time and actors involved in some new arrangement which would accommodate all sides.

The lesson learned from the church-state relationship is that issues of contention have been left unresolved for too long. The year of 1994 was an opportunity to start all over again. There is often reluctance on the part of international agencies and donors to address what they might term 'cultural' or 'internal' or 'religious' issues. Yet the experience of Rwanda would point to the need for the external partners to facilitate constructive dialogue and to involve all big players in the education sector, such as the churches in Rwanda, far earlier during an emergency situation. There is sound data collection being done at present in the Government of Rwanda on the financial implications of all partner inputs, as the collaborative study with the World Bank, still in draft form, attests (World Bank, 2002). At this point, external partners could attempt to also support a planning process which would involve the prime partner of the state, namely, the churches. As a second step the Government of Rwanda could encourage increased collaboration with the private sector and arrange regular communication with this increasingly important new partner.

Lessons learned

- From the start in an emergency, the state needs to work collaboratively with all education providers, to ensure broad and effective support from the significant national parties in education;
- agencies, internal and external partners, should dare to get involved with religious institutions (with the churches, in the case of Rwanda) when the latter are a big player in the education sector, in the interests of including all significant actors in planning and sector implementation;
- they should use the comparative advantage of the neutral outsider to bring state and church together, to facilitate amicable communication;
- meanwhile, external partners should share information constantly with churches and other organizations outside government on education trends and data, whenever possible, to ensure they feel part of the process rather than a parallel or separate entity;
- to ensure the involvement all significant players in education in Rwanda, agencies should also have facilitated not only the inclusion of private schools in planning processes, etc., from the start, but the early establishment of an association of private schools, to assist them in expressing their needs and speaking with one representative voice with government.

4.4 The success of higher education

The damage to the higher-education sub-sector was indescribable. The National University of Rwanda (NUR) had been specifically targeted by the perpetrators of the genocide. The toll of deaths among the staff was 153 people; 106 disappeared; 800 fled.

One of the major new government policies developed in the wake of the genocide was to replenish and expand the country's skilled manpower at the highest levels, and in increasing numbers, within country and through studies abroad. The aim was to accelerate economic development. Human-capacity development was to receive marked attention in terms of funding. High priority was therefore given to tertiary institutions from the start, justifying the large proportion of the national education budget allocated to higher institutions.

“All the infrastructure of the NUR is in a deplorable state: doors smashed, windows broken, files scattered in the corridors. Vehicles, scientific and laboratory equipment, office furniture, classrooms and staff and student residences, have all been looted.”

(MINEPRISEC/MINESUPRES, 1994: 18, translated).

The separate Ministry of Higher Education was maintained as such, to emphasize the priority of higher education, and the sub-sector was run by a series of directives from that Ministry, as expansion ran ahead of fully developed policy but within the government’s overall goals. From an allocation of 2 per cent of the government’s total recurrent budget in 1990 during the lean years, as compared with the 22 per cent for primary and secondary education (Cooksey, 1992: 4), higher education was to receive over one-third of the budgetary allocation for the education sector in 2000, to the dramatic disadvantage of primary education (MOESTSR, 2002*b*: 22).

In early 1994, before the crisis, there were 13 institutions of higher education: the National University of Rwanda with two campuses, in Butare and Ruhengeri; the Institut supérieur d’agriculture et d’élevage; three institutions under other ministries: the École supérieure militaire, the Institut supérieur des finances publiques and the Centre de formation des adjoints techniques de la statistique; two international institutions: the Institut africain et mauricien de statistique et d’économie appliquée and Université adventiste d’Afrique centrale ; and six private institutions: the École supérieure de gestion et d’informatique Saint-Fidèle, the Grands séminaires de Nyakibanda and Kabgayi, Institut supérieur catholique de pédagogie appliquée de Nkumba, Institut supérieur pédagogique de Gitwe and the Centre d’enseignement supérieur de Kigali.

In 1997, 11 institutes of higher learning were operational. The Catholic ESCAPA institutes of Nkumba and the Institut Saint-Fidèle had not reopened by 1999. Higher governmental institutions functioning in 1999 were:

- National University of Rwanda (NUR);
- Institut supérieur d’agriculture et d’élevage (ISAE);
- Institut supérieur des finances publiques (ISFP) ;

- Kigali Institute of Science, Technology and Management (KIST);
- Kigali Institute of Education (KIE);
- Kigali Health Institute (KHI).

Operational private institutions included:

- Institut pédagogique national, Butare;
- le Grand séminaire de Nyakibanda;
- Institut supérieur pédagogique de Gitwe;
- Université adventiste d’Afrique centrale (UAAC);
- Université laïque adventiste de Kigali (UNILAK);
- Faculté de théologie protestante de Butare;
- Université libre de Kigali (ULK) – opened in March 1996.

Of the 13 tertiary institutions running, as listed above, there were six public and seven private institutions. Three of the state institutions were entirely new, started since the war: KHI, KIST (1997), and KIE (January 1999). As early as 1996-1997, the National University of Rwanda initiated the first doctoral programme in the university, a four-year programme in the Faculty of Medicine. Enrolments in the government tertiary institutions are shown below (*Table 4.5*).

Table 4.5 Enrolments in tertiary government institutions, 1994/1995-2001/2002

	1994/95	95/96	96/97	97/98	98/99	99/00	00/01	01/02
NUR	3,261 (24)*	3,948 (26)	4,178 (27)	4,548 (26)	-	4,535 (23)	4,840 (24)	5,922 (?)
KIST	-	-	-	20 (13)	561 (25)	1,149 (31)	1,512 (29)	1,445 (?)
KIE	-	-	-	-	299 (35)	597 (31)	959 (28)	1,269 (27)
KHI	-	-	-	29	279	383	690	784
ISAE	-	20	92	113	164	314	526	860
ISFP	-	-	67	161	110	98	121	?
Totals	3,261	3,968	4,387	5,065	1,413	7,076	8,648	10,280

* Percentage of female students in parentheses.

Source: MINESUPRES, 2002. And: ISAE data 1995-1997, KHI 1996/1997: MOE, 1998a:A48.

In 1996/1997, 95 per cent of the students in public tertiary institutions were in NUR. The total of students more than trebled between 1994/1995 and the present. The NUR proportion had dropped to 58 per cent by 2001/2002. Female students were only one-quarter of enrolments in NUR and KIE, rising to approximately 30 per cent in KIST as a result of a specific strategy targeting the increase of women students. The private tertiary enrolments are indicated in *Table 4.6*.

Table 4.6 Enrolments in tertiary private institutions, 1994/1995-2001/2002

<i>Institutions</i>	1994/95	959/6	96/97	97/98	98/99	99/00	00/01	01/02
UAAC	-	-	92 (42)*	149 (22)	216 (47)	351 (53)	445 (56)	495 (51)
ULK	-	-	20 (21)	406 (34)	1,406 (46)	2,312 (49)	3,250 (49)	4,188 (50)
ISPG/Gitwe	-	-	-	-	-	81	54	69
UNILAK	-	-	-	-	-	-	280	321
Totals	-	-	112	555	1,622	2,744	4,029	5,073

* Percentage of female students in parentheses.

Source: MINESUPRES, 2002. Data on ULK 1996/1997: MOE, 1998a: A49.

The student body in private tertiary institutions rose from 112 to 5,073 in a six-year period, constituting one-third of the 15,353 students studying in all tertiary institutions in Rwanda in 2001/2002.

The university, KIE and KIST, are now bilingual institutions, using both French and English as media of instruction. Staff lecture in their preferred language and students opt to take their examinations in their preferred language. However, during the course students receive instruction in the two languages. The first academic year is devoted to language proficiency. The new system caused some anxiety at first among anglophone students who are less accustomed to bilingual French/English skills than francophones. However, the government stood firm on the policy.

KIE, opened in January 1999, trains secondary arts and science teachers, and management staff in the technical and vocational sub-sector.

It is also running an in-service training programme for teachers in the field. The work is urgent, due to the fact that 63 per cent of secondary teachers are currently unqualified. In the 2002/2003 academic year 940 students were admitted⁴⁹, 27.6 per cent of whom were women. KIE has a total of 76 lecturers, one-third of whom have doctorates. The institution has three faculties: Education, Sciences, and Arts and Social Sciences, each with five or more departments. The institution awards the first degrees of Arts and Sciences with Education. The author was unable to find documentation on the history of KIE, on the process of strategy definition of the institution and on the type and extent of inspired capacity building which has been made available for lecturers and institution curriculum development, given the unique challenges facing Rwandan schools today, as indicated by the interviews with children in *Section 6*. Information available on curricula for the secondary-teacher trainees indicates that the courses reflect those in education faculties in the region and may need review, updating and adaptation in order to respond more closely to the changing needs of Rwanda's rapidly expanding and diverse secondary-school sub-sector. It is estimated that 51 per cent of secondary schools are private schools (World Bank, 2002: 6.5).

In addition to the full-time daily programmes, evening and week-end programmes are organized, for students in full-time employment, in librarianship, computer skills, languages and secretarial studies. Evening courses run for 90-105 hours per year at a charge of 150,000 FRW, with a practical/industrial attachment in addition to the course hours. The Centre for Computer Services and Applications was set up in 2000 with multiple activities and roles to play in the institution. Its target students are KIE staff, public and private employees, and school leavers. The institution has received considerable assistance from the World Bank, UNDP, the African Development Bank, the Swiss and Netherlands Governments and other donors (KIE, 1998).

KIST (Kigali Institute of Science, Technology and Management) became operational in November 1997 'ahead of a formal instrument to define its precise role'. The *KIST* Statute was gazetted in early 2002 (*KIST*, 2002: 3). The institution is oriented towards management, applied sciences, technology and ICT. Its vision is to "[graduate] highly skilled people for the country's economy and [to provide] technical and

49 Data on KIE flier which differ from MINESUPRES data trends noted above.

technological assistance and services to all sections of the community”. “KIST aspires to become a centre of excellence in science, technology and management education comparable in standard to the very best in the world” (KIST, 2002: 4). KIST has aligned its objectives closely with the 10 goals of *Vision 2020* in its aim at developing the human resources of Rwanda. The *Strategic Plan* publishes enrolment projections for 2001-2006 which are: 2,260 students for 2001, rising to 3,665 for 2006. The proportion of full-time students was 65 per cent in 2001, projected to remain approximately the same in 2006. KIST makes provision for part-time students and for a second category of part-time students who are categorized as ‘equivalent to full-time’ (see also ULK below). The proportion of women students was 12 per cent in the 1998 intake and was deliberately increased, reaching approximately 30 per cent for the next three intakes. A national sensitization campaign targeting girls in secondary schools has started and policies giving priority to hostel places for female students are being carefully implemented (KIST, 2002: 15). The objective is to reach 35 per cent representation of women in the institution. Staff recruitment is also gender responsive. The first graduates received their degrees in July 2002. KIST has developed a thorough strategic plan for 2001-2006 with detailed objectives and financial projections. Staff continue to benefit from training abroad but the training received is not always used on their return. The institution has received technical assistance and funding from DFID, the World Bank, the African Development Bank, and others. The buildings are magnificent and solid, some several storeys high, set in a developing campus. A second site on the other side of Kigali is also under construction.

ULK (Université libre de Kigali), the first private university in Rwanda, awarding its own degrees, has arguably had the most immediate impact on Rwanda among the tertiary institutions and is an extraordinary daily event to observe in Kigali when as many as 5,345 adult students of all ages stream into courses every evening by car, taxi and on foot. Women students represent 50.2 per cent of the student body. Scholarships have been given to 400 students from a private foundation attached to the university. The mission of the university is to enable students to become “actors and organizers [for the] development of our nation” (ULK, 2002). The genesis of the university is quite simply a series of commercial loans to ARPEC (the Rwandan Association for the Promotion of Education and Culture), which ensured the start of the university in March 1996 in

rented rooms in town for the first two years. It has never received government funds nor any external assistance. The university was granted legal status in June 2002 and organized its first graduation ceremony in October 2002. Built down in the valley, where the land must have been flooded at one time, the fast-expanding one-storey university buildings stand on raised foundations, beautifully painted and clean, set in well-groomed gardens and ample parking spaces for the rising middle classes who patronize the lecture halls. The university has expanded to a second campus in 2001/2002, in Gisenyi in the north of the country, with 40.8 per cent women among the 554 students. The university has three faculties: Economics and Management, Law and Social Sciences which includes demography, sociology, and administration studies. So far, 133 students have graduated with a first degree and 1,320 with diplomas. Since its inception ULK's 166 lecturers have come from several neighbouring countries and from Nigeria, but most are Congolese. A link with a South African university is currently being pursued to upgrade lecturers and give them a sounder foundation in English.

There is a bustle and purpose about this institution. There are ample lecture halls and blackboards but the library has hardly been started and there is no trained documentalist as yet to steer it to its university role. This one feature points to the consequently stark and restricted nature of the university courses being run. The two computer labs are receiving most attention at present, one for computer studies and the second for student Internet use. The overall impression that a visitor retains is one of admiration that a small group of individual national investors could have had the courage, the faith and the pride in their country so soon after the events of 1994, to risk their capital on such a venture. Palpably, it is paying off. A mass of Rwandans can now access degrees through evening classes without having to go through the more painful and exacting entry requirements of the one state university. Also, for women students who cannot meet the entrance requirements of the state system, there is a second chance in the form of ULK, albeit a relatively more costly one. This reflects the same dilemma facing girls attempting to enter secondary schools. ULK is mirroring the successes of private universities and parallel programmes in Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. Fees range from 120,000 FRW a year for full-time programmes – that is, six-hour daily courses over nine months – to 150,000 FRW per year for the evening programme running over 12 months.

ICT in education is reportedly at an initial phase in the education system. KIST and the national university are starting to use ICT for distance learning under the African Virtual University regional programme. MINEDUC plans to use ICT for communicating with field staff and for the management of education (MOESTSR, 2002*b*:10).

The development of the tertiary sector was driven by the determination of the Government of Rwanda. External partners offered funding initially, institution by institution, rather than in accordance with an overall plan. The second observation is that considerable funds were spent on bursaries to all first-year students for full-time residential one-year language courses – instead of devising a less costly option such as vouchers to students in private-sector language schools as a prerequisite for a place in the university. In future, external partners should support higher-education planning processes from the start, in an attempt to utilize education-sector funding effectively across the sector.

Lessons learned

- Use a comprehensive-sector approach for action planning, right from the start. Tertiary development is of prime importance to restructuring a nation, as Rwanda has taught us.
- Break with tradition and become involved from the start with tertiary-level planning processes.
- Be alert to new opportunities in the private sector, in order to focus state funding on the public sector and on the most needy schoolchildren, who must be given special financial assistance to reach tertiary level.
- Use tertiary data to advocate for supportive programmes for girls lower down the system, at secondary or upper-primary levels.

Chapter 5

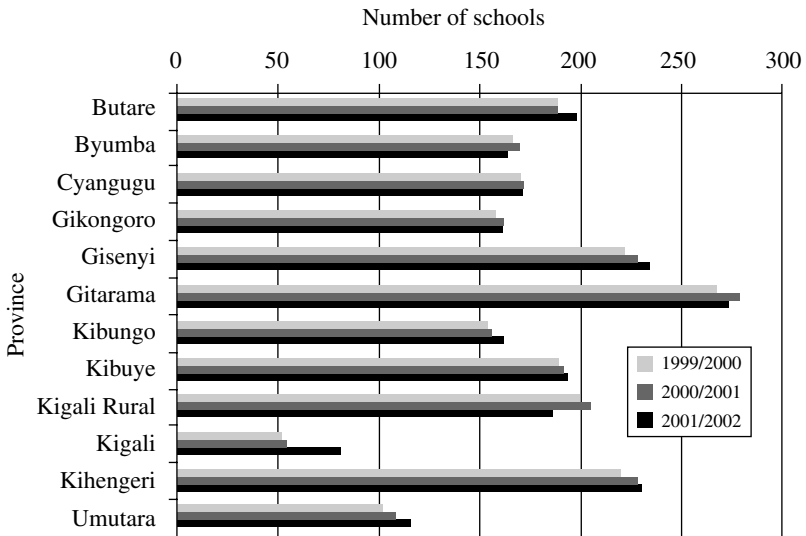
From emergency to development

5.1 Achievements

Primary-school enrolment

Rwanda has achieved remarkable progress across the education sector within eight short years since the crisis. Some of those achievements are noted below, as examples of the many efforts that have borne fruit.

Figure 5.1 Primary schools by province, 2000-2002

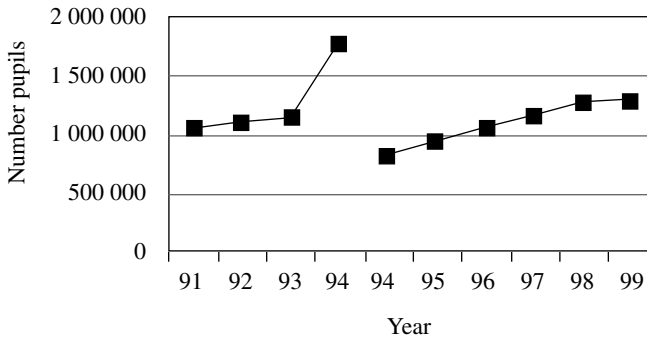


Source: Table A5, Appendix 4.

Primary schools continue to increase in all provinces, with the exception of a slight reverse in Kigali-Rural in 2001/2002 (see *Figure 5.1*). Enrolments also increase, as *Figure 5.2* indicates, but have not yet reached

the levels of 1993, which they are planned to do in the near future. The target is 95 per cent NER by 2005.

Figure 5.2 Primary enrolment trends, 1991-1999



There is an option of creating more small schools nearer home, in the future, which is likely to boost enrolments still further, and to reverse the trend until now of continuing to expand existing primary schools. Costs have been discussed and the small school policy model is likely to have greater social benefits while effectively increasing enrolments, yet remaining within reasonable expenditures. In particular, this proposed model of enrolment expansion would be more likely to provide the type of schooling to meet the needs of the poorest, the orphans and those children who continue to work during the day. Relief aid is often ad hoc, by its very nature, and the Joint Evaluation of assistance to Rwanda sponsored by DANIDA (Millwood, 1996) made this point strongly. It was definitely less costly to expand existing schools than to build new ones and this could account for the preference of the Government of Rwanda and its local and external partners to opt for school expansion rather than new school construction. Also, the conventional wisdom of economies of scale inherited from the 1970s could have influenced decisions. However, there is still work to be done on transforming primary schools into child-responsive and child-friendly sites. The declining completion rate of 23 per cent, as compared with 36 per cent in 1990, emphasizes this challenge (World Bank, 2000: 6). It is therefore a healthy sign that at present the Ministry is considering scenarios which have more to do with meeting the needs of children than the needs of providers, and particularly the poorest children who are not able to travel any significant distance to school. It is a lesson learned by

all that, even at times of emergency – or especially at times of emergency – the needs of the most destitute populations should be taken into consideration. The signs are that if the Ministry heeds these issues now, EFA will be achieved in time.

In 2000-2002 most new classrooms were constructed in the north, in Gisenyi, Ruhengeri and Umutara, and in the central province of Gitarama, in the aftermath of late 1990s incursions in these areas. Plastic-sheeting classrooms are still in use, mainly in the northern and eastern provinces of Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, Kibungo and Umutara. Schools also function in borrowed buildings such as churches, local halls, private houses or stores. In 2001/2002, a remaining 17.2 per cent of schools were reported to be in need of reconstruction in Rwanda (see *Table 5.1*).

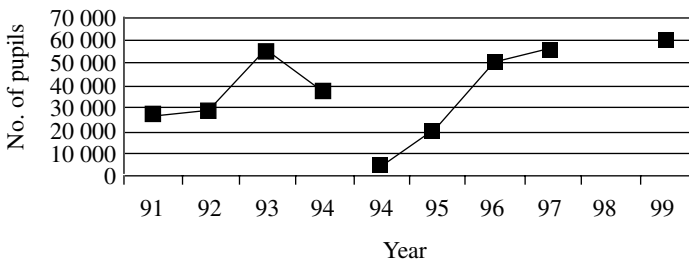
Table 5.1 Classrooms in Rwanda, 2002

Classrooms	N	%
Permanent	13,117	50
Semi-permanent	11,869	42
Built with wood	1,114	4
Plastic sheeting	835	3
Others	272	1
Total	27,762	100

Source: MINEDUC, 2002d: 4, 17.

Secondary-school enrolment

Figure 5.3 Secondary enrolment trends, 1991-1999



Source: Table A7, Appendix D.

The rise in secondary enrolments has been dramatic and has overtaken student numbers before the crisis (*Figure 5.3*). In large measure this is due to the mushrooming of private schools which the government has encouraged. As noted in *Section 4.3*, developing a constructive partnership with church schools, combined with increased control of the quality of private schools, would enhance still further the gains made to date. Secondary enrolments are now estimated to be 157,210, up from about 3,000 in 1994 after the war, and the previous figure of approximately 55,000 in 1993, before the war. This is an almost threefold increase.

Figure 5.4 Number of primary schools, 1991-1999

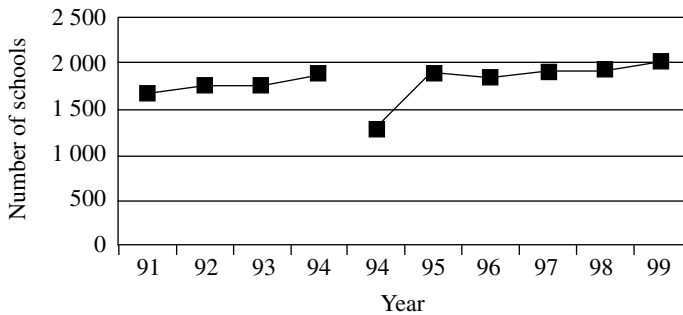
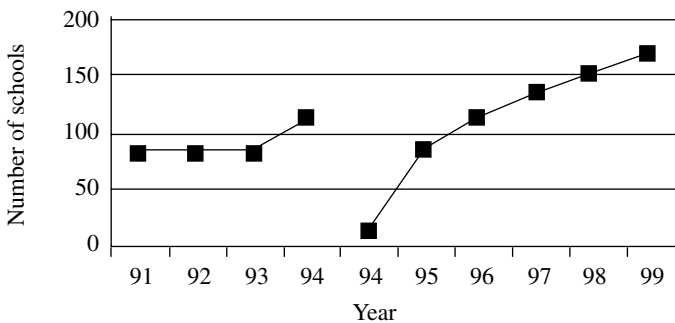


Figure 5.5 Number of secondary schools, 1991-1999



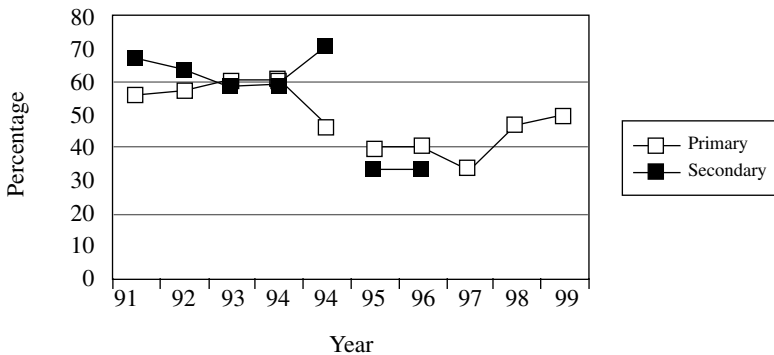
The numbers of secondary schools match the enrolment trends (*Figures 5.3 and 5.5*). However, the point made above on the lack of expansion of primary schools as compared with the enrolments is well illustrated in *Figures 5.2 and 5.4*. Transition rates from primary to secondary school of 9.2 per cent reported for 1990 (Gakuba, 1991: 18)

had risen to 30 per cent in 1999, that is, 20 per cent to government and assisted schools, and a further 9 or 10 per cent to private schools (World Bank, 2000: 7); then to 42 per cent in 1999/2000 declining to 37 per cent in 2000/2001 (MINEDUC, 2001) due to increased primary enrolments. The Ministry aims to increase secondary enrolments even more rapidly by 2005 (UNDP, 1999: 58; World Bank, 2000: 7).

Qualified teachers

Although there are differing views on criteria for determining teacher qualifications, the trend in *Figure 5.6* below indicates that Rwanda lost a critical proportion of its trained teachers during the genocide: “Rwanda’s shortage in qualified teachers is yet another legacy of the destruction and flight of Rwanda’s human capital in 1994, and after, as well as a function of low salaries and the rapid expansion of the system” (World Bank, 2000, Education and Training: 6). Soon the graduates of KI, and the new distance in-servicing programmes will boost the numbers of trained teachers at secondary level, which was at an even more critical level than that of the primary teaching force after the crisis in 1994. The crisis in qualified teachers required earlier attention from the Ministry. There were a plethora of teacher-training short courses and day courses, which hardly qualified at all to be called more than teachers’ meetings. This is a further lesson learned, that good-quality teacher capacity building must be initiated very early during the emergency phase, in order to guard against crises at a later stage.

Figure 5.6 Percentage of qualified teachers, 1991-1999



Source: Table A7, Appendix D.

Direct education support to orphans

The Genocide Survivors Fund (FARG, in the French acronym) was set up. It receives 5 per cent of the annual national budget, to support the most vulnerable households. In addition to the support for shelter, health, and other basic needs, the fund provides bursaries for some secondary students. MINALOC is the second major source of bursaries for secondary level. As noted elsewhere in this report, assistance to orphans of primary age still needs to be addressed, since all reports state that, due to lack of sufficient follow-up at community level, few orphans and few needy children are attending school. The orphans say that their continuing immediate needs for food and shelter mean that education is not a priority for them (Veale *et al.*, 2001, reporting on the World Vision study of 1998).

Lessons learned

- Immediate re-opening of schools and visibly expanding enrolments raises the morale of the nation, the schoolchildren, parents and teachers: success breeds success.
- It was cheaper and easier to expand existing primary schools than to create new smaller ones. But this latter model, widespread worldwide now, should also be used in reconstruction exercises where relevant, especially since in some cases, including Rwanda, it does not represent a significantly higher cost.
- Physical reconstruction/expansion of schools takes time. After eight years only 50 per cent of Rwanda's classrooms were constructed of permanent materials.
- Teacher-training programmes lagged behind the expansion of the sector as a whole and did not receive adequate attention from MOE or partners.
- Without follow-up mechanisms at community level those most in need remain outside school.
- The sector has not yet devised a full range of alternative schooling models appropriate for the most needy children.

5.2 What happened to textbooks?

At present, the most common concern of parents and children regarding schooling is the lack of learning materials. Teachers are less vocal about the lack of textbooks and this could, ominously, be interpreted

to mean that many of them have spent so many long years without books that they are now used to not having them. Many of them have survived the past decade or more in very difficult circumstances in refugee camps, in exile, outside schools, with no reading material at all. We do not know how many of the present teachers have been newly recruited to the teaching profession over the past decade. There could be a large proportion of teachers in Rwanda who are, quite simply, unused to books, particularly in the primary schools. Many are lucky at this point to have a paying job – although poorly paid – and they are unlikely to be more vocal than parents on the lack of books in the classroom. This is the context of classrooms and textbooks in Rwanda today.

Rwanda has been developing a textbook policy in 2001-2002, in order to speed up textbook production and enhance the quality of books provided to schools. A number of factors need to be taken into account for the development of such a policy, among them the general goals of education, the curriculum, the education language policy and cost. It has been recognized by the Ministry that private-sector publishing is faster and more professional than within-ministry publishing. Accordingly, the textbook policy aims to enhance national publishing capacity. A second consideration has been the plan to decentralize textbook selection, eventually to school level, and to decentralize budgets in time. To maintain quality, a number of structures have been set up such as a tendering board and a textbook-approval committee.

Local publishing capacity is to be built up in Rwanda largely through the tender process organized under the Ministry of Education, which will prescribe parameters to be followed in order to increase local involvement. This will encourage foreign publishers to develop local publishing skills and capacity during the process of developing new materials. The process has started already through the team of writers and editors in NCDC with the support of the French Co-operation and Edicef (Hachette), and through the training of authors, editors and a designer under the GTZ-funded production of STE textbooks. However, the process of concentrating capacity building within a ministry organ, NCDC, has been assessed as extremely slow and lacking in effective local transfer of publishing skills. The textbook policy specifically targets capacity building in the private sector, for more efficient production processes. The imminent textbook agreements between the government and potential donors will need to

rationalize current proposed production processes with the new textbook policy if any real progress in local capacity building is to be made.

To date, the only curriculum-compliant textbooks that have been published since 1997 are the primary STE textbooks, in Kinyarwanda for P1-3 and in French for P4-6 (Smart, 2002:10). This means that despite the publication of syllabuses in 1997 and 2000 only one subject, at primary level, benefits from relevant curriculum materials. Teaching is reportedly still hampered in the subject by the lack of essential aids and equipment. It is not clear, however, why science and technology equipment in primary schools should be a problem or whether the problem lies elsewhere, for instance, in the lack of training of teachers in the use of materials available in the environment. Primary schools have access at present to the reprinted pre-war mathematics and mother-tongue textbooks, through UNICEF reprinting support in 1997 and 2001; and some reprinted French and English language off-the-shelf, pre-war textbooks, supplied by donors. The lack of textbooks, especially curriculum-compliant textbooks, explains why teachers are not teaching the current syllabuses – except in STE. Partly due to total lack of social studies textbooks, several topics are not being taught at all in this subject area, despite the production of syllabuses five years ago. This is a sign that, more and more, textbooks rather than teacher education are driving curriculum implementation. Or, it is a sign that teacher education is inadequate.

Textbook policy developed in 2001-2002 had to take account of the fact that a new curriculum reform was starting, likely to be completed in approximately 2004 or 2005. This meant that current textbook provision should aim at the initial provision of textbooks to conform with the current curriculum and subsequent provision of new textbooks “to support the new curriculum when it is published” (Smart, 2002: 10). Textbooks generally have a three-year life.

Language policy has consequences for teacher availability, the students’ choice of school, textbook provision, examinations, etc. The bilingual/trilingual language debate has taken up a great deal of time. However, by 2002 there were no figures available on the numbers of children in French or English streams, or teachers’ language proficiency or preference, yet these statistics will be necessary for the effective implementation of a textbook policy. It was assumed that English streams “may be almost negligible... in government and subsidized schools” in

upper-primary classes (Smart, 2002: 9). GTZ revised publishing plans in 2001 omitting English editions in the light of this widely held assumption. An assessment of textbook provision to date notes that textbooks have been provided to teachers rather than to pupils, with no prior data on their language proficiency. Teachers tend to be anglophone or francophone but are not generally both anglophone and francophone, with the result that “the limited quantities of materials that have been provided to date have therefore not been efficiently used” (Smart, 2002: 9). It was argued in early 2002 that textbook planners must have precise information on teachers’ and pupils’ language preference so as to ensure that the appropriate language versions of textbooks are printed and distributed in future.

Due to the multiple academic and vocational subject options in the small number of upper-secondary schools (322 schools), textbooks will have to be purchased off the shelf rather than produced specifically for Rwanda.

Policies on pupil/textbook ratios have to be adjusted for double-shift use, which increases the use of textbooks planned for a three-year life in schools. Provision of mathematics and mother-tongue reprinted textbooks has ranged between two to four pupils per textbook over the years 1998-2001. Currently English books range between a student/textbook ratio of 1:13 to 1:22 across the six primary classes. It is estimated that social studies textbooks are almost entirely lacking. Plans for the future range between a 1:3 and 1:5 ratio of textbooks in primary schools, 1:2 at lower secondary and 1:1 at senior-secondary level. The current cost for one textbook, at approximately 1,750 FRW per textbook and 2,500 FRW per teacher’s guide, would be FRW 650.5 million (approximately US\$ 1.5 million) for 360,000 textbooks and 8,200 teacher’s guides, at one teacher’s guide per 44 textbooks and catering for about 1 million children. Numbers are adjusted for double shifts using the 1:3 ratio.

The Ministry has made considerable progress in setting up a tendering system to cover publishing (and authoring), printing and distribution. To date distribution has been slow when carried out by ministry structures. It has been proposed that a tender system be set up for distribution in future, using a decentralized system, engaging the private sector, possibly with the involvement of local booksellers.

A wide array of donors and agencies have been involved in textbook provision or funding to date. These efforts are listed in *Table 5.2*, together with some of the proposed support for the future. DFID proposes to spend over US\$5 million on textbook support over three years, 2002-2004. The sources of funding for textbooks 2002-2003 are expected to be: GOR, DFID, ADB, GTZ, Co-opération Belge, Co-opération Française and the World Bank. The first major supplier in 1997 and 2001 was UNICEF.

In conclusion, about eight years after the emergency, a plan was developed by the Ministry and a textbook policy drawn up for faster, more efficient and cost-conscious textbook/materials production, enhancing local publishing capacity through decentralizing processes. It will rely on an array of technical and management training at all levels.

Rwanda's children have remained for long years without textbooks due to the loss of textbooks during the war and delay in reprinting of interim materials, possibly distracted in the early years by disagreements over agency activities as noted above. Moreover, curriculum dilemmas led to a total lack of textbooks in vital subjects such as social studies. The consequences of these events have been loss in quality delivery of education, translating into high repetition and wastage rates, lowering the morale of pupils, teachers and parents, and increased costs of education. Evidently, textbook decisions are costly. Interim decisions need to be taken very early since delay on this measure can lead to almost a decade without school books which jeopardizes other efforts to develop an education system.

Table 5.2 Past and proposed textbook funding

Materials, levels	Funding
<i>Primary</i>	
Mathematics P1-6: Reprinted existing pre-war mathematics textbooks (in MT*) in 1997 and 2001 – for future supply: 9 mathematics textbooks P1-6 in MT, French and English	UNICEF World Bank
MT: P1-6, Reprinted existing, pre-war MT textbooks in 1997 and 2001 – for future supply: 6 books	UNICEF DFID
Science: P1-6, new curriculum-compliant textbooks, in MT P1-3 ; in French P4-6	GTZ
French: Textbooks and other teaching materials reprinted and off-the-shelf purchase – for future supply, a tender has already gone out for bids for P1-3 French textbooks, for existing, adapted or new materials – to collaboratively fund P1-3 and P4-6 French textbooks	Co-opération Française DFID
English: P1-3 (Oxford Primary English 1-3); – for future supply, tender published for P4-6 English textbooks (to comply with P1-3 materials in use); increased P1-3 supply	World Bank DFID DFID
Social studies: P4-6 – for future supply of P4-6 history, geography, civics textbooks, possibly integrated into one textbook	DFID and possibly African Development Bank (ADB)
<i>Secondary</i>	
S1-3: all textbooks except science	GOR
Science S1-3: for future supply, tender published	Co-opération Belge
Upper-secondary textbooks – off-the-shelf	GOR

* MT = mother tongue (Kinyarwanda). *Source:* Smart, 2002.

In future emergency situations, options for interim decision-making on learning materials need to be proposed in order to optimize the effects of enhanced enrolments. They could include:

Emergency options:

- (a) production of a simple textbook decision guide – or interim learning materials guide;
- (b) emergency copying of vital teacher and pupil materials, in language and mathematics – with a general studies guide for teachers at lower and upper primary, and lower-secondary levels;

Interim options:

- (c) reprinting of pre-emergency materials;
- (d) adaptation of pre-emergency materials, and possibly translation;
- (e) off-the-shelf purchase of materials from neighbouring countries;
- (f) translation of materials from neighbouring countries;
- (g) adaptation of materials from neighbouring countries;

Developmental options:

- (h) production of new national materials, for compliance with new curricula.

The proposed textbook decision guide should outline the advantages and disadvantages of the above decisions relating to the availability of pre-emergency textbooks; compliance with education goals, the status of curriculum and syllabuses (change or no-change), language decisions, teachers' skill levels, local textbook production capacity, production schedules, cost, etc.; with a critical presentation of some case studies – and additional relevant case studies available on request.

Lessons learned

- Emergency materials are required.
- Emergency, interim and developmental options for decision-making on school textbooks and text materials need to be offered, as outlined above (a)-(h), in a brief guidebook.
- Early co-ordinated professional attention needs to be given to textbook provision by the government and agencies/donors.
- Textbook-decision delay is costly. Reluctance to engage in innovative textbook development should be anticipated.
- Any textbook decision involves high costs – to be set against education wastage costs.

5.3 Non-formal education – and the quantum leap to alternative education programmes

Adult programmes

In Rwanda non-formal education had always been synonymous with adult literacy classes. They were slow to pick up after the war since the emphasis was on children's education needs and on the Ministry's drive to

re-open schools as fast as possible: first the primary schools, followed by the secondary schools and the university. The state was willing to support adult education for youth and illiterate adults but needed financial support from its traditional partners in this field. The work continued with the assistance of DDV Germany in particular, religious organizations and NGOs, UNDP, UNESCO and UNICEF.⁵⁰

Adult education had reached a low ebb before the war, with a reported pass rate of 8 per cent among the more than 50,000 people enrolled in 1989. In 1993 the literacy rate was estimated to be 51.2 per cent, that is, 63.9 per cent for men and 37 per cent for women. In 1997 a slight increase was noted (52.7 per cent literacy rate) but given the difficulty of collecting viable data both before and after the war, there cannot be said to have been much change (MOE, 1998a: 48). The situation was complicated by the involvement of several ministries over time⁵¹, the changing structures of ministries, and the location of adult education outside the mainstream Ministry of Education, consequently lacking exposure to the best professional education inputs. MINEDUC did not see adult education as its concern, due to the structural determination of ministries, and left it officially to other actors. Adult education today in Rwanda is at a crossroads – as it is in many countries in Africa. The REFLECT method is used in a few pilot sites in Rwanda, initiated through the NGO Aide et Action but, given the experience of other countries in the region, and despite the merits of its methodological approach, it is not likely to achieve significant coverage in Rwanda. The country needs some new ideas and new inputs, among them linkages with micro-credit training schemes and income-generating skills programmes, as a way of accelerating literacy and of incorporating a variety of new topics into adult education programmes.

Children's programmes

It is often said that emergency situations provide an opportunity for innovation (Pigozzi, 1999: 3-5; Sinclair, 2001: 27). This was not the case in Rwanda in terms of responding to the education needs of the children out of schools for the first eight years after the war. Theories on education in emergencies are somewhat glib on this score and need to revise their

50 After considerable funding of learners' materials UNICEF was to withdraw from adult education at the end of the 1990s in order to concentrate on children's needs.

51 Adult education was at different times in the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, the Ministry of Youth, Sports, Culture and Vocational Training, and the Ministry of Gender, Family and Social Affairs.

maxim. The government, agencies, NGOs, parents' associations and religious institutions all supported formal school education since this was the form of education familiar to Rwanda and familiar to the international agencies and NGOs working in Rwanda. This could be expressed another way: the usual context for innovation applies in situations of emergency and in normal situations that, without extraordinary individuals, and extraordinary drive and inspiration, innovation does not take place. There are two major constraints in times of emergency: lack of time for reflection on the part of planners, and the very newness of educational planners who generally find themselves in a team which has yet to build up confidence in their judgement regarding innovation, which lacks exposure to and capacity for innovation. All this has to be added to the already loaded equation of people generally reluctant to change or to innovate in the best of circumstances. The Government of Rwanda had extraordinary drive and determination after the genocide but this should not be confused with the ability to innovate, in education. The continuing faith placed in ministerial quickie study tours is misplaced if follow-up is not designed and structured over time.

In the immediate aftermath of the war, approximately 50 per cent of primary school-aged children were not at school, due to the lack of supply, distance from school, or the fact that children were too poor, neglected or too busy working to go to school. The author remembers discussions as early as 1996 and 1997 with the Ministry on the importance of increasing the number of small feeder schools nearer home and setting up accelerated learning classes for young adolescents. Feeder schools already existed in the primary system in Rwanda, called *écoles succursales*. They were linked to a neighbouring full primary school and benefited from the overall supervision of the same head teacher. The proposal in 1997 was to cater for the over-age primary beginners and drop-outs, using the available CCDFP and CFJ buildings – and even the feeder school classrooms – for 11-14 year-olds and 15-17 year-olds, offering them accelerated learning classes specially tailored for their needs (UNICEF ESARO, 1997: 4).

■ Programmes or supply kits

After the war, in 1994-1997, there was a tendency for agencies and NGOs to concentrate on distributing equipment; and this extended to the promisingly innovative programmes such as sports, recreational and peace education programmes. There was a fashion in the mid-1990s for translating

the embryonic programmes into equipment and supplies or kits (Aguilar and Retamal, 1998), instead of supporting teachers to design simple programme activities and providing more teacher training, which would have had more sustainable results (UNICEF ESARO, 1997: 5).

Mirroring the problems of adult education noted above, the development of alternative and innovative programmes for children was severely hindered by the continual restructuring of ministries, shifting of departments to different ministries and the setting up of new ministries. In such cases, sometimes the MINEDUC team involved in innovative programmes moved out into a new ministry; sometimes the team was split between two ministries. This happened with the peace education team and may be the reason why peace education diverged into two movements, one in the Ministry of Youth and Sports concentrating on peace and sports, with little sound theory as an implementable basis. The remainder of the team continued curriculum work in a more classical mode within the mother ministry. But, as noted above, without textbooks syllabuses have not been implemented. The result was to delay effective peace education up to this day.

■ The catch-up classes

To return to the proposed accelerated courses for over-age children, it was in September 2002 that the first programmes were started by MINEDUC, with assistance from UNICEF, in three pilot sites. They were called *catch-up classes*. By this time NER had reached 75 per cent, which left 25 per cent primary-age children out of school and a much higher proportion of deschooled and never-schooled children over 13 years. It is estimated that 94 per cent of the adolescent population is out of school (MOESTSR, 2002a: 8). The target of catch-up classes was to cover the six-year primary programme in three years, in classes of 30 children (over-age for primary schools), with well supported, specially oriented teachers, and sufficient materials. Catch-up classes are free, children are not asked to buy writing materials, and no uniform is required.⁵² To the surprise of the Ministry the demand was overwhelming.

52 As noted elsewhere in this report, uniform is no longer officially mandatory but this information has not been well disseminated and the high level of resistance to change has meant that uniform continues to be a de facto requirement in most schools. One outfit costs a minimum of 2,000 FRW which is 10 or 20 times more than current school fees (fees are set at 300 FRW per term but schools can reduce this to 200 or even 100 FRW). This situation has propelled children of 8 years and below to the MINEDUC catch-up classes, and they have been accepted, yet schools will accept children in first grade up to 12 years.

537 FRW = 1 US\$, October 2003.

Unfortunately the first reaction of the catch-up field managers was to ignore the carefully designed programme they had drawn up for themselves. They could not resist accepting every applicant. All-comers were accepted; classes were allowed to grow beyond the well-set limits; the ages of children were not monitored; nor were the children allocated to classes or streamed according to their previous schooling experience. Classes opened before the teachers had been oriented and before the teaching and learning materials reached the centres.⁵³ It has been pointed out to MINEDUC that unless the basic design of the programme is respected, it will not achieve its goal since, worldwide, accelerated programmes have been shown to need very clear focus, firm parameters and special support. Without such a framework the programmes will be in immediate danger of failure and of disappointing the children, the Ministry and educational planners with this first and well-publicized attempt in Rwanda of providing much-needed alternative education programmes. A planning process has to result in respect for the plan drawn up. Rwanda needs a success with this first official alternative education programme. It cannot afford a failure.

The above experience of programme initiation is a pointer to both the positive and limited effects of study tours and to opportunities of maximizing agency inputs. In 2000-2001, ADEA (Association for the Development of Education in Africa) and the World Bank organized a study tour for 10 ministers of education in Africa to alternative education programmes to Latin America and South Asia. Each ministerial team of two or three had the opportunity of visiting two innovations in one continent. The visits were recorded on video and discussed in plenary with two facilitators at the ADEA ministerial symposium in Arusha in September 2001 (ADEA, 2002: 50-62). In the case of the catch-up classes in Rwanda, one could say that the programme was initiated possibly at the instigation of public or regional pressure on the visiting ministers to innovate as a result of their trip. But three further questions could be asked: (a) Why did the visit and the copious literature collected not lead to more careful planning and implementation of the Rwanda innovation? (b) What explains the lack of Latin American experience being incorporated into the South Asia visiting team's experience and vice versa? and (c) What prevented early planning with UNICEF in 1997 from developing into an alternative programme earlier, around 1999? The answer to the last question is

53 The author was able to visit two catch-up programmes, one run by the Ministry and a second local-association initiative in Ruhengeri and Gisenyi Provinces.

probably linked to the withdrawal of international staffing in the education section in late 1998 and to the restarting of planning on arrival of such staff in 2001. UNICEF is the sole international supporter of the Catch-Up Classes programme to date. Governments, ADEA and the World Bank may wish to explore ways of revising the objectives and parameters of such tours, together with UNESCO and UNICEF which also frequently use study tours for such purposes.

Spread of the innovation

To follow the course of the innovation: within weeks of the opening of the three pilot catch-up programme sites, other socially active individuals had taken the cue, formed themselves into small groups and started similar classes, with the hope of benefiting in time from ministry, agency, NGO or external support. Groups with existing or planned out-of-school programmes simply adopted the catch-up approach immediately. Some district education offices are now interested and may start their own district or sector catch-up programmes under their newly decentralized powers and financing systems. Among catch-up managers there are, fortunately, some seasoned educationists working in a voluntary capacity as programme planners or managers, during their week-ends or evenings, who are immediately latching on to the issues involved and willing to manage and monitor the programmes carefully. This may develop into a veritable movement in alternative education in Rwanda and a major instrument in the drive to achieve education for all. MINEDUC is to be commended for having taken the first step. It now needs to produce and tighten recommended guidelines to providers on planning and implementing catch-up programmes.

The partial cost of three catch-up centres for a three-year period 2002/3-2004/5 is estimated at 4.2 million FRW for 540 children over three years, which is a unit cost per pupil of over FRW 2,500, for 80 per cent school materials, the training of nine teachers, monitoring and evaluation of the programme. The figure does not include teachers' salaries or provision of classrooms/centres and mats, tables or chairs (MOE, 2002a: 60).

Revising the draft catch-up curriculum

The three-level draft curriculum being used during the first year of the catch-up programme would benefit from integration and clearer focus on learning outcomes relevant to the children. Flexible approaches are needed, and learner-responsive methods and content, particularly with regard to language programmes⁵⁴ and to the importance of staggering language acquisition: emphasizing mother tongue in the first 12-15 months before starting French, so as to facilitate *fast* learning. Programme planners and curriculum planners, need to keep their eye on the *accelerating* feature in the catch-up programme, since the children are to learn twice as fast as children in school, due to their advanced age, discussed below. For this reason the conditions of learning have to be conducive for learners, and programmers need to select the most appropriate curriculum and the most efficient methods for *effective, accelerated* learning at each stage of the programme. Tests such as the MLA series⁵⁵ need to be developed for primary school and catch-up learners so as to monitor the effectiveness of both programmes – giving equal consideration to the targets of catch-up and formal programmes in test design – and in order to facilitate the crossover of learners from one system to another.

A principle to remember

The concept of ‘catch up’ or *rattrapage* or acceleration is that pupils in these programmes are going to learn *faster* than other children. The rationale is that, since the children are older than primary-school children, they are *at a later stage of cognitive development which will enable them to learn much faster* than younger children. Worldwide research bears this out. For this reason, only children of the appropriate cognitive developmental level, that is, preferably over 10 years (or over 12 years or over 15 years), should be admitted into accelerated learning programmes.

54 Compare the sound communicative approach used in the primary school French syllabus, in the 1990s and even in the 1980s, but not yet reflected in the Catch-Up classical French syllabus which will not respond to learners’ immediate needs and is likely to demotivate them. The Catch-Up STE programme reflects more closely the excellent primary syllabus. While in principle out-of-school programmes should use specifically designed and more innovative programmes (if the teachers are sufficiently trained), there is a great deal of sense in reflecting primary programmes in the Catch-Up classes, but adapting them, if the primary programmes are pedagogically sound, motivating, learner-responsive and likely to appeal to out-of-school learners.

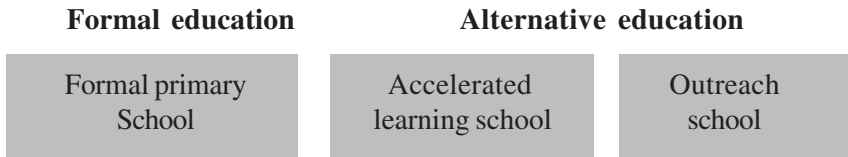
55 The Monitoring Learning Achievement programme generated in up to 40 countries has tested levels of learning from pre-school to lower-secondary school, with technical support from UNESCO and UNICEF.

Children of six to nine years – or at the Rwanda official entry age of seven years – should be in primary school where the curriculum has been designed for their age or cognitive developmental level. One major error would be to put children under 10 years into catch-up programmes.

Not all alternative programmes are accelerated programmes. If the alternative programme goes at a normal pace, it is simply a different programme but not an accelerated or catch-up programme.

The need for more – but different

Finally, it should be pointed out that some children will never have the time to come to classes for three to four hours every day. They cannot access the small feeder schools or alternative programmes in the catch-up programme mode. They are too busy working for their parents or for themselves, in order to find enough to eat. There is the case, too, of child-headed families, where the child head has a full day of work in addition to domestic chores. The question here is whether children in such difficult circumstances can keep up, let alone catch up. Any ministry of education may well ask itself how it is ever going to provide schooling for children in these two latter cases. It is suggested that the alternative programmes above provide a key to the dilemma, and the embryonic peace education programmes run for some time by the Ministry of Youth and Sports provide another. If it can be established that such children have one afternoon a week or one afternoon every fortnight, to gather in a centre for one hour of games and one hour of structured learning, such outreach programmes should be called ‘school’. This will make the children feel integrated into the national education system, pending special consideration for access to full-time or part-time education programmes later in life. Such a scheme will require good record-keeping of education opportunities in childhood. The two-hour weekly outreach programmes should be carefully planned and structured, using every minute of the children’s precious time in activities that they find useful and enjoyable. They should make the child, every child, feel that she or he has been reached by the long arm of MINEDUC. The programmes can be given a Kinyarwanda name that attracts children and makes them feel valued. In this way Rwanda would have provided for all the children, during these interim years, with formal school programmes and alternative education programmes. The alternative programme would include: (a) accelerated learning programmes, for example, the catch-up classes, and (b) out-reach programmes. They would all be called *school*.



Rationale for the enactment of EFA now

There is a final rationale for the out-reach programmes. In the current report there has been an underlying theme that Rwanda is a special case, and that it is no mean task to reconstruct an education after a genocide. It takes special people and special planning – and a special programme – to resuscitate and to rebuild a nation after such tragic events, and it takes vision, as depicted in *Vision 2020* of the Rwandan Government. The concept of EFA takes on a special meaning in a country like Rwanda. If education is to be provided as an opportunity, if school is to be a place of security, protection and happiness, a symbol of normalcy, and of peace, then it has to reach out to every child. It is vital that no child is left out; *or feels left out*. It is unacceptable that 25 per cent of the primary-age children should be outside school in Rwanda today, and that those 25 per cent children are probably the most destitute and the most abandoned, by family and by the wider national and international society. It was also noted above that 94 per cent of the adolescents are out of school. By definition, according to the goals Rwanda has set itself, those children need to be reached. One could add that the most needy children should be reached by their own ministry of education, not just by some peripheral NGO. Every single child needs to be gathered into some official education programme, and followed up by the Ministry of Education until their basic education is completed. Education has been torn apart by discrimination and exclusion in Rwanda and the education system has systematically excluded some children. *Someone or some group has always felt left out, since the 1920s*. The present government aims to change the complexion of opportunity in Rwanda. It has committed itself to inclusion, and to hope, through that same system of education now reformed and totally transformed.

The resentment that the children out of school must be feeling needs to be dissipated and all children must be brought into the fold of education, somehow, some place, and *now* – before any more post-war children feel the brunt of any new deliberate or inadvertent discriminative act. We do not know whether the children currently out of school are Batwa, Batutsi

or Bahutu, since no one is permitted any more to classify themselves by SI group inside or outside the school system. We cannot assume that the children out of school belong to any one, or to two, or to these three SI groups. We cannot assume anything about the proportions of or numbers of children in these groups among the in-school and out-of-school population. The only way to be sure that no one group is less served than the other, and *perceives that it is less served*, is to get all children into school. This means reaching out to all with the formal and alternative programmes proposed, encouraging movement of learners from an outreach programme to an alternative programme and, in time, to a formal and more prestigious education programme. Such initiatives as alternative education programmes need urgent attention and support from the highest echelons of the Ministry, and sound mainstream funding, to demonstrate to all children that they have a place in the new Rwanda and in order to reach the targets of EFA.

The conclusions are:

- education for all cannot wait in Rwanda, due to considerations unique to Rwanda;
- programmes for out-of-school children are urgently needed, eight years after the war;
- innovation is extremely difficult in emergency situations;
- more thinking has to go into exposing new planners to innovation;
- mainstream donors/agencies should support mainstream government more attentively regarding innovations;
- adult education needs fresh input;
- the mainstream Ministry of Education needs direct influence upon adult education, through official structures and with programmatic inputs.

5.4 Cost and financing

On the macroeconomic front Rwanda has achieved sound results since 1994. The growth rate is stabilizing and was 5.5 per cent in 2001 (MINECOFIN, 2001b: PRSP). GDP per capita is US\$260, with inflation kept at 4.4 per cent. However, 65 per cent of the population lives below the poverty line and external debt represents about 65 per cent of the annual GNP. From 2002 Rwanda is expected to receive debt relief under the Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) arrangement. Other factors

should be kept in mind: agriculture currently contributes 47 per cent to GNP, 72 per cent of the exports and employs 91 per cent of the population; the industrial sector contributes 19 per cent of the GNP and employs 2 per cent of the active population.

Direct costs of education to households

A listing of costs to households was carried out in 1998, as *Table 5.3* below indicates.

Table 5.3 School costs per pupil to households, 1998

Item	Quantity per year	Item cost	Total cost FRW
Textbooks	8	545	4,360
Exercise books	20	140	2,800
Pens	15	50	750
Pencils	3	50	150
Rubber	1	50	50
Fees	3	300	900
Total essential costs			9,010
Uniform	1	2,000	2,000
Grand total			11,010

Source: Adapted from SCF, 1998: 44, reporting *PRA Poverty Update 1998*.⁵⁶

Costs may well have risen since 1998. In late 2002 the estimate of 11,000 FRW per child in primary school (US\$22) is a severe deterrent to registering children in school. A family with three children in primary school would be expected to use 25 per cent of family income on schooling. With one child in secondary school, it would cost over 21,500 FRW (about US\$43) or 17 per cent of the family annual income to pay the fees, exclusive of uniform, writing materials, bedding, transport, etc. As other reports point out, “many children attend school without the necessary scholastic

56 The items costed in Table 5.5 were identified by the Poverty Update (1998), reported by SCF (1998). While, for a short period, during the reconstruction phase in Rwanda, schools used a semester system, in order to catch up on the lost months of the school year in 1994, by 1997 the three-term system had been re-established, hence the adaptation of the table.

materials” (SCF, 1998: 44) but this only serves to indicate the extremely deprived conditions in which children are learning and the need for urgently reviewing the list of essential materials for school. It underlines, also, the necessity for MOE to speed up textbook distribution schemes, curriculum review, change in teaching/learning methods and the marshalling of complementary agencies to assist with provision of basic learning materials for the poorest children. It also means re-assessing the role/cost of uniform in schools. Curriculum integration would cut back on the exorbitant requirement of eight textbooks in any class in primary school (sometimes reported as 15 per year). Change in teaching/learning methods could include reducing exercise book requirements by, for example, using slates for a variety of classroom exercises. The most important investment in education from the government standpoint would be teacher capacity building, to ensure efficiency in education and to avoid waste and mismanagement of parents’ contribution to schooling and state subsidies.

Government allocation or the unit cost per primary student to the state was reported as FRW 6,745 in 2000 (MOESTSR, 2002a: 22), which is about half of what households spend on education (FRW 11,010) or 39 per cent of the total cost of primary education (*Table 5.3*). Depending on how costs are calculated, other reports indicate that the family bears 90.6 per cent of school costs, 4.5 per cent are borne by the state and 3.9 per cent by other organizations (MOESTSR, 2002a: 22).

The Ministry allocates a fixed sum of 5,000,000 FRW per province for primary education, whatever the school population or number of schools in the area or the GER/NER. During the study, primary schools reported that they receive no financial inputs from their district education offices. As noted in the case of one school in Nyamata, a high proportion of children receive fee waivers, which drastically cuts school-fee revenues. There are no data available – or perhaps no data analyzed – on the level of fee exemptions as a proportion of fees expected/needed, nor the level of school incomes.⁵⁷ At present the shortfalls in school incomes due to fee waivers are not compensated by any mechanism.

57 Across the country 95 per cent of the ‘schools’ (state? assisted? private?) operate fee-waiver mechanisms and in Ruhengeri Province all schools provide some fee waivers (MOE, 2000a) but there is no information on the proportion of shortfall in income represented, the percentage of children exempted, etc.

Identification of some avoidable costs in the education sector

Signs of inefficiency, and of avoidable costs in the education sector, include the high repetition rates and increasing drop-out rates over the past five years (17.5 per cent average drop-out rate for the six grades in 2001):

- The high drop-out rate is mainly due to the unaffordable costs to households of primary education. Boys drop out due to 'lack of interest' while girls drop out due to work for their families. More than one-quarter drop out due to poor performance (failed examinations). As many as one-sixth drop out due to illness.
- In 2000/2001 the repetition rate was 36.1 per cent. About 55 per cent of those between 7 and 20 years who have attended primary school had to repeat at least one year. Forty-five per cent of first-grade children repeat (MOESTSR, 2002a: 16).

The reduction and elimination of high repetition and drop-out rates present opportunities for reducing the cost of education and using saved resources for upgrading and expanding the system. It is likely that increased investment in the quality of education could stem the repetition and drop-out rates, while the provision of fee waivers or subsidies to poor households, or the provision of free primary education, could retain children for longer in school while rationalizing education costs. Reference must be made, again, to opportunities for uniform cost substitution and to overhauling the curriculum, to reduce costs.⁵⁸

Budget allocations

In 1990 MINIPRISEC received 22 per cent of the government recurrent budget (for primary and secondary schools), while higher education was allocated less than 2 per cent (Cooksey, 1992: 4). Data for 1996-2000 are given in *Table 5.4*. It shows increased allocations to education since the war, rising from 12 per cent in 1996 to 20 per cent in 2000. *Table 5.5* indicates the sub-sector percentages of total government budget allocated to MINEDUC over five years.

58 Staff at a private primary school in Nyamata district told interviewers for this study that they urgently needed a second teacher for P1. With 112 children in the year group and one sole teacher, the options were to retain uniform or to provide the salaries of three teachers for one year with the same uniform money. In other words, options exist.

Table 5.4 Education budget allocations, 1996-2000

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
% of total GOR budget allocated to MOE	12	17	21	20	20
Recurrent budget ('000,000s FRW)	6,025	8,498	11,392	11,712	21,810

Source: MOESTSR, 2000b: 22.

Table 5.5 Unit cost ratios in the education sector

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Ratio primary to higher	36	53	56	83	147*
Ratio secondary to higher	8	16	13	24	35
Ratio primary to secondary	5	4	6	3	4

* Refers only to students studying in Rwanda.

Source: MOESTSR, 2002b: 22.

Table 5.6 Education sub-sector budget allocations, 1996-2000

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
% allocated to primary	73	69	66	60	44
% allocated to secondary	16	17	21	17	19
% allocated to higher	11	14	13	23	37

Source: MOESTSR, 2002b: 22.

Allocations within the education budget changed dramatically over the years, from 73 per cent in 1996 to primary education, and a sudden drop in 2000 to 44 per cent (Table 5.6). The secondary allocations were steady, increasing slightly. The allocation to higher education rose from 11 per cent to 37 per cent in the same period, taking the increase from the primary sub-sector. While enrolments in primary schools have risen during the post-war years *the retention rate has decreased, the repetition rate remains high, teachers' salaries are extremely low and schools lack essential books, materials, supplies and equipment*. This would indicate a need for increased budgetary allocation to the primary sub-sector. Table 5.6 shows the ratio of unit costs in the three sub-sectors, one to another.

The wide gap in unit costs between primary, secondary and higher sub-sectors, is indicated in *Table 5.6*, which rises to a peak primary/higher ratio of 1 :147 in 2000 if the numbers of students and estimated costs are taken into account (MOESTSR, 2002*b*: 17). This means that for every one student in a tertiary institution, 147 primary pupils can be schooled. The Ministry has noted the consequences of the extremely skewed allocations relating to primary/higher education and is making provision for other financing for the higher sector, not least a loan scheme to students which is expected to relieve the Ministry of considerable funding commitments to the higher sub-sector in the future. The Ministry would argue that the pattern of funding to the sub-sectors in education was not arbitrary but was the result of carefully weighed decisions on the primacy of revitalizing the higher-education sub-sector. Despite the high level of commitment to the university, a number of departments in the science faculty remain closed (MOESTSR, 2002*b*: 10), evidently due to lack of funds. This points to the continuing challenge for the government of finding sufficient funding to match the goals in capacity building that it has set itself.

A new financial planning instrument has been developed, the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF), which symbolizes the government's move from short term, relief-oriented annual plans to three-year rollover plans and allows for more realistic projections of spending. Currently the government is planning for 2003-2005. It will allow planners to match resource availability with resource requirements over a three-year period. The MTEF is, in turn, oriented by the PRSP and *Vision 2020*, the government's prime policy documents. Five-year development plans are expected to start in 2006. Education is now considered holistically as a sector and Rwanda is developing a sector-wide approach (SWAp) for the development and implementation of the Education Policy and Education Sector Plan. For planning and management purposes the Ministry has selected five foci or programmes:

- Pre-primary and primary education: goals are UPE by 2010 and EFA by 2015;
- Secondary education, including technical and vocational education;
- Higher education;
- Scientific and technological research;
- Institutional support.

Financing education

The Rwandan Government first aims at developing a coherent sector-wide plan for education, prioritizing goals and matching programming with resources available. It also targets cost reduction and internal efficiency. Increased internally generated budgetary provision will be available for education as the national revenue grows. The track record of the new Rwanda Revenue Authority has demonstrated that more efficient collection of taxes makes a significant input into increasing internal resources. On the strength of these plans the government will continue to invite external partners to assist with educational development in Rwanda. A new factor is the growing contribution of the private sector, mainly to secondary and higher education. The government is ready to work in collaboration with the private sector, and is aware of the need to rationalize joint education programmes with the churches in Rwanda since they represent continuing important partners in education provision.

In conclusion, the government's aim is to increase its funding to education, in order to shift the heavy burden of financing education off the shoulders of households and off the shoulders of the children themselves. Communities will be invited to make significant input into decision-making regarding planning and expenditure at local levels, and to organize ways of contributing to local education funds. Increased efficiency in tax collection at both central and local levels is expected to generate more internal financial resources for education. With sound revenue collection and use of innovative planning instruments, for example, the SWAp, the government expects to attract increased financial support from internal and external partners. The local partners include the churches. Among the lessons learned is that government needs to offer technical assistance to such local partners for proper analysis of their current and potential contributions in the future, to rationalize and optimize the church/state partnership.⁵⁹

The final point to make is that teacher training, teacher education and capacity building, have not received sufficient attention in terms of planning or financial support. Education in emergencies will, in future, need to focus more on these areas. Rwanda urgently needs to make a

59 SNEC is about to embark on a first thorough costing exercise of its past and present contribution to the education sector. It would gain immeasurably by access to some of the external technical assistance which the Government of Rwanda currently uses for such analyses.

significant investment in the sub-sector in order to ensure the quality of education and to maximize other financial inputs to schools.

Lessons learned

- Government needs to offer technical assistance to local partners for proper analysis of their current and potential contributions to the education sector in the future, in order to optimize partnership. This would be particularly useful for state/church partnership in Rwanda.
- Education in emergencies needs to focus more on teacher education and make a substantially increased financial input, in order to ensure the quality of education and to maximize other financial inputs in schools.
- Cost analysis on the financial contribution of/demands on households needs to be made early, to highlight unrealistic demands made on poor families.
- Capacity building at school level should include expenditure analysis and resource identification, in order to facilitate planning from the start and to rationalize financial decisions.
- Sector-wide planning should start as soon as possible during the reconstruction period, to avoid piecemeal and unsustainable financial inputs.

Chapter 6

Analysis of the interviews

The purpose of interviewing pupils in schools was to hear the voices of children and to get a flavour of their perceptions and experiences in terms of schooling in Rwanda today. The assistant consultant interviewed 18 pupils, mostly in mother tongue, on a one-to-one basis during field visits to nine schools in the east, west and south of the country, in the provinces of Kibungo, Cyangugu and Kigali-Rural. Interviews were conducted in the north, in Gisenyi and Ruhengeri Provinces with provincial and district education officers, school heads and directors of CFJ and alternative education programmes. Since 90 per cent of the population currently lives in rural areas in Rwanda, pupils were interviewed from schools in rural areas or in small provincial towns. Schools chosen reflect a range of school types: government, government assisted (mainly church schools) and private schools, primary and secondary. They were all mixed schools. There was no attempt at scientific random selection, due to the small size of the sample. Pupil respondents were chosen through a preliminary visit to sixth and twelfth-grade classrooms (P6 and S6), where the interviewer had an informal discussion with the class, noting those pupils who were ready to talk and appeared to have information. She then chose a boy and a girl from the class. If there were children from child-headed families she would make a point of selecting one of them. The interview lasted one hour per pupil. An unstructured and flexible format was used. The guiding questions are reproduced in *Appendix 3*. During the interview Kinyarwanda was used, which is the most common language of communication in Rwanda today. This enabled the interviewer, who was anglophone, to run similar interviews with both francophone and anglophone pupils.

Heads were also interviewed on a one-to-one basis but in several cases both the head and the deputy were not in the school and the teachers did not have access to the school statistics, nor did they always know the history of the school. Since schools do not have telephones it was not possible for the district education offices to inform schools of the visit in advance.

The first interviews with pupils, in Nyamata, were conducted by the assistant consultant during a visit with the author to Nyamata schools. The interviewer took notes during the interviews and wrote them up in full within 24 hours, attempting to capture all that was said by the interviewees in addition to the questions posed or interactions with the interviewer. The transcripts were checked by the author, and discussed between the two consultants. The remaining two interviewing days were conducted by the assistant consultant on her own. Transcripts were then e-mailed to Nairobi. All interviews with heads and other officers were conducted by the author, except for interviews with heads of schools on the two last days of school interviews, which were carried out by the assistant consultant.

6.1 Profiles of the children

The schools

The nine schools where interviews were carried out are listed below (*Table 6.1*):

- two government schools;
- three assisted schools – the ‘*libre subsidié*’ schools which are usually church-owned but where teachers’ salaries are paid by the government, and which benefit from government-organized and funded teacher upgrading services, advisory services and textbook distributions;
- four private schools.

The three so-called urban schools are not typical of those found in big towns or in Kigali. They are probably better described as rural-type schools in very small provincial towns.

Table 6.1 Selected data on nine schools where pupils were interviewed, November 2002

Schools	School type	Started	Students			Teachers			PTR
			F	M	T	F	M	T	
Maranyundo Primary	Gr	-	-	-	874	-	-	17	55:1
Kanzeze Secondary	Gu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gihundwe Primary (assisted school, owned by Pentecostal Church)	Ar	-	637	507	1,140	15 (88%)	2 (12%)	17	67:1
Gihundwe Secondary (assisted school, owned by Pentecostal Church)	Ar	1972	221 (31%)	500 (69%)	721	6 (24%)	19 (76%)	25	29:1
Kabale Secondary (founded by Catholic Church)	Ar	1982	325 (43%)	439 (57%)	764	-	-	-	-
Kibungo Primary	Pu	1998	-	-	185	-	-	-	-
Nyamata Secondary (founded by community)	Pr	1995	-	-	730	5	24	29	26:1
Imena Secondary - mixed (founded by parents' association)	Pr	1987	-	-	430	-	-	-	-
ASPEK Secondary (founded by parents' association)	Pu	1986	457 (71%)	183 (29%)	640	6 (22%)	21 (78%)	27	24:1

Key: F=female, M=male, T=total, PTR=pupil/teacher ratio G=government school; A=assisted school; P=private school; r=rural, u=urban

The children

Next, the profiles, status, and experiences of children are reported, first in the form of a matrix (*Table 6.2*) for the purpose of giving a quick overview; second, to provide data for some quantitative probing; and, third, to lead into a qualitative report on the children’s stories.

In addition to the matrix overleaf, *Appendix 1* includes additional biodata and details on the respondents. It also has alphabetical reference lists of the children’s (fictitious) names.

Table 6.2 Matrix on essential data from 18 respondents

CI	Sx	Ag	CI	O	L	Ex	Rw	Sc	Cx	YX	YS	CR	W	YL	Tst	Ast	Gui
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
A	M	15	P6	2	R	C	P1	R	P2	2	1	P1	1y	3	N	N	“Y”
B	F	13	P6	v	M	B	0	0	0	2	0	P1	0	1?	n/a	Y	N
C	F	18	S6	v	R	U	0	S	P1-6	6	6	S1	0	0?	DNA	N	N
D	M	22	S4	F	M	Rw	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	n/a	Y	n/a
E	F	17	S3	2	R	T	0	S	P1-2	10	2	P2	0	1*	DNA	Y	N
F	M	17	S1	F	R	C	NA	R	P4	2	2	P5	18m	3	Y	Y	N
G	M	19	S6	v	2	Rw	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	N	n/a
H	M	22	S6	2	R	C	P6	R	S1-2	2	2	S2	1y	2	DNA	Y	?
I	M	15	P6	F	M	C	P1	R	P2-3	4	2	P3	0	5	Y	N	N
J	F	15	P6	v	2	C	P1	R	P2	2	1	P3	0	2	N	N	N
K	M	22	S6	2	R	C	S1	S	S1-2	2.5	2	S3	2y	5	N	Y	N
L	F	21	S5	F	H	C	P3 S4	S	P4-S1	4	4	S2 S5	0	“3”	Y	N	NA
M	M	20	S6	F	M	Rw	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Y	n/a
N	F	20	S6	2	R	Rw	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Y	n/a
O	M	16	P6	M	F	T	0	R	P1-2	3	2	P2	3y	3	N	N	N
P	F	14	P6	v	2	Rw	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	N	n/a
Q	F	20	S6	2	R	B	0	S	P1-S5	20	11	S6	0	0	DNA	Y	N
R	M	20	S4	M	R	T	0	S	P1-5	5	5	P4	0	2	Y	Y	N

Child L moved backwards and forwards between Rwanda and the Congo. Read columns 8 and 13 with column 10.

Key:

1. C – Child's identity code
2. Sx – Sex: F= female, M= male
3. Ag – Age, current age in years
4. Cl – Current class in school (October 2002)
5. O – Orphanhood status: F= father dead, M=mother dead, 2= 2 parents dead, v= both parents alive, present
6. L – Pupil lives with: 2= 2 parents, F= father, M= mother, S=stepmother/father, R=relative, H=husband
7. Ex-country of exile: B=Burundi, C=Congo, T=Tanzania, U=Uganda, Rw= remained in Rwanda
8. Rw – Last class attended before fleeing Rwanda
9. Sc – Type of school attended in exile: R= R refugee camp school, S= ordinary national school
10. Cx – Classes or grades completed in exile
11. YX – Years in exile
12. YS – Years in school during exile
13. CR – Class entered on return to Rwanda
14. W – Waiting (months/years) before returning to school on return to Rwanda
15. YL – School years lost due to war /exile. *Started P1 late, due to war, exile or both.
16. Tst – Tested before being allocated to a class back in Rwanda: Y= yes, N= no
17. Ast – Children who currently receive assistance or support for schooling
18. Gui – Guidance, direction or help received from authorities on how to re-enter school on return/ after the war
n/a= not applicable DNA= data not available

Sex (Matrix column 2): Of the 18 students sampled, eight (44 per cent) were girls and 10 (56 per cent) were boys.

Age, school grade (columns 3-4): The mean age of children interviewed in sixth grade (P6) was 14 years among girls and 15 years for boys. In twelfth grade (S6) the average was 19 years for young women and 21 years for young men. Six of the children were in primary school (P6) and ten were in secondary, ranging from S1 to S6, mainly in S6.

Orphans and indigent children (columns 5-6): One-third of the children (six) have lost both parents while another one third (seven) have lost one parent (five lost fathers, two lost mothers). One-third have both parents alive, many of whom are further categorized as 'very poor'. One home had been abandoned by the father. That is, 78 per cent of the children in the sample (14 of the 18 children) are having to manage without one or both parents. Three of the children were living with both parents (two of these families had stayed in Rwanda during the crisis), three with their mother, one with his father and a student in twelfth grade lived with her husband. Eight children (44 per cent) were living with relatives in the extended family – four of them older brothers, others with uncles, grandparents or a cousin.

Child-headed families: The age of 18 is generally taken as the threshold for adulthood but in Rwanda a child-headed family is defined as one where the head of the family is under 21 years. At least one child in the sample was a member of a child-headed family, perhaps two or more, but data on age of the guardians were not always available. Thomas⁶⁰ who is now 15 years old, in sixth grade, was found to be the sole member of a child-headed family – that is, the sole certainly identifiable member of a child-headed family – across the sample of nine sixth to twelfth-grade classes visited. He was living with a sister of 20 years, a brother of 19 and one other older sister. They returned from the Congo six years ago, when the eldest sister would have been 14 years old and Thomas was seven. As noted above, it is possible that those with currently married ‘older brothers’ could be from former child-headed families whose head of family has grown into adulthood since they all returned to Rwanda in 1996. Léonard’s brother would have been 19 years old when they returned from the Congo. We do not know the ages of Chantal and Evariste’s older brothers, or Agnès’ brother in the military. In other words, first, the experience of living in child-headed families could have been more widespread two or three years ago than the sample indicates. Moreover, the phenomenon of child-headed families is declining in terms of war-related causes. However, the continuing spread of HIV in the eastern Africa region means that family life is still under threat and that unfortunately child-headed families are not a thing of the past.

Not one of the schoolchildren in the sample was the head of a child-headed family. This finding points to the rarity of such children in schools. It is even more significant that (a) the sole child from a child-headed family in the sample was in primary school, not secondary school, as if it is well-nigh impossible for such a disadvantaged child to ever make it to secondary school, and that (b) this child was, ironically, among the minority of children in the sample without assistance from the state or any organization. But, as Thomas put it, it is likely that his little family did not know how to articulate its needs or how to make its needs heard, and that the local authorities found it all too easy to pass it over with excuses like having to pay health insurance first – which by definition it could not afford – or ‘no one is too poor to pay 200 FRW school fees’, as Léonard was told once (see more on this in *Section 6.4* below).

60 All names have been changed to protect the identity of the children.

Assistance with school fees (column 17): Ten of the 18 children were being assisted with school fees, or exempted from school fees, on grounds of poverty or orphanhood.

For purposes of comparison between the sample and at least one school, the breakdown of pupil profiles in terms of socio-economic background was as follows in one school in the Nyamata area (*Table 6.3*).

Table 6.3 Orphaned and indigent children in one Nyamata District primary school, 2002-2003

Children in school	Orphans – lost 2 parents	Orphans – lost 1 parent	Children from very poor families
874	105 49 boys, 56 girls	209 89 boys, 120 girls	78 53 boys, 25 girls
Total orphaned or indigent: 392 (45%)	314 (36%)		78 (9%)

Thirty-six per cent of children in the school were orphaned (*Table 6.3*), which is a higher percentage than the 33 per cent of the 18 children randomly interviewed. In addition, 9 per cent more children were attested by the local authorities as coming from destitute families. Forty-five per cent of the children are officially living under extremely difficult circumstances and are not paying school fees.

6.2 The process of reintegration into the system

The reintegration of the schoolchildren returning to Rwanda with the children who had remained in the country during the war was a challenge. Despite the non-representativity of the interview sample, it is interesting to see the spread of experiences among the 18 children.

Table 6.4 Country of exile

Child exiles	No. (%)
Congo	7 (39%)
Tanzania	3 (17%)
Burundi	2 (11%)
Uganda	1 (6%)
Total	13 (72%)
<i>Remained in Rwanda</i>	5 (28%)

Table 6.5. School systems experienced, 1994-1998

Systems	No. (%)
In francophone schools	9 (50%)
In Rwanda	5 (28%)
Total in francophone schools	15 (78%)
In anglophone schools	3 (17%)
(1 child not in school)	

Tables 6.4 and 6.5 give the following information, adding to that of the principal matrix (Table 6.2).

Countries of exile (column 7): Five of the children interviewed (28 per cent) had remained in Rwanda throughout the war but as many as 13 children (72 per cent) of the 18 interviewees returned from exile, from four different countries (Congo, Burundi, Uganda and Tanzania). Most had been in the Congo (39 per cent).

Experience of five national systems: Eight of the returning children had been in francophone systems (Congo and Burundi) and four (22 per cent) were from anglophone countries (Tanzania and Uganda). One child in a Tanzania refugee camp school was also in a francophone (Rwanda) refugee camp system, making a total of nine (50 per cent) returning from francophone schools. In addition to the five children who had remained in Rwanda, 14 children (78 per cent) had attended francophone school systems during the war and 17 per cent had gone through anglophone systems in regular Tanzanian or Ugandan schools. But this added up to five different national systems in five countries, and six languages of instruction (French, English, Kiswahili, Lingala, Kirundi, and Kinyarwanda).⁶¹

In refugee schools and regular national schools (column 9): Six of the child exiles had been in refugee camps and attended refugee schools. The other nine children had been in regular schools during exile. Only one of the children in exile could be described as having spent her school career in that country. The other children were, in most cases, exiled for two to six years. It seems as if there was more chance of attending a national school than of finding a refugee school in the camps.

61 Tanzania's primary schools use Kiswahili as medium of instruction. Burundi uses Kirundi and French. Uganda uses English. Congo uses Kiswahili in the east, Lingala in Kisangani, and French. Secondary schools use French or English.

Waiting (column 14): To the credit of the welcoming mechanisms set up back in Rwanda, many of the children managed to get back into school immediately on their return, which was the case of Frédérick, then 14 years old, who had completed P3 in the Congo, returned in August 1998 and was in school at home by September of that year. Léonard waited 18 months: “When we came back we had nothing. We were very poor. So I could not just go back to school.” Evariste waited two years, earning money for the family until his elder brother could take over his role. Even at that point, after the difficult decision had been taken to go back to school, he was again forced out of school for six months due to lack of fees. Amos was also out of school for three years after his return because no one in the family bothered to send him to school. He was 11 years old at the time.

Guidance on readmission or reintegration into schools (column 18): Thomas came back to Rwanda from the refugee camps in the Congo when he was 11 years old, with his brothers and sisters. Both his parents were dead. “The Nyumbakumi leaders [the local authorities] came to check on which children should be in school and wrote down their names. But as returnees, we were not given any special treatment [or fee waivers].”

Not all children were guided back into schooling. Amos explained: “I was not really interested in school at that time. I was 11 years old, and at home they did not encourage me” He was living with his father, stepmother and his stepbrothers and sisters. “Later my cousins made me see the point of going to school again. I had to go back to P2,” although he had completed that level already in Tanzania in the camps. Evariste had been orphaned when he came back to Rwanda at the age of 16. He went to live with his stepmother and her children. “I had to help out. My mother baked bread and I sold it for her. I had a bicycle and I ran a bicycle-taxi service, carrying people about the town for money in addition to the bread sales. At that time I did not even bother to find out if I could find support for continuing my school career.” Eugène had explained: “I did not really try to get assistance.” It is as if the onus was on the children to seek assistance rather than any government agency coming to seek them out. Moreover, no communication reached them on where and how to find assistance. In both cases these were alert young boys of 15-16 years old.

Going through ‘ingando’: On return home the older children had to go through *ingando*, the two-month solidarity camps, which were organized until mid-1998 to reintegrate youth back into the nation and

familiarize them with the concepts of national unity, reconciliation and development. Returning youth were coming from a variety of circumstances, some had spent four years in the camps, some had joined militia groups while in exile, some had been victims of the genocide, some had been involved in the 1994 killings. Some had been in schools, others had roamed the eastern Congo. There are continuing short, two to three-week *ingando* programmes in Rwanda since youth are still returning from the Congo.

Entry requirements: There were no entry requirements as such for re-entering or for starting school back in Rwanda but it is not known if some children were turned away due to lack of places in school or due to lack of fees, or both. The waiting time of some of the children would indicate that there were problems. In general, however, children were welcomed back to school.

An innovative schooling strategy: Evariste was nothing if not inventive when he 'returned' to Rwanda: "I chose a secondary school just over the border, in the Congo, where it is easy to cross in and out. The timetable there was better for me than in the Rwanda schools since we finished school at 1.30 pm every day and I could continue to sell bread for my stepmother in the afternoons. The school facilities were poor and the learning materials were not enough, since it was a private school. But there were plenty of teachers." To illustrate how porous borders are, Marie crossed back and forth over the Congolese border during her childhood, living in the Congo, schooling there before the war and through the critical 1994-1996 years, while her father worked in Rwanda.

Class placement/Testing (columns 10, 13, 16): Back in the Rwandan schools, four of the 18 children reported as having been tested (3) or as having to show documentary and official proof (1) of having completed classes in exile, in order to be placed in the appropriate class (column 16). This requirement is more typical of secondary than of primary. Of the 12 children who returned from schools in exile, two children repeated two years, four repeated one year and six children were promoted to the next grade (columns 10 and 13). Some of the children had managed to attend school during all their years in exile. Others were not so lucky and lost one or two of the years they were away out of their two to four years (columns 11 and 12).

Changing language: On his return, Emmanuel felt that although he had completed fifth grade in Tanzania, he should start fourth grade all over again “because the system here is different”. He also realized that in P4 “children start to learn French” and he decided that would be the best place to start his reintegration into the Rwandan school system, in French. “At first I found it difficult ... [but] I managed to pass. I am now in the francophone section of my school [in tenth grade, S4], doing mathematics and physics.” The decisions young Emmanuel took at the age of 15 years seem to be paying off; and he seems to have made them all on his own. He learned French effectively and has been accepted into the most demanding upper-secondary science course. Monique is a 17 year-old orphan now living with her paternal uncle and in ninth grade (S3) of secondary school. The uncle was kind enough to pay for private French tuition for her when she returned to Rwanda from Tanzania, after having completed P2. She repeated P2 in Rwanda. “Now I am in the francophone stream of my school and I have no problem.” She has only lost one year due to repetition and having to take up French.

A family decision: More frequently, pupils were assigned a class at the simple request of the parent and the child himself or herself, rather than by the school. This is the testimony of the children, not the teachers, who were not asked this question; and it is corroborated, in a sense, by the remark of a head teacher who notes that despite the new MOE policy of automatic promotions “clever parents have come to ask to have their children repeat”. This was the way one school head put it in Cyangugu Province. In other words, the ‘culture of repetition’ as it was called in Namibia some years back (Fair, 1994), has been fully assimilated by parents in Rwanda and a substantial proportion of children are *expected to repeat* in order to demonstrate the health of the education system which everyone wishes to be selective and exclusive.

Thomas was 11 years old on his return from the Congo. He had done P1 in Rwanda and then P2 in the Congo. “I spent a whole year outside school and I had forgotten what I had learned, so my family advised me to go back to P1. I was not tested when I joined the school.” The ‘family’ Thomas is talking about would have been a sister of 16 years and a brother of 15 years. As many as half of the parents and the children in the late 1990s generally requested for the returning children to be put back into the class they had left in Rwanda some years previously, despite

the schooling they had received in exile (columns 11 and 12), while half requested for their children to move to the next grade. Agathe was not so lucky. Her father had her put two classes back, in primary school, which is cheaper, so that he could manage the secondary fees for his son.

It seems that children have not repeated grades in the Rwanda system, that they were encouraged to move ahead, and that schools respected the policy of automatic promotion. The masses of children streaming back into Rwandan schools must all have been in a rather shaky position in terms of readiness to restart classes. It would have been difficult to determine who was more in need of special attention (or repetition) than the other. The decision of schools to respect the wishes of parents and children regarding the class of reintegration was a wise one. There seem to be no regrets.

Settling down: It was not only the children back from neighbouring countries and different school systems who found it a challenge to settle into the post-war Rwandan school system with its diverse pupils. Habib is 22 years old and he has never travelled out of Rwanda. He has just moved to a private secondary school, into tenth grade (S4), which has both anglophone and francophone streams. He explained that his grades in ninth grade were not good enough for the entrance requirements of the government schools he had applied for. "My first experience here was a bit of a shock when I found a mixture of foreign cultures in this school, cultures from Uganda, Tanzania, Congo, Burundi, etc. This was so unlike my former school, where we were all from Rwanda." The interviewer explained that Habib kept referring to 'the Congolese and the Bagandas, etc.' in his new school, seeing them as foreigners rather than as Rwandans. "At first I was confused and rather scared as to whether I would fit in. But slowly I am getting used to it all and I have even made friends among these people. By the end of term I will even have started speaking some of those foreign languages!" he broke out laughing. "In general, the students are friendly and we get along all right."

6.3 The lost years

There is a positive side to the picture, which has been narrated above, but there is also a negative side which can be depicted mainly in the schooling years lost by almost everyone during the crisis and the aftermath of the crisis. Some children repeated classes, few were tested. Some

waited for as long as three years before attempting to rejoin school. Some gave up hope – but circumstances turned in their favour.

Lost years – those who stayed behind

The disruption of schooling was not only experienced by those in exile, but war inevitably disturbed the schooling of children who stayed in the country (column 14). Habib dropped out of school in Rwanda when the war started. He had completed primary school. After that: “For three years I worked as a driver. I was earning money! – but later I decided to go back to school”. There is other evidence in Habib’s story that he is used to taking his own decisions and initiatives, and it is likely to be as he describes it, to have been his own idea to return to school. “I decided to go back to school and I am determined to make it.”⁶²

Lost years – The children in exile

Children who fled Rwanda lost between zero and five years schooling (column 15), an average of two years; six children lost three-five years. What is surprising, perhaps, is that they lost so few years. It was only children who spent long years in exile in Tanzania and Uganda who benefited from uninterrupted schooling in the host country. *Appendix 2* gives full details of their experiences in exile: the poor quality of teaching in the camps – according to the children’s accounts – the lack of materials, and the enormous difficulties facing both teachers and learners, not least the fact that in the Congo, schooling was not authorized in the camps for most of their stay. Refugees who managed to get into national schools, albeit for a few years, fared better. But the exiles were acutely aware of being unlike their hosts, of risking threat or disadvantage as foreigners and of the need to hide their identities and their difference. What interests us here is their return to Rwanda. They were all overjoyed, relieved to be free to be Rwandans again, to live under their true name, not to have to ‘pretend not to be Rwandan’ and ready to put up with some of the shortcomings of the Rwandan school system that they found on their return.

A bonus for some

The case of Amos, now in P6, is interesting. He had not been in school before the family fled to Tanzania. He was eight years old at the

62 With hindsight it would have been interesting to ask the other students who stayed in Rwanda how they fared during those years. This would be a useful study to conduct in future.

time. His family had never shown much interest in education. When Amos came back to Rwanda he might never have been sent to school – but Amos had been in school in the camps and that, together with the influence of his cousins, produced a bonus for Amos. Maybe it was the experience of exile in the refugee camps in Tanzania which provided the opportunity for this rather neglected little boy to go to school. Amos now has ambitions to go to secondary school and become a doctor or a trader like his father, but he is worried about school fees.

In conclusion, it is to the credit of parents, the Rwandan Government and to humanitarian agencies that education was made available during a significant proportion of the war years inside and outside Rwanda. This is surely a major lesson learned from the experience, that *education was a key preoccupation of those who were involved in reconstructing Rwanda, inside and outside the country, and that it boosted the rehabilitation of the system once normalcy was restored.* Children streamed into school.

6.4 A matter of money

School fees and other costs

Term school fees, called the ‘minerval’, are 300 FRW in primary schools (about US\$0.60). But school committees have taken the wise decision in many instances of reducing this to 100-200 FRW in rural schools. Fees in the schools visited during the consultancy were as indicated in *Table 6.6*.

Table 6.6 Term fees in nine selected rural and provincial town schools

Level	School type	FRW
Primary	2 government schools – day	200
	1 private school – day	10,000
Secondary	1 government school – day	4,500
	1 government school – boarding (hostel fee)	15,850 (11,350)
	1 assisted school – 1 assisted school – boarding	11,000
	2 private schools – day	12,500 + 2,500 levy 12,000 – 18,350
		537 FRW = 1 US\$, October 2003

In addition to school fees, parents have to buy uniforms, generally one uniform, which costs around 2,000 FRW in primary school and up to 8,000 FRW in secondary school – but a street-wise child can get even his secondary uniform for 2,000 FRW in the market if he searches long enough. The MOE has decided that school uniforms should no longer be compulsory, but this information has not yet trickled down to all district education offices or schools. In a district education office less than one hour away from the capital city, the consultant was shown the 1989 directive (now obsolete) on compulsory uniform. In another district, Déo has taken a chance, to save on the cost of uniform at his private school: he has simply not bought one, banking on the hope that he will not be sent away from school. “Uniform costs 8,000 FRW but I have not bought one. They usually don’t send us away for not having one.”

“Each pupil must wear a school uniform. Its colour, the quality of its material and its cut are determined by the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education.”

Législation sur l’enseignement primaire, rural et artisanat intégré et secondaire, (MINEDUC, 1989, Chapitre II.12, translated).

Who pays? Some children pay full school fees (tuition and boarding if relevant), and bring their own bedding. They buy their uniform, exercise books and pens. Orphans and children from very poor families may receive a fee waiver at primary level. In such cases the fees are not made up to the school by any body or organization. The school simply has to make do without the income. In the case of one school in the Nyamata area, there would be a shortfall of as much as 45 per cent of the expected fees. At secondary level children may apply for subsidies from the Ministry of Local Affairs (MINALOC) or from the Genocide Survivors’ Fund (FARG), which pays fees directly to schools. MINALOC pays fees only. FARG bursaries are more generous. They cover tuition and boarding fees, and some other costs. NGOs, churches and some other benefactors may provide bursaries which also include writing materials, transport costs to and from school, uniform, and soap. Evariste found a benefactor within the school: “After some time, after sending me home all the time to collect money, the headmaster was just kind to me. He let me live in the school free as one of the boarders. Perhaps he did this because I was performing well.” Evariste

still has to pay 25,000 FRW per year, and buys his uniform, to top up the MINALOC bursary of 30,000 FRW per year.

Teachers reported that some parents only have enough money to start their children off in school, primary or secondary, and that after the first year they run out of funds. While the school tries to find alternative funding it is sometimes the case that children who are performing well are allowed to remain in the school without paying any fees at all – including cases reported by ASKEK secondary school, which is run by a parents' association.

Many of the children now in school come from very poor homes and have no money at all to pay for 'essentials', such as exercise books or pens, or uniforms. Others come from big families which places a heavy burden on the breadwinner, as the children testify. Agathe comes from a family of seven children: "Sometimes when I need 15 exercise books I am only given a few because I have to share with my brothers and sisters." Expenses are kept to a minimum: "Only when we need to buy things like salt do we sell something from the land," explains Déo. This is the case also with Léonard and his 25 year-old brother, who live together now and who say that they have a reasonable-sized plot of land: "Our *shamba* is not small, so we cultivate food to eat. Usually we don't produce enough to sell but sometimes we are forced to sell some of it in order to buy things like soap and salt." Emmanuel describes the struggles of his guardian: "My grandfather, who tops up the school fees that MINALOC subsidizes for me, is just a peasant. So he does not have much really. We have a big *shamba* and he sells crops." The grandfather and the grandson between them find the extra funds required. It seems that even families with the bigger *shambas* have problems producing enough surplus for sale.

Habib, who has just started tenth grade (S4) at a new full secondary school lives with his widowed mother and younger brother. "Since my mother is poor it is difficult to get fees." Habib took the initiative of finding financial support for himself. "I approached the NGO Tumerere and, surprisingly, it agreed to pay my fees. I am saying I was surprised because I didn't know anybody there, but it willingly listened to me and helped me. It pays my school fees [30,000 FRW] and provides me with books and pens, money for transport to school, bedding, soap and cooking oil. I am very grateful for the support I get."

Sabine is 13 years old, the youngest child interviewed. She lives alone with her mother: “My mother works from home, cultivating the *shamba*.” The father has abandoned the family. “Compassion International pays school fees for me because we are poor, and gives me exercise books, pens, uniform, and even soap and cooking oil. So I am happy with this assistance.” Sabine feels good about school and about life in general, no doubt as a result of the helping hand of the supportive NGO. The interviewer noted that the child looked healthy and well cared for, and smiled a lot.

Léonard says that when he searched for assistance for primary schooling, “I got no support from the authorities. I don’t know if others succeeded but I know that at that time, if one went to them saying, ‘I am poor and I cannot afford school fees’, they would say: ‘*Ntamucene ubura 200*’ (No one is too poor to pay FRW 200)”. He stayed out of school for 18 months. Now MINALOC pays his fees for secondary school and he tops up with money he is starting to earn. He is selling kerosene. “My major problem now is my accommodation. In my brother’s house there is no electricity so it is difficult to study at nights. I would have preferred to stay in the student hostel but I cannot afford 11,350 FRW per term.”

The one child in the sample who came from a child-headed family could find no assistance for school fees or even authorization for a fee waiver. Thomas is 15 years old now and, somehow, has managed to stay in school long enough to reach sixth grade. He explains that he has tried to get a fee waiver but, “although I am an orphan, I have failed to get it. We were told to first pay *miture* (health insurance), so as to get school=fees exemption.” The child looked downcast: “But we do not have enough money for *miture* ... I like my school. But what I do not like, is being sent away from school to get school fees, since I am never sure that I will be able to find those fees. I also don’t have enough exercise books or pens.” The interviewer commented that Thomas was quiet and reticent. He looked down most of the time, scratching the soil.

Children earn their fees

Some of the children work in order to pay their school fees, buy uniform and stationery. They make and sell bricks, work on construction sites, sell paraffin, or chickens, and hire out their labour on neighbours’ farms. Thomas says that the four siblings in his child-headed family “cultivate the land and we grow our own food. Sometimes we work on

the *shambas* of our neighbours. One can make about 300 FRW a day. *Amafaranga tuyabona atugoye*” (we get money through hardship). And, “out of these earnings we pay my fees and buy exercise books and other things.” Déo helps his mother in the *shamba* to grow food for the family and produce a little surplus to sell in the market. Agathe explains that for their family of nine, two parents and seven children, “we do not have enough place to dig. Sometimes we have to borrow other people’s land in order to get enough space to grow our food. Food is not plentiful at my home.” Emmanuel has been making bricks and doing some masonry during the holidays. He earned about 10,000 FRW to put towards his school fees and expenses. Eugène was given a loan of 5,000 FRW by his parents. He bought and sold chickens, paying back the loan and making a profit of 2,000 FRW, enough to buy his uniform, school books and pens. As one of the rare pupils living in a home with two parents, Eugène seems to have already benefited from positive parental role models, support and encouragement. The contrast between this home and others is palpable.

Léonard, at 17 years, recently admitted into the first year of secondary school, has wasted no time at all. He learned the hard way: he was the child who was told ‘no one is too poor to pay 200 FRW’ by the sector leaders! In the first three weeks of his arrival in the rural town where his new school is located, he has started up a little business. He stays with his older brother. “Since I came here I have been trying to make some money. I sell kerosene: I buy a 5-litre jerrycan at 1,200 FRW and I make a profit of 300 FRW. I only have time to do this in the evenings and at week-ends, which is not enough. But what I have earned so far is going towards buying my uniform, books and pens. I am planning to raise chickens so as to support myself properly.”

The work ethic is tangible and strong among the children, as is their sense of responsibility towards their families. When Evariste returned to Cyangugu from the refugee camp in the Congo at the age of 16 years, he put all ideas of schooling out of his head. He knuckled down ‘to help out’ as he put it, to support his stepmother and her children by selling the bread she made, and also by contributing to the family income by running a bicycle-taxi *bodaboda* service. It was not until his older brother came out of prison three years later and was able to take over the income generating that “I gave him my bicycle and decided to go back to school in 1999”. But Evariste’s contributions to the family income did not stop there. He did not need money for school fees since his older brother had

started paying the fees “but I wanted to help out in the family to show that I could be useful”. So he chose a school over the border in the Congo with morning hours of study only, so that he could continue to sell bread in the afternoons for his stepmother.

Girls in secondary schools: The large number of female students in private schools is perceived by some heads to be the result of the male population being decimated by the genocide. However, national statistics indicate that the cause is lower admission of female secondary students into government and government-assisted schools, which forces girls to look for higher-cost places in the expanding fee-paying secondary schools. Other heads realize that girls’ performance in the selection examination is relatively low, which bars them from the competitive entry into government schools. “Some places [in government schools] allocated to girls have to be filled by boys.” Heads 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 inequitable allocation of secondary places over the past seven decades is still too fresh in people’s minds to bear the idea of reintroducing quotas or some type of affirmative action in the education system for any sector of the population, however disadvantaged they may be. Another explanation for girls’ lower participation was given by Agathe in sixth grade, who explained how her brother’s school career had had to take preference over her own. Problems are multiplying for her since she has to repeat the sixth grade in addition to the fifth grade and is now two years behind schedule, although she remains an optimist.

How girls lose out, year by year

My father made me repeat P5, although I had passed the exam for P6, so that my brother could go on to P6. He said he could not afford to have two children joining secondary school at the same time.

And now she has failed to get into secondary school at her first try:

I am bright. I could have passed the P6 examination but I got one mark less, so I am repeating. But I hope to make it this time. I wish to be a doctor in future.

Agathe is now 15 years old. She spent two years in the Congo camps where she lost one year’s schooling.

Many of the secondary schools have married students. It was reported that some female students enter seventh grade at the start of secondary school with as many as five children. Marie, in eleventh grade (S5), has a child two years-old. “I am lucky since my child stays with my mother so that I can concentrate on my studies.” She seems to have been out of school for three years, around the time when her baby was born.

6.5 Settling back into school in Rwanda

■ Joy

There are a number of features that the children single out to explain why they are happy to be in their own home schools again. “I am happy to be back,” said Agathe, smiling. She had left on foot for the Congo when she was seven years old, trudged all the way to Kisangani, and all the way back home to Rwanda two years later, still on foot. “All the children are treated the same in this school”, unlike in other schools – she mentions a prestigious school in a western province, “where children are put down by teachers if they have come back from another country”. In Agathe’s primary school the relationship between teachers and pupils is good. “Out there you had to pretend not to be Rwandan. Here nobody will discriminate against you because of that. In Rwanda everybody is capable of learning”, of succeeding. “It just depends on your ability.” It is the same experience in a Cyangugu secondary school: “I am happy with what I am learning”, added Evariste, “the teachers are good and competent and teachers and students get along well together.” Sabine had been in good schools in Uganda but now: “I was happy to come back to Rwanda. I like Rwanda!”

“I am happy to be back in Rwanda!
I feel good!
I feel welcome!”
exclaimed Emmanuel

■ The spectre of discrimination

Sabine feels totally at home, in contrast with the treatment she got in the foreign schools which made her uncomfortable and discriminated against whenever she relaxed and spoke her own language. Many of the

students contrast the discomfort – which several pupils called ‘discrimination’ – of being singled out as different and ‘other’ in schools in other countries, contrasting this experience with the relief and happiness they now feel in their Rwandan schools, where they can speak their own language and be fully Rwandan without any negative consequences. This is a critical factor in making pupils feel welcome and at home back in their schools.

■ Enthusiasm

They have a generally positive view about the education system. Emma sums it up: “I have hope in the education system. Most things are improving. The curriculum itself is improving with the introduction of bilingualism in schools. And nowadays there are many qualified and confident teachers, not like before the war.”

Children’s perceptions of the Rwandan school - positive

Schools with a good reputation: It makes a good deal of difference if students feel they are in a school with a good reputation. This is plain both to the older primary pupils and to the secondary students. Eugène, who is now 19 years old, chose his secondary school deliberately, transferring from another school which he was not satisfied with. His current school offers the particular specialization he requires, namely, commerce and accounts, and the school has a reputation for good results, which was a further attraction. Dorothee, who is only 14 years old, and in the senior class of primary school, says the same: “The teachers help us to study hard. Most of the pupils passed last year, 18 out of 20,” she quotes, “so many more parents brought their children to the school this year.”

Getting down to their studies: For Monique it is the welcome respite from agricultural work that she appreciates in her Rwandan school. In Tanzania she remembers spending more time in the fields than in the classroom, even in the first two grades. “What I like about school here is that we concentrate on our studies and we do not have to do hard labour. All we do is clean our classrooms and the school compound.”

Rwandan teachers: In contrast with schools they attended in exile, the children say that Rwandan schools are good, particularly the

management style which is responsive to students, and the kindness and discipline of the teachers. “Here I find school good compared to the Congo”, declared Marie, now in eleventh grade (S5). “The teachers come to class regularly in Rwanda and when you ask questions in class they listen to you.” Emanuel agrees: “Here in Rwanda our teachers try very hard to teach us – although sometimes we lack teachers, especially in science subjects.” In contrast with the teachers in one of the neighbouring countries, who would only do overtime for extra pay, as the students put it, Déo says: “Teachers usually come into the library to help us revise”. Dorothee says that in her private primary school, “The teachers help us to study hard, even on Saturdays.” Monique in ninth grade (S3) describes the teachers in her government secondary school: “Our teachers do not dodge classes!” she says, contrasting this with the experience she had had in exile. Other pupils very much appreciate the relatively high qualifications of the Congolese teachers in Rwanda. They are only worried, however, that some of these good teachers will soon be leaving the country.

Agathe says she is very happy in her primary school, where teachers do not discriminate between the pupils when punishing them, as she has heard they do in other schools – they only beat them hard, *indiscriminately*, if they come to school late: “We are caned strongly, about four-five lashes, and we cry.” Amos in P6 says: “The teachers are good. When we make mistakes they cane us – but just a few lashes, so it is normal.” Corporal punishment is considered a routine affair, as in other East-African countries, and it may be common in Rwanda.

Agathe has experienced the care and individual attention of forgiving teachers, particularly the younger teachers. She places great store by the teachers’ attitudes to pupils, their kindness, reasonableness and understanding, and was excited to talk about her young teacher: “She does not get angry quickly... if we give her a good reason [for arriving late] she does not punish us or beat us.” “Our teachers are good,” explains Dorothee from P6 in a private primary school, “if a child falls sick in school they get you a lift home”. She is also pleased about the fact that “the women teachers sometimes organize talks for us about our bodies and health. They give us advice.”

Management style: Chantal returned to Rwanda after doing almost all her schooling in Burundi. She is now in twelfth grade. “What I like about this school is that students are well treated by the administration,

they are respected and the administration talks to them.” Eugène feels that the management pays attention to the needs of students. He explains that if the students complain about the quality of the food, the school responds immediately and changes the menu. “This is why we never have strikes”, he explains. Déo is also impressed by his school: “School is good, the management is good, we have enough teachers and they are all qualified.” Eugène’s school has a water problem, which means that students have to walk about 2 kms to fetch water. The school has regularly kept the students informed about the plans to provide a source of water within the school. So the students feel confident the problem will be solved and they do not complain about the water issue any more. There are other features that students appreciate about how their schools are run and the way they handle finances. Eugène’s school is very understanding about fee payments, allowing students to stagger the instalments up to the time of examinations, at which point students are instructed to go and bring fees back from home or forfeit the examination. Students feel this is reasonable. Monique also appreciates the way her school reacts to the constant delays of her MINALOC bursary: “School authorities are always kind and do not send us away”. Déo’s school has gone as far as purchasing textbooks for the students, who used to have to buy their own. The three schools keep students informed about management issues, listen to students and are responsive to them. This creates a good and happy atmosphere in the school.

Innovations: Most children like the new language policy in Rwanda: “in Rwanda we have the opportunity to learn three different languages: French, English and Kiswahili,” said Monique in the ninth grade at present, who had been in the Tanzanian national system. A child who had been at a refugee school in Congo echoed this view, appreciating the addition of both French and English to the sole fare of Kinyarwanda that he had had in the refugee school. Another liked the fact that her school had taken the initiative of getting them access to the nearby public library, with a term fee of 100 FRW, which she seemed to think was reasonable.

Sports: 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 organizes 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.”

Facilities: Déo is in a private school founded by a parents’ association and considers himself well provided for: “We have enough food: we eat rice, *matoke* (boiled bananas), *posho* (maizemeal) and beans; and the refectory is big enough for everybody. We have water at the school and electricity.” Eugène says of his school: “The buildings are good, and it’s a quiet area” conducive for study.

Feeling at home: The children are enthusiastic. Frédérick in P6 says: “I have made friends and I like it here. The teachers are good. School is better here than in the camps.” Marie’s conclusion, after many years in Congolese schools, was: “I still say that the education system in Rwanda is better.” Chantal declares: “I am happy to be back – in fact I always wished to come back to Rwanda, only that we had problems with our parents dying [in Burundi] one after the other and I could not leave my siblings. We had to wait until my brother made arrangements for us to come back.”

Dorothée is 14 years old, from a middle-class background. Her father is a salaried employee with Rwandatel, the telephone company, and she lives in Kibungo. She is perfectly happy in her provincial setting, likes her friends at school and feels that she is in an excellent private school. The family never left Rwanda and she appears to mix comfortably with the children who have returned from exile.

Sabine, the youngest respondent in the sample at 13 years old, says brightly: “There is nothing I don’t like about school. I feel good about it. I enjoy learning. I like my teachers, even if they sometimes punish us when we come to school late or we misbehave. I also like being with my friends at school.”

Children comment on the shortcomings of Rwandan schools

The quality of teaching and learning: The private schools can be overcrowded: “In a private school everyone thinks they can make it, so they just join. We are congested in class, around 60 pupils. If we were 30 in a class all the students could participate. I am training to be a teacher

[through the secondary pedagogical option] and I feel participation is very important,” notes Emma. More importantly, Habib is worried about the teaching and learning standards in his private secondary school. He is in one of the francophone streams: “The teachers do not seem competent and generally the standard is low. Some of the francophone students cannot construct a sentence in French. The low standards could be the result of the number of pupils in the class – in my class we are 65 students and it is difficult for a teacher to give and mark exercises in such a class.” The grass is always greener somewhere else: “I think the students in the Anglophone stream are brighter.” Many students also complained about the lack of learning materials and equipment. “Our school is considered great but we have never seen a computer”, remarks Emmanuel. The expectations of Rwandan schoolchildren are evidently rising.

Teacher behaviour: Sabine does not have a good opinion of her teachers in a private boarding school. “Our teachers are like dictators. They are too imposing. Sometimes they treat us badly, in that they do not listen to us. They think that what they say is final. I think they are aware that teachers are in demand and so nothing will be done to them even when they treat us badly.” Agathe has heard about teachers ‘mistreating pupils’ in a primary school in Cyangugu. The teachers there discriminate between the returning exiles and the children who had stayed in Rwanda. This is the ultimate misdemeanour in the eyes of schoolchildren in Rwanda, ‘discrimination’. After the recent history of Rwanda, teachers, above all people, are expected to treat all pupils the same. One of the students left the secondary school he previously attended due to poor management and the unprofessional behaviour of teachers with girl students. The affairs were brought to public notice, published in the newspaper and some teachers were expelled. The girls were suspended from school for one week.

Management: Poor schools lose their students. One boy with continual financial difficulties and as many as seven siblings in the family – and therefore without much choice when changing schools – left his previous school due to the poor management. Most schools do not replace teachers if they are away on leave. In small schools students are simply left without a subject teacher.

Dealing with problems on one’s own: Chantal has just returned to Rwanda, and is in twelfth grade. She is adjusting from her previous Burundian school system to her new Rwandan school: “I am rather

frustrated coping with this different system. I am behind and everyone else is ahead of me. I am trying to see if other students can help me catch up. The teachers have too much work to do to help me and if I asked for private coaching I would have to pay for it.” She can’t ask her brother for help. “I would not expect extra assistance from him. He is already doing so much for us and I do not think he would manage this.” I love sports but I am not doing them for the time being so as to concentrate on my studies. Another student found the Rwanda social-science subjects too content heavy as compared with what she had studied in Tanzania.

School facilities: Other shortcomings of the Rwandan schools compared with the government schools pupils attended in exile, include the state of the buildings, which they say are ‘not in good shape’. “Rwanda is progressing,” observes Emmanuel who did most of his primary schooling in Tanzania, “but most schools have no facilities, yet I hope to advance in technology.” As recently as only one year back one of the schools was still occupied by soldiers in Cyangugu Province. Furthermore, schools lack some essentials that were looted during the war. Another student says: “We do not have a dining hall so we eat in our dormitories.” In some of the private parents’ association schools it can happen that beds are so short that two students have to share one bed. Several schools are without water. At least two of the boarders note how far they have to go to fetch water for the school: “We have to walk a long distance to collect water from the swamp.” They worry about falling sick: “The hospital near our school is expensive.”

Government schools are reputed to be of better quality and fees are lower than assisted and private schools, due to heavy government subsidies. “We paid only 8,000 FRW in my government school but we had better buildings, good food, better teachers and smaller classes, of about 35 children. Here we pay 30,000 FRW a year. I can only say that it is not good to be in a private school and if possible, after this year, I have to look for a better school,” says Habib.

Distance: Dorothee walks one hour to primary school. “Parents are trying to organize transport to bring children to school but I do not know when this will start. We don’t go home for lunch, so someone brings us food from home at lunchtime.” One of the secondary schoolboys changed schools due to the two-hour walk he had to do twice a day.

Costs: The financial burden of schooling is an ever-present worry for the children. Now that access to secondary schools is being slowly eased by the mushrooming of private schools, anyone who wants to go to secondary cycle can do so – if he/she pays. The main constraint of private schools for parents is the cost. “In the government school I went to before, one pays less fees and my MINALOC bursary paid for everything. Here, at this day school, my uncle has to top up with 15,000 FRW every term.” Even the costs of primary school can be a major worry. “I like it in this school,” said Frédéric, “but fees are a problem for some of us.” He and his two siblings attend the local government primary school and have to pay 200 FRW per term, a total of 1,800 FRW per year. “Other orphans do not pay fees but we do. Because my mother, who is a widow, has employment – she works as a secretary – we have no fee waiver. She has to pay school fees for the three of us. This is really beyond her means. If I look at life at home, we do not have much and she cannot support all of us. For example, when she has to buy uniform for the three of us, this costs her FRW 7,000. Somebody else should be supporting us as well.” One of Frédéric’s little brothers is handicapped. He lost his arm in a land mine-accident in the refugee camp.

Summary of children’s perceptions on schools

The points in the above two sections are summarized in *Table 6.7* below. It seems that Rwandan schoolchildren know what they want. They also understand the problems the country is going through and are prepared to be patient. In general, they are happy with their teachers and appreciate the individual care they get, and the understanding of teachers. At the same time they are quick to point out the failings of some teachers’ and schools’ management style, in particular when teachers demonstrate any form of what the children call ‘discrimination’. While it is a trait of schools worldwide to include some teachers who fail to act with fairness, in the Rwandan context it has to be avoided as much as humanly possible since the children are still sensitive to any form of discrimination, unfairness or injustice. They crave to have it demonstrated to them, by their education system, that justice can be done.

Table 6.7 Children’s perceptions of school in Rwanda

Good schools	Bad schools
Schools with sufficient numbers of teachers	Overcrowded classes; insufficient teachers
Competent and well-qualified teachers; teachers who work consistently	Teachers incompetent/unqualified; absentee teachers (for official or unofficial reasons)
Teachers ready to work extra hours to prepare pupils for examinations	Teachers only interested in money
Teacher/pupil relationship is good and children are happy	Teachers make returning children feel bad; male teachers have affairs with girl pupils
Teachers who listen to students, are caring and kind	Teachers who do not listen to students and act like ‘dictators’
Schools which make all pupils feel comfortable, e.g. willingly let Muslims go for prayers on Fridays	Schools which discriminate against pupils, or make some pupils feel marginalized, e.g. discriminating between returnees and the rest
Flexible schools	Very strict schools; refusing students exit permission
Schools with high entrance requirements	Schools with a mixture of student abilities
Good management which communicates well to pupils, listens to pupils, and responds to their needs – which cares for them when they are ill	Poor management where no one listens to pupils
Schools where girls get advice on reproductive health	Schools where male teachers have affairs with girl pupils
Variety of sports, for both girls and boys	Sports given insufficient attention
Schools with sufficient learning materials, which give them free or within the fees; which organize a textbook purchasing scheme	Insufficient learning materials; schools which do not provide textbooks
Schools with good buildings; with adequate boarding facilities	Schools with poor buildings. Boarding schools with insufficient equipment: pupils have to share beds
Water source within the school	No water
School near home	Distant school
A school where you can make friends	A school where you struggle on your own

6.6 Children's aspirations in Rwanda

The optimists

Evariste from Cyangugu, who forgot about school for three years while he toiled to contribute to the family income when he returned from exile, selling bread and running a *bodaboda* bicycle-taxi service, declares confidently: "I know I could have a bright future if I could join the university." This would indeed be a reverse of fortune for him. Emmanuel, who lives with his grandparents who struggle to send him to secondary school with their meagre earnings from the *shamba*, is a man of the new century: "I hope to study [information] technology [even though] most schools have no facilities yet." He is very happy to be back in Rwanda and to feel he is in a country where he will never be disadvantaged as he was during exile.

Habib also dropped out of school, and worked as a driver for three years to earn money for his widowed mother and younger brother. But he is back at school now, having found a supportive national NGO to help him. "I am determined to make it!" he says laughing. The interviewer noted how jolly he was, with a very positive attitude towards life and willing to talk about his school experiences.

Frédéric, who is younger, at 15 years, is completing his sixth grade in primary school this year. He looks happy and at ease: "Yes, I am hopeful about the future. I am in the best school in Cyangugu and the best three students came from here. I hope to join a good secondary school in Butare next year. I like school". He wants to be a mechanic like two of his uncles. His other uncle is a musician. Frederick's father is dead. Evidently the extended family provides him with some male role models and this could be one reason for his happy disposition, that he is not without male family members to look after him.

Dorothee is 14 years old, soon finishing primary school. She is one of the few lucky children living with both her parents. They had stayed in Rwanda during the whole crisis period. Her father is employed in Rwandatel, the telephone company. "I am happy with what I am learning. I feel school is important. When I see the students in secondary school, I get encouraged to continue. I would like to be a journalist – I see them on TV. The way I see it, journalists are people who know a lot of things."

Agnès has plenty of complaints about her Rwandan school but, she says: “I’m very hopeful I will make it to university. Despite all the problems, I like what I am learning and I am hopeful about the future.”

Some are less confident

Eugène, who is 19 years old, in twelfth grade (S6), said pensively: “I am not very sure about my future. Many people are now graduating. I might not get a job. On the other hand I am grateful to get this education, even if I do not get a job I have the knowledge and with the course I have chosen, COCO (commerce and accounts), I might even be able to borrow money and do business.” This is the young man who trades in chickens during the holidays, who knows how to manage a small loan from his parents and has already learned how to contribute significantly to his school expenses.

Déo’s mother is widowed. She struggles to eke out a living from the land and, with some help from relatives, to provide for her five children. Déo, who is finishing twelfth grade this year, muses: “I am not sure if I am hopeful about the future, but I will do my best.” Finishing sixth grade, Amos is in the same position. He is unsure of the future: “I do not know if I will really pass my examination but I wish to continue with my studies – unless things change, and my parents cannot afford to pay for me any more.” He lives with his father, his stepmother and stepsiblings.

Chantal has recently returned from Burundi, where she has spent most of her life, now orphaned, and struggling to cope on her own with fitting into a new school system at the difficult stage of twelfth grade. “I think education will definitely benefit me. I wish I could join university, I want very much to join, but I am not sure about passing.” She explains that everyone else is ahead of her and familiar with the Rwandan curriculum. She has to find a way of making it on her own, she says.

One boy, who was orphaned, first lived with his married brother. “My brother’s family looked after me as well as they could but my education was not really their concern and it wasn’t easy to study properly while I stayed there and went to day school.”

Emma is also an orphan, living with her uncle who is a driver, and his family. She had to leave her government boarding school, where

MINALOC assistance paid her fees, since she has gastric ulcers and cannot eat school food. Her uncle now has to pay increased fees for her at the private day school she is attending just one kilometre from the house. “We children who live in foster families have many problems. Sometimes the family is very poor and you will lack textbooks, pens and clothes – and you will not study well.” Understandably, Emma is more preoccupied with the present than the future.

6.7 Endnote on children’s views

Although only 18 children were interviewed, the range of their thoughts, perceptions and experiences is enlightening. It would be useful to conduct a wide survey using a scientifically representative sample of the school population, and the out-of-school population, to find out more about the views of Rwandan children across the country, on their perceived needs and on the status of the education system.

The children interviewed in this study are living precariously with their hopes and their fears, but mainly confident in their future and the future of Rwanda. They are overjoyed to be home and to be in school. They are learning to cope with new school experiences and facing the daunting prospect of trying to stay in school – as long as they can. From what they say, it mainly depends on their financial ability to keep going, since the system is encouraging and child-friendly, the schools are welcoming for the most part, and teachers care for their pupils, give them time and attention beyond the call of duty and are trying their best.

Comment

In the author’s view, it will be impossible in the future to sustain the excellent start in good management processes which the children say are widespread in secondary schools, unless programmes of capacity building in school administration and upgrading teaching skills are made more available. Teachers’ pay has to rise if the current momentum is to be maintained. The second critical area is the cost and financing of education. On the one hand, costs need to be rationalized and kept to a minimum, while at the same time financial support mechanisms to schoolchildren and families need constant review. The selection procedures and budget allocation should be audited regularly. Agencies and charitable organizations must co-ordinate and plan programmes carefully so as to avoid the situation

noted above, where the WFP intervention skewed school entry. This was a case where the type of intervention chosen may not have been needed. Rwanda is poor, but without a proper analysis charity does not produce the desired effect. Systemic assistance is preferred.

Primary children are less articulate about their needs, but the salient factor in these interviews was their sense of abandonment in terms of financial support. Fee waivers can be obtained, but reports from the children indicate that the system fails to cover several deserving cases. In any case, the waiver is insufficient in itself to keep children from very poor families and orphaned children in school. Significantly, children from child-headed families were almost absent from the sixth and twelfth grades in nine schools. Moreover, not one child heading a family was identified among the nine full classes met. This is an additional pointer to the fact that formal schooling will not be able to capture the poorest of the poor, all the orphans, or children in child-headed families, and that the innovative programmes such as alternative education programmes need to be set up to cater for the children in Rwanda who are currently out of school. It has to be remembered that the study was interviewing children *in school* and not those *out of school* who had been missed out by aid programmes.

6.8 Teachers' perceptions and concerns

Preliminary notes: Teachers returned home to Rwanda from at least five countries, from Congo, Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya. In Rwanda teachers in secondary schools are trained to teach only one subject. In the case of teacher absence, such as maternity leave which can last for months, the subject is simply not taught, since in small schools no one can replace the subject teacher.

Performance/achievement: There is a feeling of optimism among teachers in the countryside. Enrolments are rising and performance is improving. One school which presented candidates for the primary leaving examination for the first time in 2000/2001 obtained good results and has been encouraged by this. Schools are happy about the efficiency and transparency with which examinations are conducted. They feel that candidates are achieving the expected results and there are no surprises as there used to be in pre-war days. "I can predict who will pass or fail among my students and this is what happens", said one head.

Teachers feel that “a big step has been taken as far as education is concerned. Most people are aware of the need for education.” Now teachers have the support of the community.

Concerns of teachers and heads: Private schools cannot afford to turn away students since enrolments in these schools are erratic – up one year and down the next. In such circumstances private schools cannot plan intakes in advance and have to accommodate pupils as and when they arrive, with an entry test ‘which is merely a formality’, as they put it. However, there are entry requirements for S3 and S6, the examination years, since schools want to ensure a good pass rate to maintain their reputation.

Reflections of a head on post-war secondary pupils

Pupils come from a variety of backgrounds and school systems. This makes it difficult for schools to shape learners as they would like. My experience with students these days is that they are weaker than before. They find it difficult to study well – perhaps because of the hardships they faced during the war. Many of them lost their parents and property, so they have many problems. Children these days are also very ‘sharp’ about life, they are no longer kids. We have students who were former soldiers – not professional soldiers – they just joined the fighters because of circumstances. They were not prepared for this, so the experience could have traumatized them.

Schools now have to look for their own teachers and recruit them while central funds are sent to district level to pay the salaries. Teachers in towns manage to teach at more than one school and receive more pay. One suggestion was to raise the salaries of teachers in rural areas. Yet, since teachers prefer to work in towns, the rural schools find themselves at a disadvantage. There had been an advantage in the past when central postings ensured that a certain percentage of teachers worked in the rural areas. Heads say that it is particularly difficult to get mathematics and science teachers.

One issue that teachers are not comfortable with is what is called ‘automatic promotions’ from class to class, that is, eliminating repetition. They say it is difficult to enforce the system in private schools. Some of these schools will appear to be doing well but they make several students

repeat and select only the best to sit for examinations. There is already a tension, as they see it, between the government's desire to rank the performance of schools and the strategies schools are developing to present themselves in the best light to the public, particularly in private church schools which are not well monitored by government agencies. One head recommended that decisions over repetition/promotion should be left to schools, as before.

Teachers' insights into the plight of children

Children lack attention and supervision from their parents and foster families. Most parents are busy with trying to find income and provide enough food. In some families children are overworked and very unhappy. Some would even prefer to live in orphanages. Sometimes we have had to intervene on behalf of such children.

Another headache for schools is that government funds for student bursaries from MINALOC and FARG are often delayed, especially the former, yet schools are asked to operate, even when only one-quarter of their students are fee-paying. The late arrival of MINALOC bursaries was corroborated by the student interviews. Heads feel that there is a contradiction here between 'what the government wants and what it does'. "This money never comes in time." Sometimes it is delayed for one term or more. "Yet we have to feed the students and it is difficult to feed all these students without funds. So we have to borrow foodstuffs from businessmen." The 'letters' of intent given to schools by the authorities are not sufficient: "we cannot use these letters to buy food".

A related concern is that MINALOC selection is not efficient, at times giving bursaries to those who are neither orphans nor indigent, to 'those who are known to the authorities'. They recommend the decentralization of the exercise to district authorities which have better sources of information on bursary applicants. The children add that it is a hassle to go and get the annual *icyemezo* or an attestation of eligibility for government assistance for fees. "You waste a lot of time chasing this up and sometimes miss school", one of the students had said. Apparently, if the student performs badly, the *icyemezo* is not renewed.

New teacher-pupil relationships

They can be difficult to manage. For example, 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.

Teachers worry, too, about the children who come to school ‘with nothing’, with no pens, no exercise books and no uniform, no ‘essentials’.

Given the myriad administrative issues that heads deal with, they would like to be given an administrative allowance rather than the current remuneration, which at present is based solely on qualifications, which other classroom teachers are paid. “I wish MPs could come down to the field and see the reality and hear some of our problems.” At present, there is a feeling of neglect and lack of appreciation among the school heads for the tasks they are carrying out.

Comment

Primary headteachers do not teach in Rwanda; they do not have a class as their responsibility, nor do they teach any subjects on the curriculum. Future options could include making all headteachers responsible for teaching a full class, as in many other countries, raising salaries of all teachers, giving a responsibility allowance for heads, and giving more regular advisory support. The children seem to give a great deal of credit to teachers, schools and school management for making them welcome and happy. Evidently, their perceptions are a direct result of the calibre of headteachers. This positive factor needs to be recognized, supported and sustained by the Ministry of Education.

Post-war adolescents

Most of the children these days are experienced in sexual relations. They are very much preoccupied with this. You cannot treat them like kids. They are beyond that stage.

6.9 Lessons learned

Lessons learned from listening to children:

- Education in emergencies counts
 - The provision of education in emergency situations can make the difference between going to school or not going to school and between staying in school or dropping out. It has assisted many children in focusing on school. For some refugee children in camps, the refugee schools can even be the sole mechanism which gets them into school.
 - Good schools
 - Schools/teachers are demonstrating and living out equity in contrast to ‘discrimination’, in most cases. This contributes in a major way to making the children distinctly happy – and these practices could be deliberately and explicitly exploited for civics education purposes.
 - Some schools use excellent management practices and maintain good student/management relations. Such schools could be used in future for capacity building peers in neighbouring schools.
 - Secondary students are clear about the type of school they want to attend: they are looking for a good-quality school, with good management, and dedicated and qualified teachers. Although they appreciate good physical facilities, they can put up with shortcomings if the vital attributes of a well-managed school are present.
 - Many heads and teachers are kind to pupils and go out of their way to help them. The system should strengthen and sustain this quality in teachers when life returns to normal in the future.
- BUT:
- Schools exist, where discrimination or prejudice is overt; they teach learners that ‘things never change’. Inspection of schools needs to specifically monitor teachers’ attitudes towards children.
- Reintegrating mechanisms
 - Selection of the class by the returnee child and the family – not the school – generally proved to be a good decision.
 - The study did not interview children out of school and it is not known how many children have been omitted from assistance programmes.

- The least articulate children and families need the most attention from local authorities in order to hear them, acknowledge them and respond to their needs. There is continuing ignorance among children – especially those living alone or without well-informed parents – about how to approach local authorities and about assistance.
- Mechanisms for repatriation and reintegration into the system have worked for many children, seemingly due to the spontaneous readiness, openness and willingness of schools to take back as many children as possible.

BUT: the study did not investigate cases of children out of school. It is possible that many children did not manage to get back into school.

- Given the need for work and for pay, it would be interesting to explore setting up teams of three or four children out of school per area, who head households, requesting them to identify other children out of school. The team would serve as a mechanism for following up out-of-school children and for officially bringing to the notice of local authorities the situation of children out of school. The teams would be paid (from FARG and MINALOC funds, for example), trained and followed up by MINALOC/MOE. In time, other teams of children in difficult circumstances could be formed, for example, poor children in school, and also trained to articulate their problems to the appropriate authorities.
- School costs
 - Unaffordable school costs keep many children out of school.
 - A high proportion of pupils are in a state of constant threat and worry due to precarious financing arrangements for their fees; and they are anxious about the welfare of their fee-paying parent who is generally overworked, unassisted, extremely poor, hungry, etc.
 - Further analysis of education financing and school costs is needed.
- Children's strengths
 - Children interviewed have a strong work ethic. Schools should capitalize on this in increasing performance levels.
 - Children interviewed demonstrate responsible attitudes towards their families. This trait could be harnessed in school through peace-

- building projects within schools and for community assistance projects.
- Children interviewed are most appreciative when helped or welcomed in a school, whether by teachers or by fellow pupils. Welcoming committees in schools could be arranged to provide organized peer assistance.
- Due to the structured and positive atmosphere in schools, children are generally very happy in school. An analysis of good management practices should be carried out in order to sustain such qualities in the schools of the future.
- The resilience, goodwill and constructive attributes of the child should be taken more into account in future reintegrating mechanisms.

Lessons learned from listening to headteachers' views

- Heads are a critical factor in the current success of schools in Rwanda. They need more recognition, support and capacity building from the Ministry of Education to sustain their good work in schools.
- The roles and tasks of headteachers need review at primary and secondary levels.
- Heads should be consulted by the Ministry of Education in reviewing school costs and school financing.
- The Ministry of Education should be more closely concerned with the financial dilemmas of schools, ensure timely payment of bursaries and make provision for compensatory measures related to fee waivers.
- Teachers' salaries are low. To reduce teacher numbers and re-allocate savings for increased salaries for all, headteachers should teach a full class, as in other countries, and be paid according to responsibilities rather than solely according to qualification at the same rate as other teachers of the same qualification. Only exceptionally large primary schools should have full-time heads. The practice of one head per stream (a one-streamed six-class school) works well in many francophone countries.⁶³

63 Each extra stream added to the same campus is given a new head. All heads teach a full class. A six-class school therefore has six teachers, all teaching full time. The head is paid a responsibility allowance and does extra professional and administrative duties, such as overseeing teachers' lesson plans, observing classes from time to time, planning school development with the PTA, etc.

Chapter 7

Lessons learned

The lessons learned have been collected from each chapter, re-ordered, summarized in some cases and are reproduced here, with reference in square brackets to the original section in the body of the report.

1. Selecting an education system in post-crisis situations [*Section 2*]

Looking back, the perceived role and the veritable role of education in the build-up to an emergency are both of critical relevance for determining the type of education system to be reconstructed or to be put in place after a crisis. The choice for educational planners is to teach children about righting wrongs through enacting good practice, or they can choose to demonstrate that wrongs cannot be righted. This implies the need to analyze correctly – even if summarily – the shortcomings or crimes of the previous education system, to declare a new policy and to immediately provide visible and tangible evidence of that change within the school experience. Rwanda achieved this.

2. In the early days

Consult *Section 3* for the unabridged lessons learned.

- *Ministry lead is the decisive factor for rapidly reopening schools.* Rwanda also achieved this. [3.1]
- Ministry communication capacity at the start is vital and, in future, needs more generous assistance. [3.1]
- *Place greater emphasis on teacher support, as early as possible;* there needs to be a plan; the programme(s) should be of the highest quality possible at the time; teacher-training programmes need to be assessed and documented. Thinking and planning should be way ahead of teacher programmes implemented, in order to incorporate the

necessarily short crash initial courses into a more long-term structure of teacher upgrading.

- Restart familiar school programmes first – trimmed to essentials – rather than innovative inputs, to gain ground more rapidly and to avoid confusing teachers. [3.2, 3.3]

In sum, *emphasize teacher orientation relating to the basic curriculum teachers know best*, rather than dependence-creating supplies, or confusing innovations in which teachers are not trained. Judiciously balance necessary school rehabilitation, supplies distribution, supplementary conflict-related programme inputs and teacher support regarding delivery of the basic curriculum. [3.0]

- Field roles and tasks of different ministries and agencies/actors need better definition. [3.1]
- Co-ordination of effort is vital from the start: The need for improved co-ordination at every level is constantly stressed by all actors. [3.1, 3.5]
- Increase support capacity to returnees at field level and follow up; use local resources more effectively, for example, co-ordinated bodies of religious organizations, local authorities, etc. [3.7]
- Constantly evaluate, and back up innovation with critical programme support inputs. [3.3, 3.3]

For the reference of external partners

- Focus on the nature of consultation: The nature of the consultation between a newly emerging ministry of education and external partners needs to be reassessed by *the external partners*, so that the host ministry regains as soon as possible a sense of significance and control. Simply arranging for consultation is insufficient. [3.1, 3.2]
- External partners need to listen carefully to national planners. [3.2]
- Distinguish between agency assistance with supplies and to school programmes/curriculum. [3.3]
- External partners must be willing to become team players, for the overall good, and agree with others on geographical coverage, for example. [3.6, 3.7]
- In times of emergency, strengths lie in making some judicious exceptions to agency practice, for example, the one-off kick-start payments and food rations to teachers in Rwanda in 1994. [3.3]

3. Achievements of the Ministry of Education and system management [5.1]

- Immediate reopening of schools and visible expansion of enrolments raise the morale of the nation, the schoolchildren, parents and teachers: success breeds success.

BUT: Teacher-training programmes lagged behind the expansion of the sector as a whole and did not receive adequate attention from the Ministry of Education or partners.

- It is cheaper and easier to expand existing primary schools than to create new smaller ones. But this latter model, widespread worldwide now, should also be used in reconstruction exercises where relevant, especially since in some cases, including Rwanda, it does not represent a significantly higher cost.
- Physical reconstruction/expansion of schools takes time. After eight years only 50 per cent of Rwanda's classrooms were constructed of permanent materials.
- Without follow-up mechanisms at community level, those children most in need remain outside school.
- The sector has not yet devised a full range of alternative schooling models appropriate for the most needy children.

The state and other partners [4.3]

- As soon as possible, after an emergency, the state needs to work collaboratively with all significant education providers, to ensure broad and effective support from the significant national players in education.

Church and state [4.3]

- Agencies, internal and external partners, should *dare to get involved* with religious institutions (with the churches, in the case of Rwanda) when the latter are big players in the education sector, in the interests of including all significant actors in planning and sector implementation.
- Use the comparative advantage of the neutral outsider to bring state and church together, to facilitate amicable communication.

- Meanwhile, share information constantly with churches and other organizations outside government on education trends and data, whenever possible, to ensure they feel part of the process rather than a parallel or separate entity.

Private/parents' schools and the state [4.3]

- Agencies should also have facilitated not only the inclusion of private schools in planning processes, etc., from the start, but the early establishment of an association of private schools, to assist them in speaking with one voice with government.

4. Educational supplies [4.1]

- Supply writing materials: first, the blackboard and chalk, second, slates and chalk to pupils and some exercise books. Restrict delivery to essential low-cost supplies, replenishable in future from the local environment. Stockpile such materials, if necessary, in the region.

5. Textbooks and text materials in schools [5.2]

- Emergency text materials are required. Provide text materials to teachers and classes without delay, distinguishing between emergency and medium-term measures. [4.1]
- Provide governments with a guide on textbook or emergency materials provision options. [4.1]
- Early co-ordinated professional attention needs to be given to textbook provision by the government and agencies/donors.
- Textbook-decision delay is costly. Reluctance to engage in innovative textbook development should be anticipated.
- Any textbook decision involves high costs – to be set against education wastage costs.
- Be aware that without teaching materials, syllabuses will not be taught – noting lessons learned on history (below). [4.1]

Options for emergency, interim and developmental decision-making on learning materials need to be proposed to governments in order to capitalize on the efforts of getting children into schools. Options include:

Emergency:

- (a) distribution of a simple textbook-decision guide – or interim learning materials guide;
- (b) emergency copying of vital teacher and pupil materials, in language and mathematics - with a general studies guide for teachers at lower and upper primary, and lower-secondary levels;

Interim:

- (c) reprinting of pre-emergency materials;
- (d) adaptation of pre-emergency materials, and possibly translation;
- (e) off-the-shelf purchase of materials from neighbouring countries;
- (f) translation of materials from neighbouring countries;
- (g) adaptation of materials from neighbouring countries;

Developmental:

- (h) production of new national materials, for compliance with new curricula.

6. Curriculum development [4.1]

- Lighten curricula if possible during the emergency and immediately after, so as to concentrate on fundamentals first and to ‘clear space’ for subsequent curriculum innovation.
- Early on, move from tinkering with syllabuses to curriculum overhaul; and at all times be aware of curriculum balance.
- Be aware that the structure of the education system is as much an item of learning as the syllabus topics. If the aim is to teach equity, schools must practise it through entrance mechanisms, relationships within the school, etc.
- Designate a team of ‘curriculum watchers’ – to monitor and assess the process and outcomes, so as *to maximize curriculum decision-making* and *to minimize unplanned curriculum events*.
- Provide educational planners and decision-makers with exposure to innovations and global developments as soon as possible, structuring the process. [4.1]
- Do not lose sight of vocational education, propose proven short-term packages. [3.2]

7. History and civic education [4.2]

- Note, in the light of experience, that without teaching materials, teachers will simply not teach difficult or sensitive topics.
- Within the first 12 months initiate discussion on history teaching and civics education, knowing that curriculum building will take time in these sensitive but most important subjects.
- When the time is right, assist curriculum developers go beyond syllabus/topic listings to envisaging the lessons, to trialling lessons and to developing teachers' guides and theme/topic materials for pupils. Go slowly.
- Keep in mind that moving from the stage of rebuilding national history to producing a pedagogical course, needs several intermediate steps.
- Find ways of assisting the media to regularly disseminate research findings in populist terms, so that constructive and unifying ideas can circulate.

8. Higher education [4.4]

- Use a thorough, comprehensive, sector approach when reconstructing an education system. Tertiary development is of prime importance to the restructuring nation.
- Break with tradition and become involved from the start with tertiary-level planning processes.
- Be alert to new opportunities in the private sector, in order to conserve more state funding for the public sector.
- In cases where women are underrepresented at tertiary level, use tertiary data to advocate as soon as possible for a supportive programme for girls lower down the system, at secondary or upper primary.

9. Alternative education programmes [5.3]

- Education for all cannot wait in Rwanda, due to considerations unique to Rwanda.
- Programmes for out-of-school children were urgently needed after the genocide in Rwanda and, in future emergency situations, they should be developed earlier than eight years after a disaster.
- Innovation is extremely difficult in emergency situations.

- More thinking has to go into exposing new planners to innovation.
- Mainstream donors/agencies should support mainstream government more attentively regarding innovations.
- Adult education needs fresh inputs, and from the mainstream Education Ministry, much earlier than six to eight years after a conflict.

10. Lessons learned from listening to children and teachers [6.0]

Listening to children [6.1-6.7]

- *Education in emergencies counts*
 - The provision of education in emergency situations can make the difference between going to school or not going to school and between staying in school or dropping out. It has assisted many children in focusing on school. For some refugee children in camps, the refugee schools can be the sole critical mechanism which gets them into school.
- *Good schools*
 - *Teachers' pro-equity practices:* Schools/teachers are demonstrating and living out equity in contrast to 'discrimination', in most cases. This contributes in a major way to making the children distinctly happy – and these practices could be deliberately and explicitly exploited for civics education purposes.
 - *Good student/management relations:* Some schools use excellent management practices and maintain good student/management relations. Such schools could be used in future for capacity building peers in neighbouring schools.
 - *Personal kindnesses of heads/teachers to children:* Many heads and teachers are kind to pupils and go out of their way to help them. The system should strengthen and sustain this quality in teachers when life returns to normal in the future.
 - *Children have clear goals regarding schools:* Secondary students are clear about the type of school they want to attend: they are looking for a good-quality school, with good management, and dedicated and qualified teachers. Although

they appreciate good physical facilities, they can put up with shortcomings if the vital attributes of a well-managed school are present.

BUT:

- Schools exist where discrimination or prejudice is overt; they teach learners that ‘things never change’. Inspection of schools needs to specifically monitor teachers’ attitudes towards children.
- Abolish corporal punishment in schools, to teach lessons of peace practices, after agreement at school level on the development of sanctions. Proceed slowly.
- *Reintegrating mechanisms*
 - *Mechanisms for repatriation and reintegration into the system have worked for many children*, seemingly due to the spontaneous readiness, openness and willingness of schools to take back as many children as possible.
 - *Effective selection of class, by returnees*: Selection of the class by the returnee child and the family – not the school – generally proved to be a good decision.
 - *More support is required for the most needy at community level*: The least articulate children and families need the most attention from local authorities in order to hear them, acknowledge them and respond to their needs. There is continuing ignorance among children – especially those living alone or without well-informed parents – about how to approach local authorities and about assistance.

BUT: The study did not interview children out of school and it is not known how many children have been omitted from assistance programmes and did not manage to get back to school.

- *Let orphaned, out-of-school children participate in managing their re-entry into education*: Given children’s need for work and for pay/food, teams of three or four out-of-school, orphaned children (OOS children) who head households could be set up in each area, requesting them to identify other children out of school and to articulate their needs. The team would serve as a mechanism for following up OOS children and for officially

bringing to the notice of local authorities the situation of children out of school. The teams would be paid (from FARG and MINALOC funds, for example), trained and followed up by MINALOC/MOE. In time, other teams of children in difficult circumstances could be formed, for example, poor children in school, and they could also be trained to articulate their problems to the appropriate authorities.

- *School costs*
 - *Reduce education costs to households:* Unaffordable school costs keep many children out of school and reduce their concentration on learning. Reduce exercise books (15 in P6! 8 in P1!) and other examples of over-provision or inessential items. A high proportion of pupils are in a state of constant threat and worry due to precarious financing arrangements for their fees; and they are anxious about the welfare of their fee-paying parent who is generally overworked, unassisted, extremely poor, hungry, etc. Further analysis of education financing and school costs are needed.

- *Children's strengths*
 - *Children's strong work ethic should be acknowledged by schools:* Children interviewed have a strong work ethic. Schools should capitalize on this in increasing performance levels.
 - *Use children's current peace-building attitudes and practices within school settings, and their many positive attributes:* Children interviewed demonstrate responsible attitudes towards their families. This trait could be harnessed in school through peace-building projects within schools and for community assistance projects. The resilience, goodwill and constructive attributes of the child should be taken more into account in future reintegrating mechanisms.
 - *Formalize peer-interaction mechanisms in schools:* Children interviewed are most appreciative when helped or welcomed in a school, whether by teachers or by fellow pupils. Welcoming committees in schools could be arranged to provide organized peer assistance.
 - *Document current good management practices in schools:* Due to the structured and positive atmosphere in schools,

children are generally very happy in school. An analysis of good management practices should be carried out in order to sustain such qualities in the schools of the future.

Listening to headteachers' views [6.8]

- *Increase support to heads:* Heads are a critical factor in the current success of schools in Rwanda. They need more recognition, support and capacity building by the Ministry of Education to sustain their good work in schools.
- *Increase consultation with heads:* Heads should be consulted by the Ministry of Education in reviewing school costs and school financing.
- *Review the roles and tasks of headteachers* – at primary and secondary levels. Teachers' salaries are low. To reduce teacher numbers and re-allocate savings for increased salaries for all, headteachers should teach a full class, as in other countries, and be paid according to responsibilities rather than solely according to qualification at the same rate as other teachers of the same qualification. Only exceptionally large primary schools should have full-time heads.
- *Improve MOE responsiveness to school financial needs:* The Ministry of Education should be more closely concerned with the financial dilemmas of schools, ensure timely payment of bursaries and make provision for compensatory measures related to fee waivers.
- *Teachers should be trained to teach three subjects* so as to cover all subjects required in secondary schools and in times of teacher absence.
- *Teachers continue to need help in dealing with traumatized and difficult adolescents* and young adults in their schools, through sports education and other activities.
- *A compensatory mechanism* is needed to ensure the advantage of school-level teacher recruitment *in rural areas* under the new decentralized recruitment system, such as raising the salary of rural teachers, to attract them to work in the countryside.

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Appendix 1

Data on interviewees

Table A1. Reference for identity codes, age, (fictitious) name of interviewees, school type and fees by order of identity codes

Profile	Fictitious Name	School Type	Day/B		Term Fees x 3
A boy 15	Thomas	1 Primary	G r	D	200 child-family pays
B girl 13	Sabine	1 Primary	G r	D	200 ♥ + Compassion International
C girl 18	Agnès	2 Secondary	P r	D/B	10,000 (for boarding) brother pays
D boy 22	Habib	2 Secondary	P r	D/B	10,000 ♥ (for boarding) 10,000 + Tumerere NGO
E girl 17	Monique	3 Secondary	Gu	D/B	4,500 ♥ (for day) 4,500 MLOC
F boy 17	Léonard	3 Sec	Gu	D/B	4,500 ♥ (for day) 4,500 MLOC (+11,350 for boarders)
G boy 19	Eugene	4 Secondary	A r	D/B	12,500 + 2,500 rehab levy ♥ (for boarding) 10,000 MLOC + parents
H boy 22	Laurent	4 Secondary	A r	D/B	12,500 + 2,500 rehab levy ♥ (for boarding) 10,000 MLOC + parents
I boy 15	Frédéric	5 Primary	A r	D	200 mother pays
J girl 15	Agathe	5 Primary	A r	D	200 father pays
K boy 22	Evariste	6 Secondary	P r	D/B	18,530 ♥ (for day) 10,000 MLOC + 8,530 brother
L girl 21	Marie	6 Secondary	P r	D/B	18,530 (for day) husband pays
M boy 20	Déo	7 Secondary	P u	D	12,000 ♥ (for day) 10,000 MLOC + 2,000 mother and relatives
N girl 20	Emma	7 Secondary	P u	D	12,000 ♥ (for day) 10,000 MLOC + 2,000 uncle
O boy 16	Amos	8 Primary	P u	D	10,000 (for day) father pays
P girl 14	Dorothée	8 Primary	P u	D	10,000 (for day) father pays
Q girl 20	Chantal	9 Secondary	A r	?	11,000 ♥ 8,000 MLOC+3,000 brother
R boy 20	Emmanuel	9 Secondary	A r	?	11,000 ♥ 11,000 MLOC + grandfather

G= government school, A= assisted school, P= private school; u=urban, r= rural school; D= day school, B= boarding school. In column 5, ♥ signifies that someone or some body assists the family in paying fees; MLOC is MINALOC (Ministry of Local Affairs).

Table A2. Reference for (fictitious) names of interviewees by alphabetical order of names

Fictitious name	Profile
Agathe	J girl 15
Agnès	C girl 18
Amos	O boy 16
Chantal	Q girl 20
Déo	M boy 20
Dorothée	P girl 14
Emma	N girl 20
Emmanuel	R boy 20
Eugène	G boy 19
Evariste	K boy 22
Frédéric	I boy 15
Habib	D boy 22
Laurent	H boy 22
Léonard	F boy 17
Marie	L girl 21
Monique	E girl 17
Sabine	B girl 13
Thomas	A boy 15

Table A3. Additional biodata information on respondents

CI	O	Cn	F Size	Lives with	More background	Fee level	Who pays
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A boy 15 years in P6	2	C	4	Lives in child-headed family with 2 sisters and 1 brother. eldest sister is 20. He is the youngest	He is the only one of the family in school	200 + uniform + exercise books, pens	The 'family'. Failed to get attestation of eligibility for fee waiver since could not pay <i>mitaire</i> (health insurance)
B girl 13, P6	OK	B	2	With mother – with shamba	Father has abandoned the home	200 + uniform + exercise books, pens	Compassion International NGO pays fees + exercise books, pens +uniform +soap, cooking oil
C girl 18, S6		U	2	With brother (military man) in Kigali during holidays (5 years)	Parents live in W. Uganda. She visits them annually.	30000 for private boarding school	Older brother pays; parents pay at times
D boy 22 S4	F	Rw	3	With mother and younger brother	"My mother is poor. I approached Tumerere".	30000 for private boarding school	National NGO pays fees (Tumerere) + transport to school + bedding + books + pens + oil + soap
E girl 17 S3	2	T	?	With paternal uncle and his family; and at least 1 sibling	Lived in Tanzania	4500 for government day school	MLOC pays 4500. Uncle pays other expenses
F boy 17 S1	F	C	2	With brother of 25 years	Mother remained in Congo – now untraceable	4500 for government day school	MLOC pays 4500. Earns own money for uniform, exercise books, etc.
G boy 19 S6		Rw	10	With 2 parents and 7 siblings	12,500 + ? + ?	Parents 'with difficulty'	
H boy 22 S6	2	C	4	With married cousin who has a baby	Both parents died in war + 1 brother. He remains with one brother	12,500 2,500 uniform	MINALOC H pays 2,500 rehab + uniform

Table A3. Continued

I boy P6	15	F	C	5	With widowed mother, 2 brothers (1 handicapped) and younger sister	3 uncle role models	200	Mother, but fees for 3 are beyond mother's means
J girl P6	15	C	C	7	With 2 or 3 sisters and 3 brothers	With 2 or 3 sisters and 3 brothers	200	Father very difficult +exercise books+pens
K boy S6	22	2	C	5	With married brother, with 2 children	Stepsiblings live with his stepmother	183,500 (started by paying \$5 per month in Congo school) – had to leave school due to high fees	MLOC pays 10,000. K pays 8,350+ uniform Free board from the school
L girl S5	21	C	C	4			18,500 per term + uniform @ 2000	Husband (driver)
M boy S6	20	F	Rw	6	Widowed mother, 3 sisters, 1 brother	We always have debts... ask relatives for help.	90,000 + 8,000 uniform	MLOC pays 30,000 Peasant, widowed mother pays 60,000 and rest, with help from relatives
N girl S6	20	2	Rw	?	With uncle, aunt and children		45,000 does not say per term or per annum	MLOC 30,000 uncle 15,000 (for day school)
O boy P6	16	M	T	6	With father, stepmother and 3 stepsiblings	Feels confident that trader father can continue to pay fees	10,000 per term+2,500 uniform	Father (trader)
P girl P6	14	OK	Rw	8	With 2 parents and 5 siblings	Has TV at home	10,000 per term	Father (Rw telephone company)
Q girl S6	20	2	B	5	With brother, his wife and 2 children	Being orphaned she looked after her younger siblings in Burundi, who have now all been repatriated by the brother	11,000	MLOC 8,000 Brother pays 3,000
R boy S4	20	M	T	3 +?	Grandparents	Father stayed in Tanz	Same as above (11,000)?	MLOC Grandfather pays uniform, books, pens

Additional notes

Eugène lives in a large family of 10: two parents, eight siblings. He is in S6 and his seven siblings are all in primary school. It costs 800 FRW to get home, which is 16 km from school, but he has managed to become a boarder (at the government-assisted school he attends, owned by the Pentecostal Church); and his father receives no help at all for paying the fees. Eugène's family has not applied for assistance, apprehensive that it will not be easy to get. During the holidays he sells chickens, with a kick-start loan from his father, and makes enough profit to buy his 'school books, pens and clothes'. [G]

Emmanuel lives with his grandparents. His mother is dead and his father has remained in Tanzania. He wants to do computer studies when he leaves secondary school. [R]

Frédéric, aged 15 years, in P6, lives in a family of five: with his widowed mother, sister and two brothers, one of whom is handicapped, having lost his arm due to a mine in the refugee camp in the Congo. [I]

At 21 years, Marie in S5 is the mother of a two year old. Her husband pays her school fees; he is a driver. She manages to leave the baby with her mother while she is at school during the day. Her situation seems to be stable. [L]

Déo lives with three sisters, a brother and his mother, who is a 'peasant'. She cultivates the land and keeps some animals. She sometimes has to ask relatives for financial assistance. "We always have debts, and even now I have not completed paying my fees", says Déo. [M]

Emma lives with her paternal uncle, his wife and children. Her siblings are spread out among other families since both their parents are dead. [N]

Amos lives with his father and stepmother. His schooling has been neglected and it is only influence from his cousins that seems to sustain his interest in studies.[O]

Appendix 2

School in exile – related by the children

School in refugee camps

“School was OK in the camps”, said Agathe, remembering the year when she was seven years old and the family fled to the Congo. “We were given books. We played games and the teachers were good – they were Rwandan. But the conditions were so bad. We lived under plastic sheeting ... and at one point we were forced to walk all the way to Kisangani ... It was hard for me”. In the refugee camps school was free and pupils were generally provided with exercise books and writing materials. Teachers were paid by the NGOs. “Some teachers were qualified”, Laurent remembers of his camp school in the Congo, “and they were good. However, school there was just for the emergency situation. It was not normal school with all the essentials. For example, we did not do tests or exams to enter any particular class. We just registered in any class of our choice. Life in general in the camp was not good at all. Things were difficult ...”

“I went to a school in a refugee camp in Ibanza, in the Bukavu area in Congo”, said Frédérick. He was seven years old at the time. “The school was made of poles and plastic sheeting. Exercise books and pens were given by NGOs – but sometimes our parents had to provide them. I enjoyed school there. We played games and the teachers were good. Later we had to move to Kisangani. Then I stopped going to school and life was difficult. That is where my father died. He was a pastor and many people knew him. Then some people took care of us and brought us back to Rwanda in 1998 where we found our mother”.

To add to the trauma of exile, horrendous living conditions and deprivation of all kinds, some children lost their parents in the refugee camps. Thomas’ father died at the start of 1994, then, a year later, when he was eight years old, his mother died of an illness while they were in the refugee camp in the Congo. “Getting firewood was a big problem”, he remembers sadly. He was placed in a refugee school to do his first and second grades, restarting the first grade. “Most teachers were not qualified

and they were not very good. *Ntabwo bigishaga babishaka* (they did not seem to enjoy teaching) and they only came once in a while”. It was difficult for him to concentrate on school.

Léonard also went to school in the Congo. “Classes were held in the open and when it rained we had to stop. Sometimes we received books and other supplies. Most of the time we struggled to buy our own writing materials, which was not easy. Teachers came irregularly but *sinabalenganya nabo baritangaga* (I cannot blame them - they were also making a sacrifice for us). We followed the Rwandan syllabus but we did not learn foreign languages. And now we are behind, while those who stayed in Rwanda are ahead of us. Things were bad in the camps. I am glad I came back”.

Amos was in Karagwe refugee camp in Tanzania for three years, “I cannot remember much”, he says. He was 8-11 years old then. “There was a school in the camp and we were the only Rwandan children there. The teachers were Rwandan. They did not come to school regularly. The school walls were made of mud and wattle, not brick. We had to buy our own exercise books and pens and our parents had to go out looking for food in the villages around the camp. I remember that the Tanzanians used to mistreat us, especially when we went to the well to get water. Sometimes you would be insulted and beaten. NGOs gave us maize and beans and cooking oil”.

Schooling in regular national schools while in exile

Emmanuel lived in a refugee camp in Tanzania but went to a government school outside the camp where refugees and nationals mixed. Exercise books were provided for all the children, and textbooks and reading books were available for borrowing. In the Tanzanian schools, third-grade classes upwards had subject teachers and Emmanuel liked this, but he says that teachers did not always listen to pupils. Whether true or not, he felt at a disadvantage in Tanzania: “... to pass the national examination, you had to use a Tanzanian name, otherwise you would fail ... Out there you had to pretend not to be Rwandan. Here nobody will discriminate against you because of that”. His perception is that he experienced discrimination due to his nationality.

Monique lived in Mwanza, Tanzania, before the war. She went to a Tanzanian government school for the first two grades. Like many of the other refugees, she remembers the good quality of the school buildings in her country of exile, but the rest of the experience was not so good: “We worked more hours cultivating the land and planting than we studied. Even in holiday time we had to go and harvest the crops. It was hard work ...”. Then there was the stigma of being different: “I remember we were afraid to speak Kinyarwanda in school because the other kids would laugh at us. So our parents told us to speak Kinyarwanda only at home, to avoid being laughed at”. She remembers that the classes were smaller in Tanzania, “about 40 pupils” as compared with the 63 pupils now in her Rwandan secondary class. Both her parents died and she was brought back to Rwanda, to live with her uncle. She started school late, at around nine years, but has had an almost uninterrupted school career, just repeating a class on her return to Rwanda.

Sabine was at a regular school in Uganda for her primary years and she has also had an uninterrupted school career, moving smoothly back into the appropriate class in Rwanda for her secondary schooling. “My school in Uganda was good. We had books and the buildings were nice, in fact better than the ones in this school here”. She remembers, however, that: “As Banyarwanda we were not treated well. We were always put down. For example, if you were caught speaking Kinyarwanda you would be punished, whereas speaking Ugandan languages was OK. I would not wish to live in Uganda again. I was happy to come back to Rwanda. I like Rwanda”. Sabine stays with her older brother in Kigali, who is in the army, but her parents still live in western Uganda and she visits them annually.

Evariste went to a national school in the Congo. He had no papers to prove he had completed seventh grade, the first class of secondary school, and so he had to restart the class, immediately losing one year of schooling. In the Congo he hid the fact that he was a refugee: “I spoke Swahili very well and in fact nobody knew I was a refugee. We were three Rwandans in all in the school. While I was there the NGO CARITAS paid my fees and provided me with books. It was a good school, with good buildings – and relationships between children and teachers were good”. Marie remembered in her Congolese national school how “the teachers would ask pupils for food like cassava, pretending it was for use in the lessons. But they actually

took it home for eating. “In the Congo”, she went on, “you could go for a week without a teacher. Those teachers loved money. They are good teachers but they are not organized”. And, when she wanted to repatriate to Rwanda, Marie found problems in getting marks and documentation out of the Congolese authorities. “Certificates had to come from Kinshasa, yet [in the late 1990s] in Eastern Congo it was as if we were in a different country from Kinshasa. There was insecurity and the country was divided into two. In most cases you had to bribe a teacher to give you marks for the certificate”.

Chantal is now 20 years old. Her parents died some time ago and she was left in Burundi looking after her younger siblings. She has been at a Burundian government secondary school. There was a 7 + 4 + 2 structure, with no specialization or options in the secondary-school curriculum as in Rwanda: “Sometimes there was not enough time to complete the [broad] syllabus”. Lessons stopped at 1.30 p.m. every day, so we had enough time to revise our lessons and do prep in the afternoons. The teachers there were good but we started lacking books because of the war”. Chantal was happy there: “I was treated like anyone else. School was good but things started worsening with the war in Burundi and I always wished to come back”.

The children took time to adjust to a new school structure in Rwanda on their return, to having Rwandan teachers, to the one-teacher-per-class system in Rwanda primary schools, to the options at upper-secondary level, and to a different school-day schedule. But they were all glad to be home and they all expressed their relief at no longer having to hide the fact that they were different or spoke a different language from their school mates.

Some of the children had managed to attend school during all their years in exile. Others were not so lucky and lost one or two of the years they were away, out of their two to four years (*Table 6.2*, columns 11 and 12).

Appendix 3

Interview guideline for interviewing children in school

Interviews to be conducted in at least three of the following types of school per site:

- (a) A state primary school;
- (b) A secondary government school;
- (c) A secondary private school;
- (d) A private primary school.

Note: Interviews with children are more important than with heads and teachers.

In the locality

Courtesy call to the DEO or commune authorities.

In schools

Courtesy call to the head's office, five minutes, to explain the visit and to make a positive impression (see endnote). Request to see the senior class.

In the classroom, have an informal and friendly discussion with the teacher and the class, to make them comfortable with your presence. Use the discussion to select the children you will interview. Some general, friendly and unthreatening questions to the class could include:

Where is your house/where do you live? How far is it?

What do you like about going to school? Are there things you do not like?

Were any of you ever in school in a neighbouring country, outside Rwanda? In which country?

Select two children for two separate one-hour interviews, a boy and a girl from P6 or S6 (or whichever upper-school class is available to you, can be P5 or S5, for example). If there are children heading families or children from child-headed families, select at least one of those children. Try to get a spread of children who stayed in Rwanda during the crisis, and the experiences of children in *different* countries outside Rwanda.

Suggested interview questions are given below – to be used in informal, unstructured style.

Return to head's office for interview with head. Speak with other teachers if there is time.

Briefly walk around the school at some point during the visit and note comments.

1. Questions to the children

A. *Children who never moved outside Rwanda*

Focus on how the children feel about their school experience: happy? Hopeful about continuing in school? Dissatisfied? Unhappy? Factors contributing to this? Any problems – of what kind? Any solutions in sight? Take your cue from Questions B below.

B. *Children who were in school during exile*

The content of the questions below is important but please formulate the questions in your own way, to suit the child interviewee, the culture of your mother tongue, whatever is appropriate. Do ask more questions, and please probe interesting answers.

1. *What type of school did you go to in the refugee camps, or while you were abroad?*
2. *What class did you complete while in that country?*
3. *Were you put into the next class when you came back to Rwanda?* [This question focuses on recognition, i.e. was school achievement in the camps or abroad recognized by the Rwandan schools when the children returned?] *Did your Rwandan school test you before putting you into a class? Did it ask for proof of your having completed a*

- particular class? Or did it only ask you to tell it what class you had completed abroad?
4. *How long was it when you came back to Rwanda before you went to school again?* [months? year? How long was the time between leaving exile and getting home, and between arrival home and getting into school?]
 5. Do you know *which authorities* put you into this school? Was it MINALOC or any other local authority? Or was it your parents? Or yourself?
 6. *Do you/your parents pay school fees* [i.e. minerval]? How much per year? If you do not pay is there any fund/person paying these school fees for you (other than your parents)?
 7. *What was school like in the camps?* What were the buildings or classrooms like? [walls? sheeting? under a tree? any other physical features?] Were there more children in your class there or here? Do you have more books here? More exercise books here or there? What was your teacher like there? [probe to find out whether the child liked her teacher, a 'good' or 'bad' teacher and for what reason? a teacher of which nationality?]
 8. *Was there anything you liked about the school* in Congo/Tanzania/ etc.? How do you compare it with your school here in Rwanda?
 9. *What did you not like* when you were at school there? And what about this aspect now you are here in a Rwanda school? Is it the same? different? how?
 10. Is there anything else you want to tell me about being in school back in Rwanda?

C. Children who were in school during exile but not in refugee camps:

Use the same questions as B above; angle them to the child's experience. Focus most on how they are finding school in Rwanda now and the nature of their experiences since they returned. Are they happy or not? Do they feel welcome and comfortable here now? What has contributed to this? What are the issues confronting them?

In all cases, for the children

Biodata on the children: name (to be changed later); sex; age; parents living? Is the child living with parents or whom?

Is the child the head of the family or *in* a child-headed family? get the ages of the children in that family and of those in school. *How do you find food; in all seasons? Does anyone in the family earn money? Does anyone get money from work? What type of work? How much do these children earn across the family?*

2. Questions to the heads/teachers

Heads/teachers should be asked to identify the differences between education/schools before the war, immediately after and now. If pressed for time, Questions 1-3, 7, 10 are essential.

1. How do the head/teachers feel about schools these days? What were/are the positive points; the negative ones?
2. How do teachers characterize the schools at these different points in time ... (interview to probe way beyond the common issues such as adequate/inadequate supply of textbooks, to focus on teachers' *perceptions of curricula, teacher training and support available, the atmosphere in schools, management style of the head* (any changes over time?)).
3. Are their pupils any different now as compared with the past? And the parents?
4. What are the relations between school and local authorities (education and general)? Between school and parents?
5. Does the PTA committee work (there are few whole-school PTAs functioning in Rwanda at present)? What are the functions of the PTA?
6. What changes have decentralization brought about? Positive? Negative?
7. What perception do heads have for the future: what changes are likely to occur? Positive? Negative? What do they want for the future (regarding education)? How much faith do they have in the (education) system?
8. How many children are out of school in the catchment area? What is going to happen about getting more children into school? Who is spearheading this?
9. How much are the minerval/school fees?
10. Does the school receive any funds from anywhere in addition to school fees? How much, from where? What is the future scenario?

Who decides on the budget, at what level? Who does an audit? How public is it?

Endnote: Interviewer is to wear simple clothes rather than sophisticated dress, take a low profile, be friendly and ensure that schools in the provinces are not impressed nor threatened by the presence of visitors from Kigali. They should be left with a positive impression that their views count, that people from Kigali want to listen and that the interviews will contribute to the well-being of the education system.

Appendix 4

Supplementary statistical data

Table A4. Provincial demographic profiles, 1972 and 1997

Province	Population 1972	Population 1997	Growth	% Growth	Rank
Kibungo	214,220	670,999	456,779	213.2	1
Cyangugu	251,310	512,429	261,119	103.9	2
Gitarama	436,690	836,323	399,633	91.5	3
Gisenyi	444,870	814,332	369,462	83.0	4
Kibuye	250,660	429,019	178,359	71.2	5
Kigali Rural	–	738,022	385,162	69.3	6
Byumba	456,810	772,499	315,689	69.1	7
Gikongoro	272,290	456,038	183,748	67.5	8
Kigali	352,860	555,855	202,995	57.5	9
Kihengeri	430,220	555,855	125,635	29.2	10
Butare	570,640	670,050	99,410	17.4	11
Rwanda	3,680,570	7,011,421	3,330,851	90.5	

Source: MOE, 1998a: 5.

Table A5. Primary schools by province, 1999/2000 to 2001/2002

Province	1999/2000	2000/2001	2001/2002
Butare	189	189	199
Byumba	167	170	164
Cyangugu	170	171	171
Gikongoro	158	161	162
Gisenyi	223	228	233
Gitarama	267	279	273
Kibungo	154	156	162
Kibuye	190	192	193
Kigali rural	200	205	187
Kigali town	53	54	81
Kihengeri	221	229	230
Umutara	101	108	117
Rwanda	2,093	2,142	2,117

Source: Statistiques annuaires, MOE, 2000, 2001.

Figure A1. Number of primary examination candidates, 1991-1999

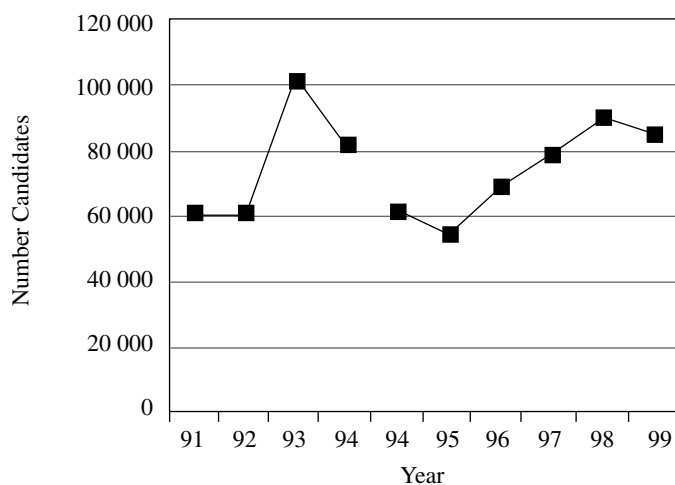
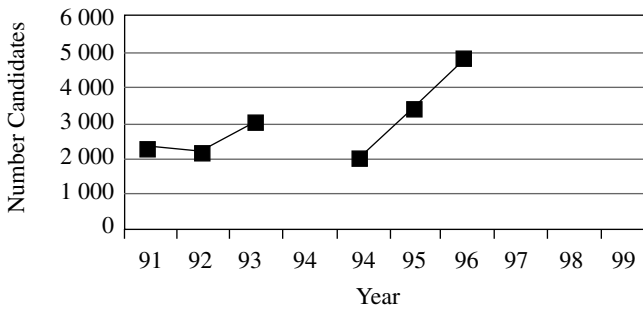


Figure A2. Number of secondary examination candidates, 1991-1999



Sources: MOE, 2002a and 2002d.

Table A6. Enrolments in primary, secondary and higher education, 1996-2002

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Primary enrolment	941,012	1,039,657	1,154,768	1,270,733	1,288,663	1,431,657	1,476,272	1,534,510
Secondary enrolment		50,000	82,224	90,840	105,292	125,124	141,163	157,210
<i>State and assisted</i>							79,699	88,641
<i>Private</i>							61,464	68,569
Higher enrolment		4,196	4,440	4,548	5,943	7,224	?	?

Sources: MOE, 2002a and 2002d.

Table A7. Education trends, 1990/1991-1998/1999

	90/1	91/2	92/3	93/4	93/4*	94/5	95/6	96/7	97/8	98/9
1. Primary										
No. pupils '000	1,031	1,100	1,135	1,774	820	941	1,040	1,155	1,271	1,289
No. schools	1,671	1,747	1,747	1,882	1,287	1,882	1,845	1,918	1,940	2,021
PTR	57.1	57.3	57.6	59.0	48.0	53.0	54.9	57.1	57.0	59.0
% Qualified teachers	55.0	56.7	60.1	60.1	45.6	39.0	40.2	32.5	46.6	49.2
No. examination candidates	60,556	60,249	101,603	-	60,714	53,844	68,442	-	88,540	84,284
2a. Secondary – State and assisted schools										
No. pupils	26,251	28,162	30,094	36,815	3,077	20,533	50,100	55,641	-	59,786
No. schools	82	83	82	112	10	85	111?	132	-	167
PTR	15.3	15.3	14.7	15.8	10.0	12.0	28.8	-	-	20.8
% Qualified teachers	66.5	62.9	58.3	58.0	70.0	33.0	33.0	-	-	-
No. examination candidates	2,269	2,158	2,952	-	1,968	3,385	4,775	-	-	-

Table A7. Continued

2b. Secondary – Private schools										
No. pupils	-	-	-	18,000	-	-	23,667	35,230	-	44,823
No. schools	93	95	128	168	-	65	99	123	-	158
PTR	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	-	28.2
% Qualified teachers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	57.4	-	-
No. examination candidates	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,131	-	-	-

* This column of statistics refers to the post-genocide period in 1994 (September–December). The 1993–1994 school year was extended officially until the end of 1994, to allow students to complete the year.

Sources: Cooksey, 1992); MINEPRISEC/MINESUPRES, 1994; MOE/UNDP/UNESCO, 1998a; MOE, 2002a and 2002b.

Table A8. Indicators of the education system

1. Primary education	1996/1997	1998/1999	2001/2002
1.1 Students			
No. of pupils	1,154,768	1,288,617	1,534,510
Percentage of boys	49.8%	50.0%	49.8%
Percentage of girls	50.2%	50.0%	50.2%
Children of primary-school age	-	1,466,086	1,479,940
Gross enrolment	-	87.9%	103.7%
GER boys	-	89.5%	105.8%
GER girls	-	86.4%	102.4%
Net enrolment	-	69.9%	74.5%
NER boys	-	70.2%	74.0%
NER girls	-	69.7%	74.9%
Repetition rate	28.0%	38.1%	-
Drop-out rate	5.5%	11.4%	-
Drop-out rate	5.5%	11.4%	-
Transition rate	18.0%	38.0%	-
1.2 Teachers			
No. of teachers	20,322	23,436	26,024
Percentage female teachers	55.4%	55.0%	50.1%
Percentage qualified teachers	46.6%	49.2%	81.2%
PTR57:1	55:1	58:1	
1.3 Schools			
Schools	1,918	2,021	2,172
Classrooms	-	23,395	27,735
No. of classes	-	30,866	33,771

Table A8. Continued

2. Secondary education	1996/1997	1998/1999	2001/2002
2.1 Students			
Total in state, assisted and private schools	-	105,292	157,210
Boys	-	51,811	79,422
Girls	-	53,481	77,788
Students in state and assisted schools	82,224	60,556	88,641
Students in private schools	-	44,736	68,569
Percentage of girls in state schools	49.4%	48.4%	44.0%
2.2 Teachers			
Total teachers in state, assisted and private schools	-	4,679	6,329
Teachers in state and assisted schools	-	2,875	3,319
Teachers in private schools	-	1,804	3,010
Percentage of females of total	-	23.3%	18.8%
Percentage qualified of total	-	33.0%	51.9%
2.3 Schools			
State, assisted and private schools	252	322	393
State and assisted schools	124	167	185
Private schools	128	155	208
3. Higher education			
3.1 Total students	-	-	12,802
No. of students in state institutions	4,440	5,943	8,723
3.2 Lecturers			
Total lecturers	-	-	1,311
No. of lecturers in state institutions (private)	234	380	1,053 (258)
3.3 Tertiary institutions	3	6	10

Source: Recensement Statistique, MOE, 1997-2002.

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