



The Political Economy of Girls' Education in Rwanda

A case study prepared for the report
*Girls' Education and Women's Equality: How to Get More out of the World's Most
Promising Investment, 2022*

Timothy P. Williams, PhD
October 2022

Contents

1. Introduction.....	3
2. Historical efforts to promote girls' education in Rwanda.....	4
3. National strategy of gender equality and education in post-genocide Rwanda.....	5
4. Policy architecture.....	6
5. The individuals and institutions that shaped girls' education policy adoption and reforms.....	7
6. Policy implementation through accountability and decentralization.....	9
7. Ongoing challenges.....	10
8. Lessons learned.....	10
References.....	12

1. Introduction

Many countries have signed onto international human rights treaties, passed laws, and adopted policies to improve women's rights and the education of girls. However, these efforts have often not resulted in sustained or tangible gains.

Rwanda's case appears to be different. The country's current government emerged from civil war and genocide in the 1990s to become one of the first to meet its commitments around universal access to primary education and gender equity as set out in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Today, Rwanda's policies also align with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Girls currently outnumber boys in primary and secondary school; and in the years leading up to the COVID-19 pandemic in early 2020, girls were outperforming their male counterparts on their primary school leaving examinations (MINEDUC, 2020). While the COVID-era has ushered in or exacerbated some declines that have disproportionately impacted girls, there have been some important lessons in Rwanda, particularly around policy coherence and buy-in when it comes to advancing gender-sensitive education policy.

How did Rwanda experience success where other countries have fallen short? This case study applies a political settlements framework to better understand elite commitment to improve girls' education in Rwanda.

Political settlements framework

'Political settlement' refers to "the balance or distribution of power between contending social groups and social classes on which any state is based" (Di John & Putzel, 2009, p. 4). Scholars consider Rwanda's political settlement to be 'dominant developmental' (Golooba-Mutebi, 2013). That is, the state has a strong commitment to deliver development as a stake in its own legitimacy and power. In the case of Rwanda, its ruling party is the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), and its leader, the country's President, Paul Kagame, have been in power since the year 2000.

Broadly speaking, dominant party regimes are known for governing through a high degree of control and top-down discipline (Levy & Walton, 2013). They have strong, shared, and centralized approaches to state-building with political systems relatively free of rent extraction. They also do not have much by way of political competition. The relative stability and continuity of a dominant developmental political settlement can allow for the state to engage in longer-term planning, largely because there is an absence of political pushback. This stands in contrast to states with more competitive political settlements, whose governments may struggle to achieve the consensus needed to implement major reforms and thus may have to negotiate more gradual, measured approaches to policy adoption or reform (Levy & Walton, 2013).

While dominant frameworks offer some clear advantages to advancing policy agendas, they have some inherent challenges, too (Hickey & Hossain, 2019). In Rwanda, for example, the fusion of party and state, coupled with a lack of credible opposition, has enabled the RPF to often bypass the checks and balances typically found in more competitive states (Williams, et al 2022).

These types of challenges have been a prominent feature of the country's education sector under the RPF. Over the last two decades, the government has issued a number of major initiatives or directives outside of the country's strategic planning processes, complicating parallel planning, budgeting, and implementation efforts. Illustrative examples from the literature (Williams, 2017, 2019) include:

- Changing the language of instruction: Since the RPF took power, the government has introduced several major changes to the language used in schools, with limited evidence of planning. Most notably in 2008, Rwanda's Cabinet bypassed planning processes to issue a

change in language from French to English within a matter of months, in a country whose education system had been Francophone since the introduction of formal schooling happened in the colonial era.

- **Expanding basic education:** In 2010, President Kagame campaigned to extend the country's Nine-Year Basic Education (9YBE) policy by an additional three years. Offering a Twelve-Year Basic Education (12YBE) policy had been part of the country's strategy dating back to the 2003 Education Policy. Yet when the change was announced there had been no planning - and thus no budget - for implementation, even though education planners were expected to begin implementation of the 12YBE policy by expanding access immediately.
- **Introducing school feeding:** In 2014, one of the outcomes of the government's annual leadership retreat was a resolution to feed children in school. As a national resolution, it was expected to go into effect immediately. However, because school feeding had not been part of the budget for that fiscal year, schools had little choice but to pass on the associated expenses of the feeding program to students (or donors) despite the country's fee-free education policy.

This type of dominant decision-making within the political settlement is important for understanding the education sector in Rwanda. While the introduction of policies around language, basic education, and school feeding all align with the government's longer term vision for national development, they point to a pattern of introducing major reforms without adequate planning.

Rwanda's reforms around girls' education offer a strikingly more coherent policy narrative (Burnet & Kanakuze, 2018). In contrast to the reform episodes above, the country's achievements around gender equity in education have been achieved incrementally, with key reforms often deliberately sequenced and layered to both build on and align with national strategies and planning (MINEDUC, 2021). As the rest of this case study will show, the country's political settlement since the RPF took power has aligned its decision-making around girls' education with national priorities concerning social and economic development, intertwining these efforts to expand access to education with a broader political project focused on gender equity. The government has done this by enlisting a diverse coalition of stakeholders including political elites, technocrats, development partners, and women-led civil society organizations in addition to communities themselves.

2. Historical efforts to promote girls' education in Rwanda

Rwandan society has historically been predicated upon patriarchy, dating back to the pre-colonial and colonial eras (MIGEPROF, 2010). While many of Rwanda's most lasting gains around girls' education have happened since the RPF took power, it is also important to recognize that the country's post-independence regimes also took some notable steps to improve access to education and reduce discrimination on the basis of gender (Hoben, 1989).

Since its independence in 1962, Rwanda's government has assumed a prominent role in organizing schooling, focusing on increasing primary school enrolment for both girls and boys (Hoben, 1989). Primary school gross enrolment rose from 46 percent in 1973 to 65 percent in 1990, with relatively equal numbers of girls and boys (Obura, 2003).

Burnet and Kanakuze (2018) outline other important policy developments that pre-date the country's current political settlement include:

- 1981: Rwanda ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), solidifying the government's efforts to modify and/or abolish any existing national laws that enabled gender inequities to persist.

- 1986: the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MINECOFIN) released a five-year strategy with a dual focus on improving access to schooling and bolstering the status of women.
- 1991: Rwanda's government ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).
- 1993: Rwanda's Minister of Education, Agathe Uwilingiyimana, became the country's first female Prime Minister. Even in the context of an ongoing civil war, Uwilingiyimana used her position to advance gender equality in education as a national priority (Burnet & Kanakuze, 2018).

This evidence of progress around gender equity and education must be understood in context, however. While the government reached gender parity in primary schools, this only reflected the number of girls and boys who were formally enrolled; children who were not attending schools at all were left unaccounted for (ibid.). School fees often meant children dropped out early, and girls were less likely to complete primary school compared to boys (Hoben, 1989). What's more, while a broader focus on gender equity translated into the inclusion of some gender considerations in education sector strategic plans, the absence of gender-based quotas in secondary schools meant that progress was not sustained (Burnet & Kanakuze, 2018).

In short, the importance of girls' education had some support in prior regimes, but the gains were not fully institutionalized, and the structure of the education system remained relatively unchanged.

3. National strategy of gender equality and education in post-genocide Rwanda

Any momentum came to a halt in April 1994. The genocide resulted in the complete devastation of the country, including its education system. As the killing continued, schoolchildren, teachers, and others with formal education were specifically targeted because they were thought to represent the educated and elite class (MINEDUC, 1998). By the time that the RPF brought the genocide to an end in July, two-thirds of school buildings had been severely damaged, and roughly 75% of all public sector employees, including teachers, had either been killed, fled the country as refugees, or had gone missing (MINEDUC, 1997).

Since taking power, the RPF-led government has introduced a series of reforms aimed at social and economic transformation. Reconstructing the education system was seen as a cornerstone to rebuilding society and a key to economic development, poverty reduction, and promoting peace.

The goals of the RPF were encapsulated in a strategic planning document called Vision 2020, which was recently replaced by Vision 2050. The goal of these strategic planning documents was to create the necessary conditions for Rwanda to become a middle-income country (MINECOFIN, 2000). It focused on pulling the country out of poverty with attention to the factors believed to have precipitated conflict - namely, ethnic divisionism, resource scarcity, and limited opportunities for social mobility (MINECOFIN, 2000). Formal education for all Rwandans became a matter of urgency. The government saw education and gender equality as cross-cutting components to improving social cohesion and promoting peace.

Vision 2020 informed the development of the National Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda in 2003, along with a corresponding Education Policy that same year (Table 1). Gender equity was presented as a necessary complement to national progress. The Constitution enshrined the right to education for all and abolished school fees for primary schooling. Achievements such as these

underscores the pivotal influence of elite and cross-ministerial support for the centrality of gender in social and economic development.

Vision 2050 builds on many of the RPF's original goals but focuses more on developing a “knowledge intensive economy” and the need to capitalize on demographic dividends from a rapidly growing working age population (MINECOFIN, 2020). This updated plan focuses on equitable access for women and girls in education, particularly in subject areas related to Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) at secondary and tertiary levels, as well as in technical and vocational training (TVET) courses (ibid.).

The RPF-led government considered the role of women and girls to be critical to post-conflict reconstruction. Their growing place and prominence in Rwandan society helped to challenge historical notions of patriarchy. This eventually became a point of national pride, one borne out of national directives and legislative actions.

One of the most consequential provisions of the 2003 Constitution was a requirement that at least 30 percent of posts within decision-making organs were to be occupied by women (Burnet & Kanakuze, 2018). This was a highly visible effort to institutionalize gender equity at the top echelons of government with downstream effects that, in turn, influenced more gender-focused legislative actions and other advancements, such as landmark anti-gender-based violence (GBV) legislation in 2008, the installation of women in prominent Cabinet positions – as well as a series of gender-sensitive education policies that are described below.

4. Policy architecture

Like its predecessor, Vision 2050 is now the central organising document of the government. Rwanda's key development priorities are in the second iteration of its Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Plan (EDPRS2). The EDPRS2, in turn, has informed sector-specific strategies. At present, priorities related to education are guided by the 2019-2024 Education Sector Strategic Plan, where gender equality features as a critical component of realizing universal access to education at primary and secondary levels while contributing to the country's broader social and economic development aims (MINEDUC 2018).

Table 1. Key legislative and policy reforms in girls' education under the RPF (1995–2022)

2003 New Constitution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 6 years of primary school become fee-free and compulsory • Remaining 6 years of secondary school incur tuition fees and remain optional
2003 Education Sector Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sets out the goals and objectives of the sector, as well as the rationale for girls' education • Includes a focus on non-discrimination, gender equality, and the elimination of disparities • Lays the groundwork for more sophisticated iterations of later education policies
2008 Girls' Education Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aligns with Rwanda's national and international commitments around gender equality • Addresses gender disparities in education with specific provisions around school fees, school feeding, sensitisation, and gender-sensitive school infrastructure
2009 9YBE Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Post-primary education becomes an entitlement for the first time

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extends to nine years of basic education (9YBE)
2010 Gender Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focuses on the cross-cutting nature of gender and gender equity • Calls on efforts to “increase access, performance and retention of girls and women in public education at all levels.”
2012 12YBE Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Requires 9YBE to be extended to 12YBE
2021 Gender Policy (revised)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revised policy to better align with new national policy priorities and international commitments
2022 Policies under revision and review	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Girls’ Education Policy (under review) • Education Sector Policy (under review)

Cross-ministerial support for girls’ education has continued even during the COVID-19 pandemic. In response to the major disruptions to schooling, MINEDUC commissioned an update to its 2008 Girls’ Education Policy (Table 1) to better address the emergent risks facing children in light of extended school closures and lockdowns. Moreover, the Ministry issued a directive to address discrimination against girls, announcing a ban on mandatory pregnancy testing for girls returning to school after pandemic-related lockdowns (Kapur, 2020).

5. The individuals and institutions that shaped girls’ education policy adoption and reforms

A political settlement framework recognizes that both individuals and institutions establish national priorities. In Rwanda, advancing gender equality and girls education as a political and policy priority was deliberate. It involved a multi-pronged approach, working with a wide variety of stakeholders on domestic and global levels. The section below draws on existing literature to outline some of the most influential actors within Rwanda’s political settlement that shape girls’ education.

The ruling party: The Rwandan Patriotic Front

The RPF was different from previous regimes in that it saw women’s empowerment and gender equality as central components to the party’s ideology (Burnet, 2008; RPF-Inkotanyi, 2017). It saw gender equality as a foundational part of a peaceful and unified society, and it was a motivating force behind the country’s social and economic development project. Some scholars have also argued that the RPF’s focus on gender was one way to expand its base of political support, particularly in the years following the genocide (Berry, 2018). The effect of this early focus on gender, along with relative continuity of the political settlement in the 25 years that followed, was likely one factor that contributed to more policy coherency and sustainable gains related to the education of girls.

The president and the first lady

As the head of the RPF, the President played a critical role in determining both the substance and tone of public discourse, as well as setting the pace for the achievement of national priorities. Over the years, he has championed women’s rights and empowerment as key to the RPF’s political project (Berry, 2018). It was under Kagame’s RPF that all post-genocide policies have been introduced. The President’s wife, Jeanette Kagame, is not a politician but she has been influential on matters of gender equality (Burnet & Kanakuze, 2018). While her work started in 2001, it was consolidated in 2007 when she established the Imbutu Foundation. The First Lady and her foundation helped to raise the visibility on education and the opportunities that education can offer girls and their families. The

Imbuto Foundation focuses on raising awareness, removing financial barriers and motivating girls to continue their studies. Merit-based awards and scholarships for girls are one way the foundation has been able to raise awareness and promote opportunities for girls (ibid.).

The cabinet

The Presidential Cabinet is the central decision-making entity for the country. Members are appointed by the President, though no more than half of the ministerial representatives in the Cabinet can be from the ruling party. Within the Cabinet, several line ministries have been documented as particularly critical to advancing the girls' education agenda (Honeyman, 2015; Williams, 2017). These include representatives from the Ministries of Education (MINEDUC), Local Government (MINALOC), Finance and Economic Planning (MINECOFIN), as well as Gender and Family Promotion (MIGEPROF).

- **MINEDUC** has a key role in operationalizing the vision of gender equality within the education sector through planning and policymaking. This has been a consistent feature throughout the political settlement.
- **MINALOC** plays a crucial role in the implementation of education sector policies at ground level, because of its decentralized structure. Within the education sector, local government representatives oversee policy rollout and school administration (Williams, 2016). District- and sector-level education officials are technically line managed by MINALOC, even though their principal duties relate to education. Accountability for progress on girls' education at the sub-national level, as described below, rests with them.
- **MINECOFIN** is critical to operationalizing national education priorities because it allocates financial resources. It reviews sector strategies and priorities to ensure they are aligned with the country's broader development aims, as outlined in strategic documents such as the Vision 2020, Vision 2050 and EDPRS2. Gender features prominently in many of these national documents.
- **MIGEPROF** has played a key role in coordinating the implementation of cross-cutting policies, strategies and programs since its inception in 1999. MIGEPROF has also helped to develop other key organs that have helped to elevate the rights and needs of women and girls in the country, including through the National Women's Council (NWC), Gender Monitoring Office (GMO), and Rwanda Women's Parliamentary Forum (RWPF). School preparedness through Early Childhood Development falls under the purview of MIGEPROF through its newly created National Child Development (NCD) Agency.

Women-led civil society organizations

Particularly in the years following the genocide, other women-led civil society organizations (CSOs) in Rwanda were also influential in advocating for gender equality as a national priority (Berry, 2018). They were particularly effective in ensuring that anti-discrimination and equal rights components were included in the 2003 Constitution. Among the most influential of these groups was the Rwandan chapter of the Pan-African Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE). Agathe Uwilingiyimana, the former Prime Minister, founded FAWE Rwanda in 1997. Since then, FAWE Rwanda has assumed a leadership position in promoting gender equity in Rwanda through advocacy, awareness raising, and the disbursement of scholarships. FAWE Rwanda also developed a prestigious secondary school for girls. Since its inception, FAWE Rwanda has had a close connection with the Ministry of Education and also received international funding and grants from aid programs and corporate partnerships (Burnet & Kanakuze, 2018).

International frameworks and organizations

Since taking power, the RPF-led government has kept up with changes in the institutional landscape at the global and regional levels. In quick succession, Rwanda ratified the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education (CADE) in 2000 and the African Charter for the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) in 2001 (Burnet & Kanakuzi, 2018).

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) set a benchmark against which the government could align its national planning around universal education for girls and boys. The MDGs were also instrumental in orienting international organizations in channelling funds to help cover costs related to classroom construction, teacher training, and developing a new curriculum (ibid.). The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have since helped to further advance this agenda, focusing on equitable and quality access to primary and secondary school.

International organizations were also influential in promoting access to basic education, including education for girls. At different times, DFID/FCDO, UNICEF, UNESCO, USAID, and the World Bank have assumed positions of leadership within the education sector, serving as co-chairs of the Education Sector Working Group and/or funding key initiatives around expanding access (ibid.). Rwanda's efforts around mainstreaming gender equity received a boost from the Global Partnership for Education, which combined with support from other international agencies to finance the government's push toward gender equity and universal access.

6. Policy implementation through accountability and decentralization

Girls' education reform benefited from the alignment of top-down drivers and bottom-up accountability through performance contracts as well as community involvement through decentralization. The introduction of gender-focused education happened within the strategic architecture of the education sector, allowing sector officials, schools, and development partners to ensure that new policy initiatives could practically be implemented on the ground.

Since 2001, national and local officials sign annual performance contracts, locally known as *imihigo*. At the level of the district and sector, performance contracts set out action plans and priorities for local government officials and even households. Across all sectors, performance contracts feature outputs that are easily measurable and comparable (Chemouni, 2014; Williams, 2016).

Performance contracts set out primary policy objectives through a process that has been characterized as "simultaneously bottom-up and top-down" (Honeyman, 2015, p. 27). In other words, action plans and priorities enable local government officials to document their own goals on education or gender equality (amongst others). These, in turn, are always in alignment with national-level policy and priorities, as elaborated by Vision 2020/2050, education sector strategic plans, and related policies. Given the national drive towards universal access to education, local officials were required by their performance contracts to focus on achieving gender parity through universal school enrolment.

Along with a focus on accountability was a decentralization policy, one which placed the onus of implementation of national priorities on local officials and even communities (Chemouni, 2014). Within the education sector, decentralization flows from MINEDUC, which develops policies and introduces national strategies, to its implementing arm called the Rwanda Education Board (REB). REB then liaises directly with District Directors of Education (DDEs) who in turn work with Sector Education Officers (SEOs) and other representatives of local government. SEOs collaborate and communicate with headteachers, community members, and local leaders. Key among their duties was to work with these local entities to encourage families to send their sons and daughters to school.

In addition to sending children to school, decentralization also meant local officials have a key role to play in the construction of new schools and classrooms. The central government provided materials for the schools but community members were required to donate their labor to build the schools (Williams, 2016). This, in turn, helps local officials reach their performance contracts: new schools mean that children are more easily able to reach schools located nearer to their homes and villages, thus helping local officials to meet targets around universal access. In recent years, this ‘home grown’ approach has been complemented by a broader top-down push toward educational expansion: between 2020 and 2021, roughly 30,000 new classrooms were built by paid workers through a combination of government and World Bank funding (World Bank, 2022).

7. Ongoing challenges

Girls’ education has notched some important wins over the last two decades, particularly around equity and access. However, there are a number of challenges that continue to impact progress. Rwanda’s national focus on gender parity overshadows other inequalities within the education system that continue to impact girls on the margins. For example, in the poorest quintile in urban areas, 36% of adolescent girls were out of school compared to 22% of boys (MINEDUC, 2020). In addition, the number of girls with disabilities is underrepresented in schools compared to the proportion of girls with disabilities in the general population (MINEDUC, 2020).

The government’s fixation with easily countable and comparable indicators can fit neatly on performance contracts; yet it also obscures other important ways of understanding the effects and effectiveness of the education system. Equitable and expanded access offer widely popular and highly visible commitments to the local population. Infrastructure is fairly easy to build, and it is popular (Hickey & Hossain, 2019). However, the experience of girls in the education system is still largely defined by many of the policy challenges and inconsistencies described earlier in this case study.

Moreover, while girls’ education has likely benefited from the continuity of the political settlement under the RPF, the same cannot be said about the leadership within the Ministry of Education. Key officials within MINEDUC have been replaced with little planning or notice. Since the RPF took power, the government has cycled through fourteen Ministers of Education, making it difficult for education officials to do much by way of long-term planning (Williams, 2021). This explains some of the other challenges around policy and planning that continue to pose challenges to the sector that impact both girls and boys.

This policy incoherence can partially explain that while enrolment is high, education quality, including learning outcomes, remain extremely low for many children in the country (World Bank, 2018). While girls’ performance in primary school exceeds that of boys, their enrolment and performance in secondary school continues to lag their male counterparts, especially when it comes to STEM and TVET subjects (MINEDUC, 2020). Moreover, experts have also expressed concern that learning outcomes for girls in the COVID-era will experience disproportionate declines given some of the existing challenges described above (Kapoor, 2020).

8. Lessons learned

In summary, Rwanda’s political settlement has put forth a clear and incremental approach to making concrete gains in girls’ education. Reforms focused on expansion and gender equity have been largely sequenced with broader national priorities around social and economic development and in alignment with sector strategic plans. The country’s political settlement has aligned its decision-making around parity and equality within a broader political project and ideological framework. To

carry out this work it has enlisted a diverse coalition of stakeholders including political elites, technocrats, development organisations, and women-led civil society organizations in addition to communities themselves. Findings from this case study illustrate some of the complexities and considerations that shaped the ability of Rwanda's government to adopt and introduce education reforms around the education of girls.

Key lessons learned from this case study include:

- “Critical moments” could give rise to quality-focused reforms that benefit girls (Shrestha, Williams, Al-Samarrai, Van Geldermalsen, & Zaidi, 2018). In the case of Rwanda, post-conflict reconstruction ushered in a new political settlement. The RPF assumed a dominant developmental approach to governance, introducing a new ideology in the country, one which included a more central focus on gender to the ruling party's political project.
- Despite considerable policy incoherence in other areas (e.g., language of instruction), the education policies focused on girls have benefitted from being a cross-cutting theme. It was at the core of the ruling party's ideology and development strategy. The party believed that if the party was going to achieve its goals it needed to make gains on gender. The focus on women's empowerment from the early stages of the political settlement likely contributed to more coherency and sustainable gains related to the education of girls.
- Reform of girls' education involved multiple actors beyond the education sector. This included key politicians, international organizations, and social movements that focused on the transformative power of gender equality.
- Vision 2020 and Vision 2050 show how the domestication of global frameworks, like the MDGs and SDGs, can shape national-level development goals and policy adoption when there is sufficient buy-in from ruling elites.
- Girls' education reform benefited from the alignment of top-down drivers and bottom-up accountability through performance contracts as well as community involvement through decentralization.
- Rwanda's rapid progress and achievement around improving access and achieving parity are instructive, but part of this success may be attributable to the government's focus on quantifying its development achievements. This may have also obscured other indicators of quality or manifestations of inequality that were not as easily comparable nor measurable.

In conclusion, the dominant developmental political settlement may put Rwanda at a comparative advantage when it comes to improving girls' education, particularly when it comes to access and parity. In Rwanda, as elsewhere, many elites tend to be committed to expansionary education programs. The focus on gender equity has received added attention because of its centrality to the ruling party's social and economic development project – and by extension, its claim on power and legitimacy.

References

- Berry, M. E. (2018). *War, women, and power: From violence to mobilization in Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Burnet, J. E. (2008). Gender balance and the meanings of women in governance in post-genocide Rwanda. *African Affairs*, 107(428), 361-386.
- Burnet, J. E., & Kanakuze, J. (2018). *Political Settlements, Women's Representation and Gender Equality: The 2008 Gender-Based Violence Law and Gender Parity in Primary and Secondary Education in Rwanda*. Manchester: Effective States and Inclusive Development Research Centre.
- Chemouni, B. (2014). Explaining the design of the Rwandan decentralization: elite vulnerability and the territorial repartition of power. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 1-17.
- Di John, J., & Putzel, J. (2009). *Political settlements: issues paper*. University of Birmingham: Governance and Social Development Resource Centre.
- Golooba-Mutebi, F. (2013). *Politics, political settlements and social change in post-colonial Rwanda*. Manchester: Effective States and Inclusive Development Research Centre.
- Hickey, S., & Hossain, N. (2019). *Politics of Education in Developing Countries: From Schooling to Learning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hoben, S. J. (1989). *School, work, and equity : educational reform in Rwanda*. Boston: African Studies Center.
- Honeyman, C. A. (2015). *Early literacy promotion in Rwanda: opportunities and obstacles*. Kigali: Save the Children; Ishya Consulting.
- Kapur, N. (2020). *School closures in the context of Covid-19: an inequity impact assessment of Primary 2 and 3 pupils*. Kigali: Building Learning Foundations.
- Levy, B., & Walton, M. (2013). *Institutions, incentives and service provision: bringing politics back in*. Manchester: Effective States and Inclusive Development Research Centre.
- MIGEPROF. (2010). *National Gender Policy*. Kigali: Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion.
- MINECOFIN. (2000). *Rwanda Vision 2020*. Kigali: Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning.
- MINECOFIN. (2020). *Rwanda Vision 2050*. Kigali: Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning.
- MINEDUC. (1997). *Study of the education sector in Rwanda*. Kigali: Ministry of Education, UNESCO & UNDP.
- MINEDUC. (1998). *Study of the education sector in Rwanda: revised edition*. Kigali: Ministry of Education.
- MINEDUC. (2018). *Education Sector Strategic Plan 2018/2019 to 2023/2024*. Kigali: Ministry of Education.
- MINEDUC. (2020). *2019 Education Statistics*. Kigali: Ministry of Education.

MINEDUC (2021). 2021/22 Forward looking joint review of the education sector: narrative Report. Kigali: Ministry of Education.

Obura, A. (2003). *Never again: educational reconstruction in Rwanda*. Paris: UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning.

RPF-Inkotanyi. (2017). *The RPF Inkotanyi Manifesto 2017-2024*. Kigali: RPF-Inkotanyi.

Shrestha, U., Williams, T. P., Al-Samarrai, S., Van Geldermalsen, A., & Zaidi, A. (2018). What is the relationship between politics, education reforms, and learning? Evidence from a new database and nine case studies. *Paper for the World Development Report*.

Williams, T. P. (2016). Oriented towards action: The political economy of primary education in Rwanda. Manchester: Effective States and Inclusive Development Research Centre.

Williams, T. P. (2017). The political economy of primary education: Lessons from Rwanda. *World Development*, 96, 550-561.

Williams, T. P. (2019). The Downsides of Dominance: Education Quality Reforms and Rwanda's Political Settlement. In *The Politics of Education in Developing Countries* (pp. 86-104). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Williams, T.P. (2021). Why Did Rwanda Abruptly Change the Language in Schools—Again? *World Politics Review*.

Williams, T. P., Nzahabwanayo, S., Lavers, T., & Ndushabandi, E.. (2022) Distributing social transfers in Rwanda: The case of the Vision 2020 Umurenge Programme (VUP). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

World Bank. (2018). The World Bank Quality Basic Education for Human Capital Development in Rwanda: Project Information Document. Kigali: The World Bank.

World Bank. (2022). Rwanda Quality Basic Education for Human Capital Development Project. Kigali: The World Bank.