

## **DOCTRINES OF SUPRANATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN EDUCATION AND THEIR EFFECTS ON THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS OF RWANDA**

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**Abstract:** Ever since the independence, financial problems have forced developing countries to request loans and grants from developed countries and international financial institutions to help finance different developmental projects. These financial institutions include World Bank and International Monetary fund's IMF). However, from 1980s these institutions imposed developing countries some conditions in different domains of life so as to provide any support. Thereafter, several developed countries joined those financial institutions in this move.

To provide support in the area of education, developing countries are imposed to reform their educational systems and adopt new practices like: Privatization of education, Decentralization of education, Reducing the cost per student, Repayment of the cost of the education by the parents, Suppression of the financing of higher education.

To implement these conditions, developing countries are obliged to change their educational policies and to introduce some practices which are not conducive to the population. It is against this background that Rwanda brought some changes in its system of education like double shift in primary schools, reduction of teachers' salaries, reduction of dropouts, etc.

### **Background of the study**

Since 1980, it was observed that educational policies and practices in Rwanda were very controversial. In fact, the decade 1980 was characterized by measures of auto economic adjustment which affected the educational sector, among others. Commentators' especially local journalists claimed that the Government was more and more failing and starting to get rid of its role in education to make teaching a burden for parents (Kinyamateka, 1987).

The beginning of 1990 was characterized by readjustment of school reforms, which had begun in 1979. The key objective of this readjustment was to reduce primary education from 8 to 6 years of education by removing primary 7 and primary 8. One of the reasons of such a removal was the exorbitant costs of these two years (NUR, 1991).

After the genocide against Tutsi in 1994, other measures to reduce the burden of education for the Government of Rwanda have been and continue to be taken. Currently some measures, such as for example the cancellation of scholarships by introducing loan systems in Higher learning education, scholarships on the basis of socio-economic categories of families of students, the project to involve banks in the granting of scholarships as loans, double shift at primary and secondary level, etc. are now causing debates.

It is due to these debates that this study has been undertaken in and attempts to understand the rationale behind these strategies taken by the Government of Rwanda and whose (research) findings revealed that it has a reduced role in education.

### **Problem Statement**

In the world around us, countries experience from time to time periods of economic crises which require strategies to redress their economies and to get out of the crisis. These countries are still facing budget deficits and to balance their budgets, they are forced to call upon rich countries and funding institutions to solicit aid or loans in order to balance their budgets and to make development projects. The literature on economics of education shows that since 1980, major supranational institutions have developed educational doctrines and these doctrines have become conditions for receiving support in the sector of education. Since then, these doctrines have been adopted by almost all donors who want to intervene in financing the education in developing countries. These countries are therefore forced to adapt their political and educational strategies in an effort to respect these doctrines.

Currently, policies and practices in Rwanda's education system seem to reduce the role of Government in the area of education for shifting responsibilities to students' parents and local communities. Through these measures, it seems that the Government does nothing more than complying with donors' doctrines. The question is to know how these measures and strategies taken, as well as political orientation in the area of education in Rwanda constitute a response to the doctrines of international financing institutions and other donors.

### **Methodology**

The conduct of this research was done through content analysis. This one is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication in order to interpret that content (Alballero, 1999, Robert & Bouillaguet 1997; Bardin, 1977). According to Bardin (1977),

content analysis is guided by the rigorous desire, the need to discover, to guess and to go beyond appearances.

Indeed, data collected are from written sources. Those documents that were analyzed are those developed by financial institutions and donors, the political speech of the Rwandan authorities in education and the technical documents in education.

### **Supranational institutions and their doctrines in education**

Several international institutions and several developed countries especially northern countries intervene to support developing countries in their development efforts. Education is one the areas that requires such supports. The World Bank, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and the World Trade Organization (WTO) have developed their own way to consider and manage education: Learning and teaching. These organizations have been able to get these doctrines adopted and to make them a condition for assistance in the field of education.

#### ***The World Bank: Reduction of the role of Government in education and enlargement of the private sphere***

When the World Bank was created in 1944, its mission was to reconstruct countries destroyed by the Second World War. Thereafter, the institution was involved in guarantee and delivery of loans designed to finance infrastructural projects in developing countries. Since 1960s, the fight against poverty through market model became its main objective. *"Its policy aims at the universal extension of the market model and to the integration of poor countries into the global market, considered as the only remedy to get them out of the situation of lagging behind"*(Laval and Weber, 2002, p.71).

To apply this policy, the World Bank started to intervene in developing countries' education sector in the beginning of 1960 with the aim of fostering economic growth. By the end of 1970s, its purpose was to assist in the construction and equipment of technical, vocational and secondary education to meet the needs of the workforce (Nancy, 2002). From 1980s, the operations financed by the World Bank in the education sector were most often undertaken in the framework of structural adjustment programs. From this decade two major theoretical trends, based on the theory of human capital and social capital have guided its policy in the field of education (Laval and Weber, 2002): to promote education in a strictly economic angle and apply financing and management principles to education consisting in reducing the intervention of Government and broadening the private sphere.

These are the guidelines that form the basis of school reforms that the World Bank imposes on developing countries, reforms whose main requirements are summarized in the following: to privatize to recover costs, to decentralize and to transfer the resources of higher education to basic education (Nancy, 2002, Laval and Weber, 2002).

It is these guidelines based on educational reforms that the World Bank imposed on developing countries, reforms whose main provisions focus on privatization, costs recovery, decentralization and transfer of higher education resources to basic education.

### **1. Privatization of Education**

For the World Bank, privatization of education must particularly concern the secondary education and higher education. Its argument is that many countries are not capable of financing with public funds the

expansion of these two levels of education where demand is constantly growing. Thus the developing countries must rely on households to privately cover a large part of education costs. They are recommended to:

- Liberalize the education sector at the secondary and higher level and facilitate the market entry for new suppliers of educational services;
- Limit the public assistance granted to educational institutions at those levels including public schools;
- Increase registration fees in public schools;
- Increase community monetary or non-monetary contributions to schools (Laval and Weber, 2002, Nancy, 2002, Carnoy, 1999).

The World Bank does not exclude the privatization of primary education even if it encourages countries to make it a priority. In its logic, such a privatization can lead to greater fairness because the public funding should concentrate on the poor by being supported by a private education sector intended for parents able to afford its cost (SFI, 1999). Thus, the element of competition involved in educational institutions must be expanded and the grants will be provided to poor families to allow the solvency of demand (Laval and Weber, 2002).

### **2. Decentralization of education**

For the World Bank, the decentralization of education is in the framework of searching new sources of funding. The central Government must delegate the management power of schools that it can no longer finance to local administrative bodies or to the communities which must mobilize the resources at local level which would not be otherwise available without decentralization. For the World Bank and OECD, centralized systems are inefficient

and expensive. Governments must guarantee the autonomy of schools including financial autonomy and they only must set standards and broad lines of programs.

(Laval and Weber, 2002, Charlier, 2001).

### **3. Transfer of the public funding of education from higher level to lower level**

Studies on the cost of education show that higher education is very expensive and a significant part of the budget of these establishments is more allocated to scholarships and to operations than to teaching or research (Carnoy, 1999). For the World Bank, these costs of post elementary education pose a political and social problem. It would benefit more students from more powerful and wealthier groups by providing them with additional strengths to improve their privileged position (Laval and Weber, 2002). It is in this framework that it proposes as a remedy and for the sake of fairness to transfer the financing of higher education to other levels, especially towards the elementary level to increase its accommodating capacities (Carnoy, 1999). The World Bank recommendation is that the more one goes to higher level of education, the higher the contributions of beneficiaries.

### **4. Costs recovery**

The policy undertaken by the World Bank is to collect from families and students the sums corresponding to real costs of studies by considering the future gains that the studies will provide. For institutions of higher education, it states the following:

*“The better for the institutions of higher education would be to recover full costs by the process through which students pay the fees by levies on the incomes of their parents and on their own future income in the context of loans or taxes on degrees”*

(World Bank, cited by Laval and Weber, 2002, p. 59).

### **5. Reducing costs per student at all levels of education**

As part of the search for efficiency, the World Bank proposes some steps in the direction of reducing the costs of education (Laval and Weber, 2002 Carnoy, 1999):

- Increased class sizes;
- Develop distance education and the use of new technologies;
- Declining incomes and employment of teachers using them longer and more intensive their skills;
- Recruitment of new teachers with low level of education and subject to more flexible and less costly contract in terms academic level.

For experts of the World Bank, these measures have no significant impact on student achievement.

### **The World Trade Organization (WTO) and the World Education Market**

The World Trade Organization (WTO) is a multilateral international organization created in 1994 by the Treaty of Marrakech by 130 countries and its headquarters are in Geneva. Its main objective is to promote as much as possible harmony, freedom, fairness and predictability of trade.

The WTO works in the field of education and training through the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). The agreement aims at promoting trade in services, including facilities for education in the way of material goods. At the basis of this agreement there are two principles: the principle of the nation favored and the principle of national treatment (Laval and Weber, 2002; International Education,

2002). The favored nation principle requires that if a country grants another country favorable treatment on the import and export of services, it will give equal treatment to all signatory States that request it. The principle of national treatment requires that foreign firms in the service contract of a country receive the same treatments as domestic firms operating in the same market

Under GATS, liberalization of trade in services must receive all services except those covered by the Government. The services concerned are only the police and the army. The education of a country that is out of the scope of the GATS should be fully funded and managed by the Government and in the non-commercial perspective (International Education, 2002). In other words, countries not covered by these agreements in education and training are the countries whose educational system has no private education. So many members of the WTO cannot escape the liberalization of education. Four modes of supply of educational services abroad have been defined in the GATS (Laval and Weber, 2002 Department of Education, International Education, 2002):

- Provide a service from a member country to another member country: It is the case of e-education.
- Provide education service on the territory of a member country for the consumers from other member countries. This is the case when the country welcomes foreign students.
- Provide the service through commercial presence in the territory of another country Member. This is the case when the university opened a faculty or a campus in another country.
- Provide the service due to the presence of people from one member country in the territory of another member country.

The liberalization of trade in educational services established by the WTO through GATS requires the abolition of non-tariff barriers that were imposed by the legislation of the countries: measures limiting the mobility of students and teachers, exchange control, equivalence of diplomas and degrees, recognition of foreign institutions, limitations in the recruitment of foreign teachers, the existence of the monopoly of public education, grants to national educational institutions etc. This liberalization imposes the deregulation and GATS signatory countries cannot legislate freely.

According to Laval and Weber (2002), the doctrine of the WTO made through GATS appears to diversify the educational field in developing countries. Indeed, because of the lack of places in secondary schools and in higher learning institution in developing countries, the developed countries organized in real multinational companies create schools using the various modes of supply identified by the GATS: Affiliation, distance learning, partnership, etc.

Moreover, according to the same authors, the WTO has led not only to privatize the education sector but also to introduce into public education educational services with private management.

### **The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development**

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), an organization composed by countries considered as the most developed in the world, has been established in 1961 as a successor to the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC). It was created to administer the help of USA and Canada under the Marshall Plan after the Second World War. It was created in order to "strengthen the economy of its members, to improve efficiency, promote the market economy, developing free trade

and contribute to the growth of both industrial countries and developing countries.”(Martin, 2002, p.1) Thus to be a member, a country must be among others committed to the principles of the market economy and pluralist democracy (Laval and Weber, 2002).

At the beginning, the organization was devoted to purely economic issues. Then after, its mission was expanded and it currently deals with social aspects of development of its members and has become a laboratory where the major social, cultural and economic transformations of our time re analyzed (Laval and Weber, 2002). Even if it is not directly involved in education policy of developing countries and its influence is not as strong as that of the WTO, by its analysis and concepts, it influences many member governments and non-members as well as many institutions including the World Bank.

Its four main analyzes in education are summarized below.

### **1. The need to transform the school in order to help it to adapt to changes in the economy and society.**

Economic changes are characterized by globalization, deregulation of markets, increased competition, the rapid spread of information technology, the transition from an industrial economy to a service economy, and especially the emergence of a knowledge economy that is to say the economy in which innovation is the engine that integrates goods and services in the production activities. (Laval and Weber, 2002)

They are also characterized by change of work; the organization explains the need to fundamentally reform the school. It is not based on hierarchy, obedience worker and routine jobs. Rather,

*"The company has become a flexible organization less hierarchical, operating*

*more as network; it is now a "learning company", employing "adaptable workers." New skills would be helpful to work, the ability to work in teams, and learn to analyze, solve problems, adapt to change to take initiative, communicate with colleagues and customers, using new technologies.* "(Laval and Weber, 2002, p.86)

About the changes in society, they are characterized by ageing, changes in life cycles, extending the period of transition to working life, the process of individuation and disengagement of individuals from civic life and social , growing inequality, family instability, the crisis of the social bond, the desire for gender equality, etc. (Laval and Weber, 2002). Thus, these changes require people to be more able to learn, to identify, analyze and use critical faculties.

### **2. Training throughout life or lifelong learning for all**

Due to economic and technological change, requiring the entry into a knowledge-based economy and skills, the OECD has developed a training concept throughout life/lifelong learning for all. For the OECD, Lifelong Learning for All that was a right came with the coming of the neo-industrial restrictions and the imposition of labor market flexibility an adaptation to the globalized economy. Regarding the role of education in this context OECD, Papadopoulos stated as follows:

*"Education plays a key role: it produces and updates the knowledge and skills of assets, which is one of the basic conditions for the development of a flexible labor market that can respond to the constant changes related economic restructuring, those changes even driven by rapid technological developments.* "(Papadopoulos, quoted by Laval and Weber, 2002, p. 90).

The practice of training throughout life requires a radical change in the direction of education, putting more emphasis on learners (young and adults) and their learning and preparing to form them continuously. As this requires an increase in costs, it is necessary to practice a system of co-financing between the state and the recipients of educational services. Educational systems to move in lifelong learning for all must function as a market:

"On one hand, an active demand of individuals, partly sponsored by the Government; in the other hand diversified offers of education with multiple "players" who can coordinate education in networking and partnerships." "Making lifelong learning a reality for all" means that the learning process does not reduce the scope of school but incorporates scope of the family, the community and the company. (...) It (teaching) requires motivated individuals to form themselves continuously, with cognitive skills necessary for "self-directed learning," with access to learning opportunities and encouraged financially and culturally "(Laval and Weber, 2002, p.101).

This conception of education by OECD favoring market economy to school is not far from the doctrine of the World Bank. In addition, it does not make a clear distinction between formal and non-formal education in the context of lifelong learning for all. So, she would have a change and diversification in the educational field especially in the developing countries whose education systems operate in part by funds provided by the northern countries (OECD) and international institutions in the form of loans or bilateral and multilateral aid.

### **3. The school is a learning organization**

For the OECD, the school should be a place of learning to know but have to learn to change. For this to happen in order to make more flexible school management,

principles used in business must be applied to school systems. This will be done by deregulating, decentralizing, giving autonomy and responsibility to stakeholders, multiplying partners, promoting networking between businesses, schools, and associations (Laval & Weber, 2002; Leprono, 2002)

### **4. The search for efficiency**

To change the school and make it effective, the OECD attaches importance to teachers and a competitive approach. For the OECD, it is impossible to change schools without relying on teachers. These are the heart of the educational process. Thus, morale, motivation and skills are of paramount importance in a period of reform. They are partners in the development of educational policies and must be viewed in their application. It is in this context that the OECD recommends to improve both initial and continuing training. For the competitive approach, the OECD considers that it can strengthen innovation and improve the performance of the school.

The three institutions, the World Bank, the WTO and the OECD, although each has its particularities in the results, they have very good agreement of doctrines: a conception of education both liberal and utilitarian (Laval and Weber 2002). It is liberal because for these institutions, education systems must emulate in their management and in their organization the market model. It is utilitarian because these institutions of education and training serve first individual interest or an amount of public interest. Speech from this conception of education and training, translated as requirements, and supported by other donors, requires a revision of the role of the Governments in the field of education

### **The instruments used by the supranational institutions to impose their doctrines**

To impose their doctrines, the supranational institutions and other donors use well developed programs negotiated by countries seeking financial support. These programs are similar in background are the Structural adjustment programs (SAPs), which appeared in the early 1980s and the Country Assistance Strategy (CAS), which saw his appearance in the late 1990s.

#### ***The structural adjustment programs (SAPs)***

The structural adjustment programs consist of the economic recovery plan of the countries whose economy was down. The plan developed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) was to put these countries on a path of stable and sustainable economic growth. It focused on stabilizing the economy, better management of public resources, the establishment of a favorable environment for the development of private enterprise and diversification of production and exports.

In general, by the structural adjustment programs, the World Bank and the IMF required that signatory countries make economic reforms as precedent for receiving aid and loans. These include, among other economic reforms in the external competitiveness of the economy, reducing the role of the Government, the effective management of public resources, the promotion of private initiative, and social and environmental terms.

#### ***Country assistance strategy***

Towards the end of the decade in 1990, the intervention of financial institutions no longer involved the structural adjustment programs. They had adopted the "Country Assistance Strategy: CAS. With CAS, funding institutions or donors demanded to

the developing countries which want to receive financial supports (gift or credits) to prepare and make approved documents outlining commitments (vision) and detailing the strategies they undertook to adopt to reduce poverty and achieve sustainable development.

Rwanda began to receive the CAS in 1998 because the Board of Directors of the World Bank approved the first CAS for Rwanda 7 April 1998. The CAS was followed by discussions on the application and June 29, 1999, the first report on its progress was approved by the World Bank. Thus, under these requirements, two documents were developed: one on the economic development of the country for 20 years (2000-2020): Vision 2020 and the other on strategies for poverty reduction (PRSP /EDPRS).

### **The effects of the doctrines of supranational institutions on the Rwandan education system**

Faced with the economic crisis that hit Rwanda since the early 1980s, the authorities attempted to contain the crisis by self adjustment. However, when the negotiations were initiated with the World Bank and the IMF, some steps in the direction of the doctrines of donors were adopted. Subsequently other measures were adopted and implemented, resulting in the withdrawal of the role of the Government in education and structural reforms in the education system.

#### ***PAS and the reduced role of the Government in education***

In 1989, in discussion with the World Bank and the IMF, the Rwandan authorities wanted to show to these institutions their willingness to enforce their demands. It is in this context, the Government meeting held in December 1989, among the measures taken included those related to different levels of education in order to provide solutions to the economic problems faced and the line

of the proposed measures by the two institutions. For primary and secondary education it was decided to:

- Accelerate the readjustment of school reform. This adjustment could significantly reduce educational costs by eliminating the third cycle of elementary school (grades 7 and 8). This cycle was considered pedagogically unprofitable and very expensive;
- Accelerate the non boarding regime in secondary education;
- Create fund to promote education in municipal and prefectural level and give them tasks as helping bright children from poor or needy families by granting them loans to pay tuition and support the authorities concerned to build schools, to equip and maintain them;
- Educate parents to create savings associations and credit for loans to their members to help them to pay school fees for their children;
- Explore ways to combine formal and non-formal education;
- Continue to support promoters of private education.

For higher education the following measures were taken:

- Continue to pursue generalization clerkship in teaching at UNR;
- Rent rooms at UNR as the private rooms of the same quality are rent;
- Encourage the promoters of private higher education institution;
- Start to replace scholarships by grants loans;
- Request registration fees by considering the income of the parents;
- Accelerate the implementation of the fund of the promotion of higher education (FOPES);
- Increase the number of private students;
- Streamline the use of resources of UNR reducing expenses unrelated to teaching.

All these measures were aimed at reducing government spending in education and

transfer its traditional role of school funding and full owner of the majority of schools to private. In addition he began to involve local bodies in this case the municipalities and prefectures to care also education. These measures were included in the requirements contained in the structural adjustment programs. They were reaffirmed to donors during the roundtable held in 1992, they were designed as follow:

- Educating parents and other social partners and administrative bodies to create funds for the promotion of education;
- For all streamline the management of human, material and financial resources to reduce costs of education;
- To involve the functional complementarily of national structures of formal education, non-formal and informal to provide the largest possible number of people basic education;
- Develop organization for continuous training of teaching self strategies: strengthen and / or establish decentralized management structures, monitoring and training of teachers,
- Mobilize and diversify nonpublic additional resources.

However, their application was not effective. Indeed, the SAP was signed in wartime.

This was followed by the genocide against the Tutsi and the destruction of the country. The period that followed was the emergency period that ended with the advent of CAS which coincided with the beginning of the development period. The effects of the doctrines of supranational institutions were visible from this period until today.

#### **CAS and strategies for the development of education**

As required by the World Bank and the IMF as part of CAS, Rwanda has developed two documents outlining the commitments and strategies detailing its

commitment to adopt to reduce poverty and achieve sustainable development. Vision 2020 and Poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP). Both documents were approved in 1998.

Priority areas for the PRSP and Vision 2020 affect one way or another education sector as it is one of the factors of economic growth. Thus, under "Human Resources Development" in Vision 2020 and "human development" in the PRSP include actions that aim at to improve education at all levels.

#### *1. Priorities for Primary Education*

Recognizing the importance of primary education in the formation of human capital, the national program of poverty reduction has addressed the problem of the quality, relevance and equity of this level. Improving the relevance and quality is to increase the completion rate. As for fairness, even though school statistics show that there is no disparity of boys and girls in access to primary education, these differences become important to completion. The strategies require the following actions (MINECOFIN, 2002):

- Teacher training by the Government;
- the revision of curricula to reduce dropout and repetition rates to achieve universal primary education (UPE) by the year 2010 and Education for all (EFA) in 2015;
- improve quality of education by increasing school textbooks;
- solve the environment-specific constraints on access to primary education.

#### *2. Strategies for secondary education*

For secondary education, the Government hence the problems observed at this level include school dropouts, disparities between girls and boys in access, poor parents, has recommended the following actions:

- Teacher training by strengthening distance education;
- Revision of curricula;

An increase in non-salary expenses such as textbooks, laboratory equipment and facilities;

- Increasing the chances of access to secondary education for children from the poorest families;
- The emphasis on girls' education in science and technology;
- The study of ways to motivate the private sector to engage in technical and vocational training.

#### *3. The strategies for higher education*

To develop this level of education, the government has set up strategies:

- Introduction of cost sharing through a system of loan-scholarship;
- Admission of private students;
- Encourage the private sector to finance higher education;
- Require higher to expand income-generating activities and strengthen the public-private partnership education institutions;
- Subsidize the most talented students from poor families.

These strategies for teaching fit well in the doctrines of financial institutions and donors. Strategies for primary education tend to make it free to allow everyone to access it. The Government is committed to invest a lot more. It funds secondary education while appealing to private to intervene mainly in technical and vocational education. As for higher education, the financial contribution of the beneficiaries of educational services is becoming increasingly required to introduce the high tuition fees: students pay instead of receiving a scholarship or loan-scholarship. These strategies could not succeed if the Government had not embarked on reforms.

#### **The implementation of the priorities: deregulation**

Since the advent of the doctrines of supranational institutions, especially with

the advent of CAS, school legislation, educational policies and practices are marked by these doctrines. Even if the stated objective is the improvement of the performance of the indicators of the education system or the improvement of the efficiency of the education system, an analysis of orders, circulars or ministerial instructions demonstrated some answers to these requirements. In addition, other practices are the consequences of the development application of these requirements.

*The decrease of the role of the Government in education*

This reduction has been done through the by strengthening of the role of local authorities and parents in the management of educational institutions.

In fact, before the introduction of the decentralization policy, the Ministry of Education was responsible for managing everything related to the public education and all schools sponsored by the government at all levels. That Ministry was responsible for the management of the teaching staff, administrative and support staff of those schools and other staff of the services connected to the ministry of education. It proceeded to their recruitment, to the payment of their salaries and other wages, it mutated and sanctioned them for failure, decided their promotion, dismissal etc. At the same time it was responsible for planning, budgeting, inspection of schools, financial control. Etc.

Currently, with the policy of decentralization and reform of the public level, the system of education is highly decentralized at primary and secondary level. All schools belong to the district and its staff is part of the district staff. Each district has to take care of its schools through its own budget by giving some responsibilities to the Sectors. Districts

must decide the creation of new schools or expanding existing ones. In addition to the budget that local entities receive from the central government, they have full power to search for their schools other funding sources within or outside the country.

In addition, parental involvement was integrated into school legislation. Indeed, the Law No. 20/2003 of 30<sup>th</sup> August 2003 on the organization of primary and secondary school mentions the parental involvement in school management. In article 19, it establishes a general school assembly, whose functions are, among others: participate in the preparation of the development plan, budget, and internal regulations of the school; to monitor the implementation of the budget and set up a committee of parents. The members of the general assembly of the school are all parents with children in this school, its teachers, student representatives, the owner of the school who may be accompanied by up to three people (for schools recognized), the educational leaders at the sector level and at the cell in which the school is located, the head of education department at the district level. The duties and responsibilities of the parents committee are:

- To prepare the work of the General Assembly;
- To monitor the implementation of decisions taken by the General Assembly;
- To monitor compliance with laws and regulations by the school principal of the school;
- To monitor budget implementation;
- To follow up the process of teaching and learning;
- To monitor the behavior of teachers and students discipline;
- To analyze the problems faced by the school, or provide solutions through the appropriate authorities.

*Cost reduction of secondary and higher education by increasing the hourly load of teachers.*

Until 2003, the law required school teacher from secondary school a minimum schedule of 18 hours of theory and 24 practical hours per week. However in 2003, the minimum weekly schedule for a secondary school teacher was fixed at 25 hours a week and now up to 30 hours per week. The implementation of this measure has reduced the numbers of teachers per secondary school. For higher education, the guidelines require teachers to teach at least 12 hours per week and submit a schedule that respects the work week of 45 hours. Prior to these guidelines, a teacher gave the whole 200 hours per year, after which he was free.

*Reducing costs of primary education by increasing the number students per class*

Along with the Ministry of Education increased the hourly load of secondary teachers, it increased the student / class ratio in primary education. In 2001, the Minister of Education asked the inspectors of education to conduct mergers classes in order to have classes every primary school classes a number of less than 50 students in the first cycle and 46 in the second cycle. The implementation of this measure, which was certainly intended to reduce the cost per student, resulted in the suspension of unqualified teachers, that is to say without teacher training school diploma even though they had a lot of experience. It's the same logic to reduce the costs of primary education that currently primary education adopted the double shift system to improve student /teacher ratio to achieve 12 years basic education.

*The search for efficiency by almost automatic promotion in primary and secondary education*

Rwanda partners in the field of education, especially the World Bank have long accused the Rwandan system to be ineffective following dropout rates and high repetition. Their accusations were somehow justified. In fact, statistics from the Ministry of Education prove that at the primary level, until 2000/2001 school year, repetition rates exceeded 30% and dropouts have always exceeded 10%. Starting in 2001, the authorities decided to solve this problem.

In fact, on June 25, 2001, a decree of the Minister of Education (Ministerial Decree No. 05/2001 of 25.06.2001 concerning the conditions of promotion repetition and expulsion of students in the public and free primary and subsidized secondary education), adopted by the cabinet meeting of June 20, 2001, changed the rules of promotion that were in force and arrested the new terms of promotion, repetition and exclusion in primary and secondary public schools and in those subsidized by the government. The old rules that dated from 1986 for primary and 1996 secondary were rigorous.

Article 3 of the new decree states that, from the first year to sixth year of the primary schools, no student should be excluded. It added that teachers can decide the repetition of a student who has experienced problems in order to help raise its intellectual level. However it is not allowed to repeat more than 10% of the number of a class.

For the secondary school, the conditions to pass from a level to another became flexible. Even those with a general average less than 50% can pass. The board of teachers studying each case and could decide the promotion, repetition or exclusion taking into account the evolution of the student concerned. Article 6 states that students who complete the 1st, 2nd, 4th and 5th years go automatically into the

rising classes. The decree said that the council may decide repetition of a student when he finds that it is the only way to help him improve his intellectual level. As for primary education, the number of repetitions shall not exceed 10% of enrollment in the class. The board may redirect a student in another section.

The decree does not allow the exclude of a pupil in secondary education except in the case of a notorious indiscipline. This reference is decided by the disciplinary committee when the school and the parents of the child have exhausted all means to help the child to change the behavior and he remain undisciplined. For students in third year who could not find places in the public schools and those subsidized by the government and the students of the 6th year that could not graduate, the deliberation council authorize them to redo the class if deems appropriate for the student based on availability of the places.

#### **Cost recovery through the introduction of loans scholarships for higher education and the establishment of a collection agency**

The Rwandan government has long awarded to students in higher education grants non-refundable for studies. The decision in 1987 to transform scholarship grants loans has not been implemented. It was only in 2003 that the steps to repay these grants were implemented. Service was established within the Ministry of Education, SFAR (Students Financing Agency for Rwanda.). Its mission is to grant loans scholarships both within and outside the country and follow the mechanism of reimbursement. This agency has the full power operation in July 2004, she will take care of the recovery of loans-grants data from 1987, and this agency is also working to minimize costs in the lending exchanges. It is within this framework that grants loans are more oriented in countries where tuition fees are

cheaper. They are more given to candidates with admissions in African and Asian countries.

Currently, policies and eliminate outright grants and let the parents and their children get organized with banks.

#### *Reducing costs of education through the introduction of other forms of education management*

In its efforts to reduce the cost of education while allowing the formation of the large number of students possible, the Government introduced into the educational system, forms of management that did not exist before the actual implementation of the requirements from CAS. Those different forms of management are the following:

##### *1. The "catch up" at the elementary level: a flexible education*

The catch-up is a strategy adopted by the Government of Rwanda through Mineduc to reintegrate children who have dropped out along the way. These children are given a three-year training program covering the whole primary education program. After this training, they spend the exams of primary study end as the other finalists for this level of education. This training, which normally should be done within the framework of non-formal education is nothing more than the response to the demand made long with PAS which is to involve the functional complementarity of formal, non-formal and informal structure to allow a large number of people to benefit from basic education. With the development of primary education and especially the fight against abandonment, the system catch up achieved its goals and has been stopped.

##### *2. Enrollment of the student by the government in private secondary schools*

In the perspective of increasing access to secondary education according to the

promises made to the population with reduced cost as required by the international institutions and other donors, the government began to enroll students in some private secondary schools. Every year from the school year 2003/2004 Mineduc signed a contract with some private high schools to enroll students who succeeded the entrance examination to secondary education

*4. The use of foreign higher learning institutions: trade of educational services*

Cost recovery in higher education by transforming scholarship loan was not enough to meet the demand for education in higher level especially at Masters and PhD level, levels of teaching that the state was not yet in a position to implement. Moreover, regardless of the country of registration, scholarships abroad are more expensive. It is in this context that the government has allowed the arrival on the Rwandan school fields foreign universities as part of distance learning or on-site. The current of these foreign universities decreased magnitude with the possibility of local universities to organize courses at master's degrees.

*5. A flexible education: part-time programs for private students in public higher learning institution*

The system of private students was already proposed in 1989 at the joint meeting of the MRND Central Committee and the Government cabinet in the context of looking for ways to overcome the economic crisis of 1980s. It has been also included in Vision 2020 and PRSP as strategy to reduce poverty. Thus, all public higher education institutions in Rwanda have private students. As demand becomes greater and people able to pay school fees are those have an employment paid monthly, these institutions have opted for a flexible program: teaching evening and weekends. Schools to open depend on the demand of the candidates and the nature of

the establishment. Recruitment and setting tuition are made by the institution. Classes are taught by teachers from the school as internal visitors, that is to say, paid by hours. The remaining funds are used for the operation of the institution. In fact, not only does this system has been introduced to meet the demand for education in higher, but mainly as an activity that generates revenue to support the operation of the institution in which public subsidies remain meager.

*The birth of a demand for education of a different kind: an adaptation of the school to changes in the economy and society*

With decentralization, reform of the public label and privatization imposed by supranational institutions, it has been a government staff reduction and thus job loss. Among the criteria for selection, qualification especially the degree was more important than work experience. Thus, several government employees without a degree from the University but with extensive experience were being replaced by a newly graduated. This created a demand for education of different kinds. Those who remained in the service feel a need to obtain a bachelor's degree which seemed to be a kind of guarantee to stay at work or get a promotion. Thus, some aspire to secondary education, others to higher education. Given their age, they want to conquer the degree while pursuing an activity which generating of revenue. With the devaluation of degrees, a demand for education at both secondary and higher education is becoming increasingly important. And secondary evening schools were founded and evening programs at public and private universities are successful.

**Conclusion**

The doctrines of supranational institutions appeared throughout the early 1980s. Initially, even if the country had economic difficulties, the Rwandan authorities have

been reluctant to adopt these doctrines. However, they started by changing the orientation on the financing and the management of education and eventually they agreed to line up under PAS. Thus, from PAS to CAS, Rwanda is striving to become a good disciple of supranational financial institutions. It is in this context that some political speech on education, some instructions, and some practical strategies do not receive the consent of the local population. Indeed, the most controversial originate in the economic philosophy of these institutions in education.

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