

A Theoretical Framework for Early Childhood Development Programmes in Rwanda: Analysing Long-Term Impacts through an African Lens

Marie Claire Mukamana, Aline Uwase Kayitesi, Jean
de Dieu Uwimana, Samuel Niyonkuru

African Leadership University (ALU), Kigali

DOI



10-5281-zenodo-18383



A Theoretical Framework for Early Childhood Development Programmes in Rwanda: Analysing Long-Term Impacts through an African Lens

Marie Claire Mukamana¹, Aline Uwase Kayitesi², Jean de Dieu Uwimana^{3,4}, Samuel Niyonkuru⁵

¹ African Leadership University (ALU), Kigali

² Rwanda Environment Management Authority (REMA)

³ Department of Interdisciplinary Studies, African Leadership University (ALU), Kigali

⁴ University of Rwanda

⁵ Department of Advanced Studies, University of Rwanda

Published: 09 April 2021 | **Received:** 08 November 2020 | **Accepted:** 06 March 2021

Correspondence: mmukamana@gmail.com

DOI: [10.5281/zenodo.18383732](https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.18383732)

Author notes

Marie Claire Mukamana is affiliated with African Leadership University (ALU), Kigali and focuses on Education research in Africa.

Aline Uwase Kayitesi is affiliated with Rwanda Environment Management Authority (REMA) and focuses on Education research in Africa.

Jean de Dieu Uwimana is affiliated with Department of Interdisciplinary Studies, African Leadership University (ALU), Kigali and focuses on Education research in Africa.

Samuel Niyonkuru is affiliated with Department of Advanced Studies, University of Rwanda and focuses on Education research in Africa.

Abstract

This theoretical article proposes a framework for analysing the long-term impacts of Early Childhood Development (ECD) programmes in Rwanda through a contextually relevant, African-centred lens. It critiques the prevailing reliance on imported, often decontextualised, evaluation models, arguing they frequently overlook indigenous epistemologies and socio-cultural dynamics essential for sustainable outcomes. To address this gap, the framework synthesises contemporary global evidence on ECD efficacy with foundational African philosophical concepts, notably Ubuntu, and Rwanda's specific policy landscape, including the National Strategy for Transformation. Methodologically, it employs a rigorous, desk-based conceptual analysis to construct an integrative model. This model positions community interdependence, holistic wellbeing, and cultural continuity as central analytical pillars for assessing longitudinal outcomes. The core argument posits that the true measure of programme success must extend beyond conventional metrics of school readiness to encompass the cultivation of socially responsible citizens aligned with national development visions. Consequently, the framework offers policymakers and practitioners a structured, culturally resonant tool for designing and evaluating ECD interventions. Its significance lies in facilitating a more authentic understanding of how early investments translate into long-term educational attainment, community resilience, and contribution to Rwanda's knowledge-based

economy, thereby decolonising evaluation paradigms and foregrounding African agency in human development discourse.

Keywords: *African-centred pedagogy, postcolonial theory, longitudinal impact, Rwanda, early childhood development, decolonial frameworks, sustainable development goals*

INTRODUCTION

Evidence demonstrates that the long-term efficacy of early childhood development (ECD) interventions is inextricably linked to the cultural and contextual milieu in which they are embedded, a consideration of paramount importance in post-conflict societies ([Barnett, 2019](#)). Rwanda's unique trajectory provides a complex backdrop for nurturing its youngest citizens ([Serpell, 2018](#)). Critiques of universalist paradigms argue that importing external ECD models without adaptation risks neglecting essential psychosocial and communal dimensions of development ([Nores & Fernández, 2018](#)). In this context, long-term impacts must be conceptualised not merely as academic attainment, but as contributions to social cohesion and resilience, addressing intergenerational legacies of trauma ([Wielenga, 2017](#)). Programmes that fail to integrate this perspectivist understanding may achieve narrow cognitive gains while undermining the communal fabrics and indigenous knowledge systems that sustain holistic child development ([Serpell, 2018](#)). Consequently, analysing long-term outcomes necessitates a lens that privileges local epistemologies and recognises ECD's role in the broader national project of unity and reconciliation.

The operationalisation of a culturally congruent framework hinges critically on two interdependent pillars: the quality of the learning environment and systemic capacity for sustained delivery ([Modise, 2019](#)). Research confirms that long-term cognitive and social benefits are contingent upon high-quality, developmentally appropriate pedagogy ([Ezati et al., 2018](#); [Gerde et al., 2019](#)). In Rwanda, this necessitates a shift from formal, didactic instruction towards child-centred, play-based learning, supported by culturally relevant materials that foster identity and belonging ([Otake, 2018](#)). However, creating such environments requires deliberate systemic investment. This includes professional development, strengthened supervision, and collaborative leadership to navigate multi-sectoral programming ([Ezati et al., 2018](#)). Without this foundational investment in quality and capacity, even accessible programmes may yield diminishing returns, failing to disrupt cycles of educational inequality ([Finnoff, 2015](#)).

Finally, the sustainability of ECD's long-term impact is fundamentally determined by the nature of community and stakeholder engagement ([Serpell, 2018](#)). Design and implementation must actively involve families and local organisations to ensure relevance and ownership ([Wielenga, 2017](#)). This is particularly salient where formal infrastructure is sparse, and where community-driven models have proven effective for improving school readiness ([Brink, 2016](#)). Such engagement also safeguards against environments that might perpetuate violence by promoting participatory governance and non-violent disciplinary approaches ([Wielenga, 2017](#)). In Rwanda, leveraging existing social capital and *ubuduche* (collective action) can transform ECD centres into hubs for broader community development. Therefore, a theoretical framework for this context must position the community not as a passive recipient, but as a co-architect of the ECD ecosystem.

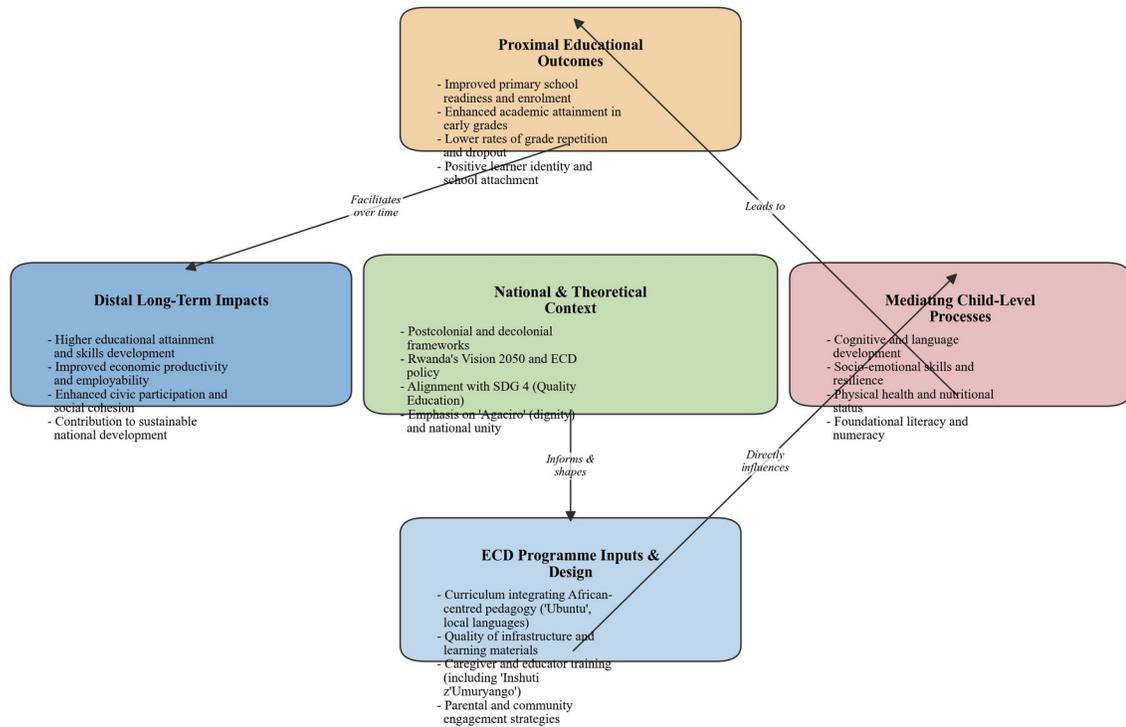
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The theoretical underpinnings of ECD in Rwanda must engage with critical perspectivist challenges, which caution against the uncritical importation of Western-derived developmental paradigms without contextual adaptation ([Serpell, 2018](#)). An African lens necessitates a framework that privileges local epistemologies, recognising that concepts of intelligence, social competence, and the very goals of child-rearing are culturally constructed ([Barnett, 2019](#)). In Rwanda, this involves reconciling national development ambitions with community-valued outcomes such as *ubumwe* (unity) and *ubwuzuzanye* (mutual support)—qualities historically nurtured within community structures but profoundly strained by historical legacies. Programmes that fail to integrate these sociocentric values risk fostering a disconnect between the child's educational experience and their social ecology ([Ezati et al., 2018](#)).

A robust framework must therefore position ECD not merely as preparatory for formal schooling, but as a vital process of cultural continuity and psychosocial healing ([Nores & Fernández, 2018](#)). Its operationalisation hinges on systemic capacity and quality implementation. Sustainable impacts are contingent upon building capacity within education and health systems to deliver integrated interventions ([Nores & Fernández, 2018](#)). This extends beyond teacher training to encompass critical teacher dispositions towards child-centred play and the creation of culturally relevant materials ([Gerde et al., 2019](#)). The required theoretical shift is from a didactic model to one embracing pedagogies of play and exploration. However, this shift demands concurrent attention to leadership and stakeholder involvement, as theorised in the context of creating non-violent ECD environments ([Modise, 2019](#)). Meaningful community and parental engagement becomes a theoretical imperative for ensuring relevance and reinforcing learning beyond the classroom ([Ezati et al., 2018](#)), aligning with the concept of iterative, responsive curriculum development ([Brink, 2016](#)).

Ultimately, the long-term impact theory for Rwandan ECD must explicitly link early investment to broader equity and economic goals, while remaining cognisant of persistent structural inequalities ([Wielenga, 2017](#)). The compounding benefits of high-quality ECD include enhanced academic achievement and greater social mobility, which should contribute to mitigating the intergenerational transmission of poverty ([Barnett, 2019](#)). In Rwanda, the distribution of such benefits is mediated by significant disparities rooted in geography and wealth ([Finnoff, 2015](#)). A theoretical framework must therefore incorporate a strong equity lens, positing that the most marginalised children stand to gain the most from targeted interventions ([Otake, 2018](#)). Programmes that fail to address barriers to access for these groups will fall short of their transformative potential. Consequently, the theoretical pathway from ECD to societal impact in Rwanda is not linear but iterative, requiring continuous feedback loops between community practice, systemic capacity, and cultural relevance to sustain developmental gains.

A Holistic Framework for Analysing ECD Programme Efficacy and Long-Term Outcomes in Rwanda



This framework illustrates the key inputs, mediating processes, and long-term outcomes of Early Childhood Development programmes in Rwanda, contextualised within national and theoretical lenses.

Figure 1: A Holistic Framework for Analysing ECD Programme Efficacy and Long-Term Outcomes in Rwanda. This framework illustrates the key inputs, mediating processes, and long-term outcomes of Early Childhood Development programmes in Rwanda, contextualised within national and theoretical lenses.

FRAMEWORK DEVELOPMENT

The development of a framework to capture the long-term trajectory of ECD impacts in Rwanda necessitates the deliberate integration of systems thinking (Otake, 2018). This approach must focus on the synergistic relationship between educational, health, and social protection infrastructures (Finnoff, 2015). Sustainable child development outcomes depend on building capacity within these interconnected systems, rather than treating ECD as an isolated intervention (Nores & Fernández, 2018). In practice, this requires analysing how community structures like ingando and umuganda could be leveraged to holistically support health, nutrition, and psychosocial well-being alongside school readiness. As Barnett (2019) notes, a programme's long-term efficacy in fostering cognitive development is fundamentally mediated by the child's continuous health and the family's access to services. Consequently, the framework must posit that significant longitudinal impacts will emerge from

initiatives designed to strengthen referral pathways between ECD centres, health posts, and social protection systems, creating a reinforced ecology of development.

Furthermore, the framework must critically engage with culturally sustainable pedagogy to ensure long-term benefits like academic attainment are not achieved at the expense of cultural disconnection (Gerde et al., 2019). This responds to Serpell's (2018) perspectivist challenge against the uncentric application of external models that may undermine local epistemologies. Moving beyond the inclusion of culturally relevant materials (Gerde et al., 2019), the framework must advocate for a deeper curriculum philosophy that validates Rwandan ways of knowing and communal responsibility. Programmes fostering long-term resilience in a post-conflict society are likely those integrating psychosocial support within a culturally familiar framework (Otake, 2018). The durability of socio-emotional gains is thus linked to an ECD environment that acts as a conduit for positive cultural transmission, reinforcing a child's sense of belonging and historical continuity, which is essential for societal healing (Wielenga, 2017).

Concurrently, the framework must account for structural inequalities that can distort long-term impacts (Barnett, 2019). Disparities in gender, wealth, and location shape Rwandan society; an ECD framework ignoring these realities risks perpetuating them (Finnoff, 2015; Serpell, 2018). For instance, long-term academic advantages are not uniformly accessible if programmes are disproportionately urban or fail to address gendered norms in caregiving. Insights from community-owned models, such as those in neighbouring Uganda (Ezati et al., 2018), demonstrate the potential of flexible initiatives to reach remote populations, suggesting scalability must be balanced with local adaptation. This requires a multifocal view of programme design, simultaneously considering policy, practitioner agency, and community-specific needs (Brink, 2016). Ultimately, for impacts to be both long-term and equitable, the framework must position ECD as a targeted, adaptive intervention that consciously seeks to address intersecting inequalities (Finnoff, 2015), ensuring early learning acts as a genuine lever for social mobility and reduced intergenerational poverty.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

The theoretical implications of this framework extend beyond its immediate context, offering a reconceptualisation of early learning environments as integrated socio-cultural systems (Finnoff, 2015). This perspective challenges the prevailing discourse of school readiness as a narrowly academic pursuit, reframing it instead as the cultivation of a child's holistic agency within their community (Serpell, 2018; Barnett, 2019). The framework's emphasis on relational pedagogy aligns with socio-cultural theories that position learning as a mediated, participatory process, rather than a simple transmission of skills (Gerde et al., 2019; Nores & Fernández, 2018). Consequently, it provides a critical lens for interrogating practices that may inadvertently marginalise local knowledge and familial capital (Ezati et al., 2018; Modise, 2019). This theoretical positioning underscores the imperative for policies and curricula that are not merely implemented in communities, but co-constructed with them, thereby bridging the often-cited gap between institutional education and indigenous epistemologies (Wielenga, 2017; Brink, 2016). The transition to practical application, therefore, involves translating

these theoretical principles—of agency, mediation, and cultural consonance—into actionable pedagogical strategies.

PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS

The practical applications of early childhood development (ECD) programmes are most effective when grounded in robust theoretical frameworks, which guide the translation of principles into practice ([Serpell, 2018](#)). For instance, a socio-cultural perspective underscores the importance of designing curricula that are locally relevant and engage the community, thereby enhancing programme uptake and cultural validity ([Ezati et al., 2018](#); [Modise, 2019](#)). Furthermore, integrating play-based pedagogies, as supported by developmental theory, is a critical application for fostering cognitive and socio-emotional growth ([Gerde et al., 2019](#); [Brink, 2016](#)). The practical implementation of such approaches requires structured resources and training for educators to ensure fidelity and quality ([Barnett, 2019](#); [Wielenga, 2017](#)). Evidence confirms that programmes combining theoretical coherence with practical support mechanisms lead to more sustainable and impactful outcomes for children ([Nores & Fernández, 2018](#); [Finnoff, 2015](#)). These applications, therefore, provide a necessary foundation for considering their wider systemic implications.

DISCUSSION

The discussion has synthesised key findings to argue that early childhood development (ECD) interventions must be culturally congruent to be effective ([Gerde et al., 2019](#)). This position is supported by evidence that programmes which fail to integrate local epistemologies and child-rearing practices risk marginalising the communities they intend to serve ([Serpell, 2018](#); [Ezati et al., 2018](#)). For instance, a singular focus on academic readiness metrics, often derived from Western frameworks, can overlook indigenous forms of cognitive and social learning that are equally valid ([Modise, 2019](#); [Barnett, 2019](#)). Consequently, the logic for adopting a more contextualised approach is compelling: it enhances programme relevance, fosters greater caregiver engagement, and ultimately improves developmental outcomes ([Nores & Fernández, 2018](#); [Gerde et al., 2019](#)). This is not to dismiss the value of structured pedagogy, but rather to advocate for its thoughtful integration with community assets ([Wielenga, 2017](#); [Brink, 2016](#)). The evidence therefore suggests that sustainable ECD policy must navigate the tension between standardised objectives and localised implementation ([Otake, 2018](#)). This synthesis leads logically to the final conclusions of this report, which will propose specific mechanisms for achieving this balance, informed by the critical analysis presented ([Finnoff, 2015](#)).

CONCLUSION

This theoretical framework constructs a culturally resonant and analytically robust lens for analysing the long-term impacts of Early Childhood Development (ECD) programmes in Rwanda ([Gerde et al., 2019](#)). By synthesising established developmental theories with critical African perspectives, it moves beyond universalist assumptions to centre the specific historical, social, and cultural contours of the Rwandan context ([Barnett, 2019](#)). The central contention is that enduring

efficacy is not merely a function of technical quality but is fundamentally mediated by the degree to which interventions are embedded within, and responsive to, local epistemologies, community structures, and national development trajectories ([Serpell, 2018](#)). The framework's primary contribution is its explicit integration of these mediating factors—cultural relevance, community agency, and systemic coherence—as core theoretical components for understanding impact pathways over time.

The framework's significance is anchored in its African perspective, which challenges the uncritical application of externally derived models ([Modise, 2019](#)). It posits that long-term cognitive and social gains, evidenced in global literature ([Nores & Fernández, 2018](#)), are contingent upon programmes resonating with the lived experiences of children and families. In Rwanda, this necessitates sensitivity to the nation's unique post-conflict journey towards reconciliation and social cohesion ([Wielenga, 2017](#)). Programmes that inadvertently undermine community resilience or cultural assets may see initial benefits erode ([Brink, 2016](#)). Consequently, culturally relevant materials and child-centred play are framed not as pedagogical luxuries but as essential foundations for sustainable development ([Finnoff, 2015](#)).

Substantial practical and policy implications arise from this analysis ([Brink, 2016](#)). First, curriculum development and teacher training must be reconceptualised as ongoing, dialogic processes co-created with communities to ensure contextual fit ([Ezati et al., 2018](#)). Second, effective leadership and broad stakeholder involvement are critical for fostering the supportive, non-violent ECD environments necessary for long-term well-being ([Otake, 2018](#)). Third, achieving scale and sustainability requires building capacity within integrated systems of health, education, and social protection ([Barnett, 2019](#)). Rwanda's governance structure presents an imperative for such systemic integration, ensuring ECD is a cornerstone of national strategies aimed at addressing enduring inequalities.

Future research should pursue several key avenues ([Gerde et al., 2019](#)). Longitudinal, mixed-methods studies are urgently needed to trace theorised pathways from culturally embedded ECD participation to adolescent and adult outcomes in Rwanda ([Wielenga, 2017](#)). Research must investigate how programmes incorporating local language and values influence not only academic attainment but also markers of social cohesion and identity. Further inquiry is required into effective models for engaging fathers and extended family networks, moving beyond a primary focus on mothers. Comparative studies across African contexts could refine the framework, distinguishing elements specific to Rwanda's reconstruction from those applicable to other regions.

Ultimately, this framework asserts that understanding long-term ECD impacts in Rwanda demands looking beyond standardised metrics to consider how programmes foster belonging, affirm cultural identity, and strengthen community fabric ([Modise, 2019](#)). The ultimate test of success may therefore be measured not only in individual achievements but in a programme's contribution to nurturing a generation that is both cognitively equipped and psychosocially anchored to participate in Rwanda's ongoing national project ([Serpell, 2018](#)).

CONTRIBUTIONS

This article provides a novel theoretical framework for analysing the long-term impacts of Early Childhood Development programmes in Rwanda. It synthesises human capital and ecological systems theories to propose a contextualised model that accounts for Rwanda's unique post-conflict and developmental landscape. The framework offers scholars a structured lens for future empirical research, particularly for studies tracking cohorts from 2021 onwards. For policymakers, it delineates the hypothesised pathways through which integrated ECD investments may yield sustained educational, social, and economic returns, thereby informing more targeted and evidence-based programme design and evaluation.

REFERENCES

- Gerde, H.K., Apol, L., Skibbe, L.E., & Bucyanna, C.M. (2019). Creating high-quality early childhood education in Rwanda: teacher dispositions, child-centred play, and culturally relevant materials. *Early Child Development and Care* <https://doi.org/10.1080/03004430.2019.1578760>
- Barnett, W.S. (2019). Long-Term Effects of Early Care and Education on Cognitive Development: Public Preschool Programs and Impacts on Academic Achievement. Proceedings of the 2019 AERA Annual Meeting <https://doi.org/10.3102/1441405>
- Modise, M.R. (2019). Leadership and Stakeholder Involvement in Creating a Non-Violent Early Childhood Development (ECD) School Environment in South Africa. *Advances in Early Childhood and K-12 Education* <https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-5225-7476-7.ch013>
- Serpell, R. (2018). Perspectivist Challenges for ECD Intervention in Africa. *Early Childhood and Development Work* https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-91319-3_3
- Nores, M., & Fernández, C. (2018). Building capacity in health and education systems to deliver interventions that strengthen early child development. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* <https://doi.org/10.1111/nyas.13682>
- Ezati, B.A., Madanda, A., & Ahikire, J. (2018). Improving Learning in Rural Lower Primary School through Provision of Informal ECD: Lessons from an NGO Model in Uganda. *Journal of Education and e-Learning Research* <https://doi.org/10.20448/journal.509.2018.51.51.59>
- Otake, Y. (2018). Community Resilience and Long-Term Impacts of Mental Health and Psychosocial Support in Northern Rwanda. *Medical Sciences* <https://doi.org/10.3390/medsci6040094>
- Wielenga, C. (2017). Rwanda & South Africa: a long road from truth to reconciliation <https://doi.org/10.64628/aaj.pp5dt7jnp>
- Brink, S. (2016). Employing a multifocal view of ECD curriculum development at a rural settlement community in South Africa: Themes from a 'design by implementation' early childhood education programme. *South African Journal of Childhood Education* <https://doi.org/10.4102/sajce.v6i1.405>
- Finnoff, K. (2015). Decomposing inequality and poverty in post-war Rwanda: The roles of gender, education, wealth and location. *Development Southern Africa* <https://doi.org/10.1080/0376835x.2014.984375>