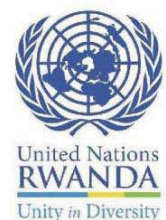




Understanding children's work and youth employment outcomes in Rwanda

Report on child labour and youth employment

Understanding Children's Work Programme
Country report



Understanding children's work and youth employment outcomes in Rwanda

**Country report
June 2011**

Understanding Children's Work (UCW) Programme

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Overcoming the related challenges of child labour and the lack of decent work opportunities for youth will be critical to Rwanda's progress towards the Millennium Development Goals. The effects of child labour and poor youth employment outcomes are well-documented: both can lead to social vulnerability and societal marginalisation, and both can permanently impair productive potential and therefore influence lifetime patterns of employment and pay.

The issues of child labour and youth employment outcomes are closely linked. Employment outcomes are typically worst for former child labourers and others whose education has been compromised. Indeed, today's jobless or inadequately employed youth are often yesterday's child labourers. The link between child labour and labour market outcomes can also operate in the other direction: poor future employment prospects can reduce the incentive of households to invest in children's education.

From a policy perspective, therefore, it makes sense to look at the issues of child labour and youth employment side by side. Efforts to provide young people with quality employment opportunities cannot be divorced from efforts to combat child labour.

The current report examines the issues of child labour and youth employment in Rwanda.

An estimated eight percent of children aged 7-15 years, over 180,000 children in absolute terms, were in **at work in employment** (i.e. involved in economic activities) in 2008. Rwandan legislation sets the general minimum working age at 16 years, with no exceptions for light work; all 7-15 year-olds in employment, therefore, are to be considered in child labour. There are substantial regional differences in children's involvement in employment, underscoring the need for the geographic targeting of efforts against child labour. The level of children's employment among 7-15 year-olds in the capital Kigali, where the majority of urban residents are found, is less than half that of other, more rural, provinces.

The **sectoral decomposition** of children's employment indicates that working children are concentrated overwhelmingly in the agriculture sector. Eighty-four percent of total employed children aged 7-15 years work in this sector, primarily within the family unit in low-productivity, subsistence farming. The overall preponderance of agriculture is primarily a reflection of children's employment in the mainly rural provinces outside Kigali; the composition of children's work is more varied in the capital. Domestic service plays a particularly important role in Kigali, accounting for over half of all children in employment. Children, and especially girls, who live as domestic servants behind closed doors of private houses are particularly vulnerable to abuse, and constitute a particular policy priority in Kigali.

Children's employment in Rwanda appears incompatible with schooling, underscoring the importance of **child labour as a barrier to achieving Education For All**. The school attendance of children in employment lags far behind that of their non-working counterparts: 93 percent of *non-working* 7-15 year-olds attend school against only 74 percent of children at work in

employment. Children in employment also lag behind their non-working counterparts in terms of grade progression, presumably at least in part due to poor performance, and in terms of school life expectancy. These latter results point to the difficulty that working children face in keeping up in the classroom with children that are not burdened with work responsibilities.

The large number of **out of school children** in Rwanda, in part due to the exigencies of work, underscores the continued importance of providing “second chance” learning opportunities. Four out of every five out-of-school children (147,000 children in absolute terms) suffer what UNESCO terms “extreme education poverty”, i.e., possess less than two years of education, and almost all (over nine out of ten) (171,000 children in absolute terms) suffer “education poverty”, i.e., possess less than four years of schooling. In light of these figures, it is not surprising that levels of illiteracy among out-of-school children are very high. In all, almost 60 percent of 7-15 year-old out of school children is unable to read or write in any language.

It is worth recalling that employment is not the only category of productive activity involving children. An even larger proportion of children is engaged in other productive activities, and specifically **household chores**. Almost nine out of ten children aged 7-15 years performed household chores as part of their daily lives in the 2008 reference year. Involvement in household chores tends to start earlier than employment but is less time-intensive. Girls are much more likely to perform household chores than boys, and ignoring this form of work therefore biases estimates of children’s work in “favour” of boys.

Not discussed up to this point is the extent to which children’s work in Rwanda constitutes “**child labour**”. This question is critical for the purposes of prioritising and targeting policy responses to children’s work. Child labour, measured on the basis of national legislation, is not uncommon in Rwanda. Almost 190,000 children below the age of 16 years are in employment and an additional 69,000 older, 16-17 year-old children are at work in hazardous employment. Summing these two groups yields a total of almost 260,000 children aged 5-17 years in child labour, about nine percent of total children in this age range.

What are the **causes of child labour in Rwanda**? Econometric evidence points to some of the factors influencing household decisions to involve their children in work or school:

- *Education of household head.* The effect of an increase of parents’ education levels on the reduction of child labour is positive. Holding income and other factors constant, children from households where the head has higher education are less likely to work exclusively, and five percentage points more likely to attend school unencumbered by work responsibilities, than children from households where the head has no education.
- *Occupation status of household head.* The occupation status of the household head is also relevant to decisions concerning children’s time use. This is particular the case for households headed by persons enjoying wage employment relative to those headed by persons with only occasional employment. Controlling for other factors, children from the latter households are about two percentage points more likely to be in employment

and almost ten percentage points less likely to be attending school relative to their peers from households headed by persons in wage employment.

- *Household wealth.* The level of household wealth appears to play an important role in decisions concerning children's work and schooling, even when controlling for exposure to shocks and other factors. Children from wealthier households are more likely to go to school and less likely to participate in employment.
- *Place of residence.* Children's living location has a significant influence on their time use, highlighting the importance of targeted, area-specific approaches to reducing child labour and raising school attendance. Again holding other factors constant, children living in the Southern, Western and Eastern provinces are significantly more likely to be in employment exclusively than children in Kigali. Children in the Southern, Western and Northern provinces are significantly less likely than their peers in Kigali to attend school exclusively.
- *Exposure to shocks.* Socio-economic shocks are common in Rwanda and their impact on children's involvement in work and schooling is therefore of considerable policy interest. Collective shocks (i.e., those affecting the community such as natural disasters) are associated with a higher probability of children's employment and lower probability of school attendance. These results suggest that child labour forms an important part of a poor household's strategy for dealing with risk, making them less vulnerable to sudden losses of income arising from collective shocks.
- *Orphanhood.* Rwanda suffers very high child orphan rates and understanding how orphanhood affects children's involvement in school and child labour is therefore another area of particular policy interest. Children that have lost both parents are at greater risk of child labour and of being denied schooling. Double orphans are also more likely to be absent from both school and economic activity compared to non-orphans; this raises the possibility that double orphans more than other children are kept at home, away from school and the workplace, to perform household chores.

Children's employment and **youth labour market outcomes** are closely linked, and it makes sense therefore to analyze the two issues hand in hand. Young Rwandans aged 15–24 years are divided between education and the labour force. About 37 percent of 15-24 year-olds is still in education exclusively while just under half is either in employment exclusively (46 percent) or actively seeking work (one percent). Work and education are not of course necessarily mutually exclusive: an additional seven percent of 15-24 year-olds combines the two activities. A smaller but by no means negligible proportion of young people, nine percent, are inactive and not in education, a category that includes discouraged workers who have given up actively searching for a job.

Non-wage labour performed within the household is by far the most important **type of youth employment**. Almost half of employed young people (48 percent) work without monetary wages for their families. Most of the remaining employed youth are either in self employment (29 percent) or occasional employment (17 percent). Only about six percent of young people, on the other hand, enjoy regular employment. Taken together, these

figures suggest that most young people are engaged in non- or low-paying jobs in the informal sector. But the job characteristics of young people differ considerably between the urban province of Kigali and the other, primarily-rural, provinces, reflecting underlying differences in the nature of the urban and rural labour markets. Employment in the Rwandan capital is characterised by greater diversity as well as a greater degree of formalisation.

Rates of **measured unemployment** are very low among Rwandan young people: only two percent of those in the labour force are unemployed. The rate of unemployment in Kigali is more than twice that in the other provinces, again underscoring the different nature of the urban and rural labour markets, and in particular the important role that the agriculture sector plays in absorbing young rural workers. Levels of joblessness, defined as the sum of the unemployed and the inactive not in education, arguably a better measure of youth employment disadvantage because it also captures discouraged workers, are higher. Some 10 percent of all 15-24 year-olds are jobless.

It is important to note that neither the youth unemployment rate nor the level of joblessness provide a full description of youth difficulties in the labour market in Rwanda, because many youth simply cannot afford to remain unemployed. In this context, **levels of underemployment** are also relevant to assessing youth labour market outcomes. Underemployment provides a much different picture of employment difficulties of young persons in Kigali vis-à-vis the other provinces. While the indicators of unemployment and joblessness suggest that young people in the other provinces have fewer difficulties securing jobs, the indicator of underemployment suggests that these jobs are much more likely to be only part-time in nature. The rate of underemployment ranges from 42 to 55 percent in the provinces outside the capital, compared to only 12 percent in Kigali, pointing to the substantial under-utilisation of the productive capacity of rural youth.

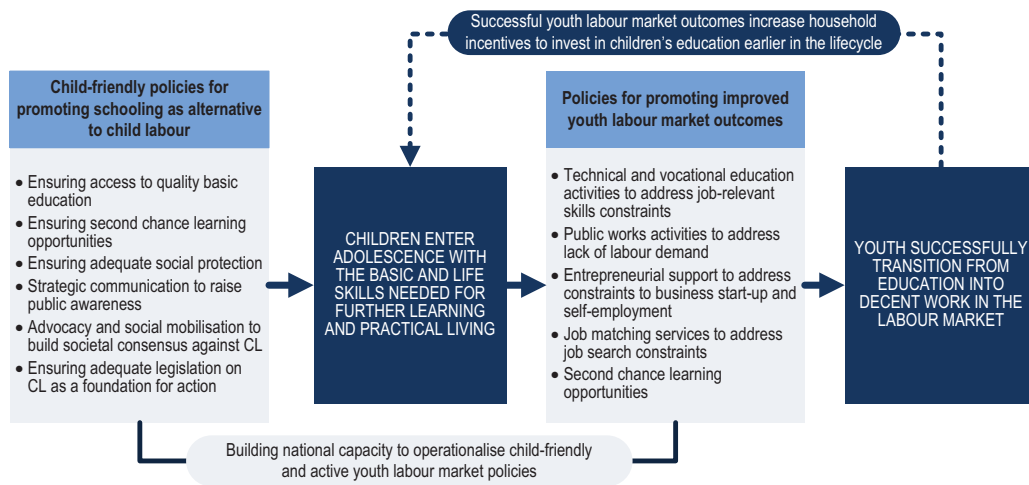
Comparing the labour market status of young persons and adults provides an indication of the **relative position of youth in the labour market**. A comparison of rates of unemployment and underemployment in the capital Kigali do not suggest that young persons are disadvantaged in the labour force. Indeed, if anything the opposite appears to hold true: adult workers are slightly more likely to be unemployed and much more likely to be underemployed than their counterparts aged 15-24 years. The picture changes somewhat in the other, primarily rural, provinces. Young persons in the other provinces are more likely to be unemployed (although unemployment is very low for both youth and adult workers), and much more likely to be underemployed than adult workers.

Differences in the job characteristics of young persons and adults represent another indicator of the relative disadvantage, if any, faced by youth in the labour force. In both Kigali and the other provinces, young workers are much more likely to be found in the most *informal* types of employment, i.e., occasional employment and non-wage family employment, while adult workers are much more likely to be in self employment. Differences in involvement in “regular” employment vary according to location: the proportion of young workers in regular employment is actually higher than

that for adult workers in Kigali, while in the other provinces the opposite pattern prevails.

The balance of evidence points to **substantial returns to education** in the Rwandan labour market. While high unemployment levels indicate that educated young people have greater difficulties in securing jobs, the jobs that they do eventually secure are likely to be significantly better paid. This in turn has important implications in terms of tradeoffs between child labour and education earlier in the lifecycle. Theory and evidence suggests that positive returns to education can have an important feedback effect on parents' decisions to invest in children's education. In situations where there are opportunities for better paid jobs for educated young persons, parents have greater incentive to invest in their children's schooling, and to *not* send their children to work prematurely.

An integrated response to child labour and youth employment problems



The figure above illustrates key components of an **integrated response to child labour and youth employment concerns**. A set of “child-friendly” policies is needed to promote schooling as an alternative to child labour, and, following from this, to ensure that children enter adolescence with the basic and life skills needed for further learning and practical living. This foundation is in turn crucial to the success of policies for promoting improved youth employment outcomes, and to ensuring that youth successfully transition from education into decent work in the labour market.

Policy priorities for responding to child labour and responding to youth labour market concerns are discussed below. It is important to note prior to this discussion that detailed policy frameworks for most of the priorities relating to child labour and youth employment concerns are already in place in Rwanda – the key challenge facing the country is one of *operationalising* these policies.

Child labour is a complex phenomenon requiring a policy response that is comprehensive cross-sectoral in nature. Evidence from Rwanda and elsewhere suggests **five policy pillars** are of particular importance as part of

an integrated response – basic schooling, second chance learning, social protection, strategic communication and social mobilisation/advocacy – building on the foundation provided by adequate child labour regulations.

- *Improving school access and quality.* The empirical results presented in this report indicate that Rwandan working children are less likely to be attending school, and, if enrolled, are more likely to lag behind their non-working counterparts and to drop-out prematurely. These results underscore the need to address the school access and quality issues influencing parents' decisions to enrol and keep their children in school. Actions should take place in concert with the on-going Government reform efforts. Particularly important in this context is mainstreaming child labour concerns into implementation of the 2010-2015 Education Sector Strategic Plan.
- *Second chance learning.* The large number of out-of-school children in Rwanda underscores the need for a national second chance learning strategy, bringing together and building on existing efforts in this area, and in particular on Rwanda's network of "catch-up" learning centres. Such a strategy would encompass mainstreaming and transitional (bridging) education as well as pre-vocational training, in accordance with age and prior schooling. It would be aimed at compensating for the negative educational consequences of child labour.
- *Social protection.* Social protection instruments serve to prevent vulnerable households from having to resort to child labour as a buffer against negative shocks. The Government recognises that reducing household vulnerability by expanding social protection is a critical priority in the country, and is implementing numerous programmes in this area. The variety of social protection schemes that are already in place in Rwanda, however, are fragmented and often ineffectively coordinated and targeted. Taken together these efforts fail to cover a large portion of those in need. Scaling-up and strengthening efforts relating to social protection, within the framework of the new National Social Protection Strategy, therefore constitute a particular priority.
- *Strategic communication.* Strategic communication is needed as part of efforts to build a broad consensus for change. There is a general lack of understanding in Rwanda about the difference between acceptable children's work and exploitative child labour. The consequences of child labour and the laws protecting children are poorly understood at a community level. This underscores the need for expanded strategic communication efforts on the negative effects of child labour and the benefits of schooling as part of an overall strategy against child labour. Child labour is a clear example in which both social norms and economic considerations are important, and strategic communication efforts need to be designed with this in mind.
- *Advocacy and social mobilisation.* Achieving a sustainable reduction in child labour requires social consensus well beyond the level of the household. Policy responses to child labour are unlikely to be effective in the absence of the active participation of civil society and of social partners in implementing them, or of a high-level political commitment to ensure they are accorded priority in all the national development agenda. Similarly, laws to protect children from child labour are unlikely to be effective if they are not backed by broad social consensus. Rwanda's successful initial experience in the

formation of production cooperatives holds potential as part of broader social mobilization efforts against child labour.

A **policy response to youth employment concerns** should address the numerous challenges faced by young people entering the labour market. Young persons have high rates of underemployment and joblessness, and those finding jobs are most likely to be working in insecure, unskilled jobs in the informal sector offering little in the way of social security or benefits. Although recent trends have seen an increase in non-farm employment, activity is still concentrated in the agricultural sector where productivity and returns to employment remain low. Wage employment has increased, but mainly in the agriculture sector (most likely due to the increasing role of cooperatives), and wage employment still accounts for less than six percent of total youth employment. Occasional and family non-waged employment, by contrast, together account for two-thirds of youth employment.

These challenges point to the need for labour market policies aimed at improving youth labour market outcomes, building on the policies earlier in the lifecycle aimed at improving basic education and preventing child labour. Four **policy pillars** are particularly relevant in this context, two addressing supply-side constraints to employment arising from inadequate or mismatched job skills or inadequate labour market information, and two addressing demand-side constraints to employment arising from low labour demand and limited entrepreneurial opportunities. These labour market policies would help improve labour market outcomes for young people within existing institutional and macro-economic constraints; the broader structural economic reforms needed to reduce youth unemployment in the long run are beyond the scope of this report.

- *Skills development.* Serious deficiencies in terms of trained human capital, particularly for the technical professions, constitute a major constraint to successful transitions to decent work for young people. This underscores the need for a re-organised TVET system that is integrated to ensure both vertical and horizontal mobility and strong private sector participation.
- *Job search support.* A difficult transition to the labour market in Rwanda is partly the result of the lack of both labour market information and job search skills. At present, there is no formal mechanism in the country linking young job seekers with employers seeking workers. This points to the need for an employment agency to act as an intermediary between employers and those in search for employment by profession/qualifications, categories of age and sex. Such an employment agency should be part of a broader package of employment services, guidance and career advice to help students, first job seekers and unemployed young people to make informed choices about their education and working lives, and thus increase the opportunity for a successful entry into the labour market.
- *Labour-intensive public works programmes.* The high levels of underemployment and joblessness among Rwanda youth also point to the need for demand-side measures aimed at improving employment opportunities for young people. Labour-intensive public works programmes targeting young persons represent one important policy option in this context. As lack of basic services access is also a factor contributing to child labour in

Rwanda, and improving rural service infrastructure would therefore also benefit broader efforts against child labour.

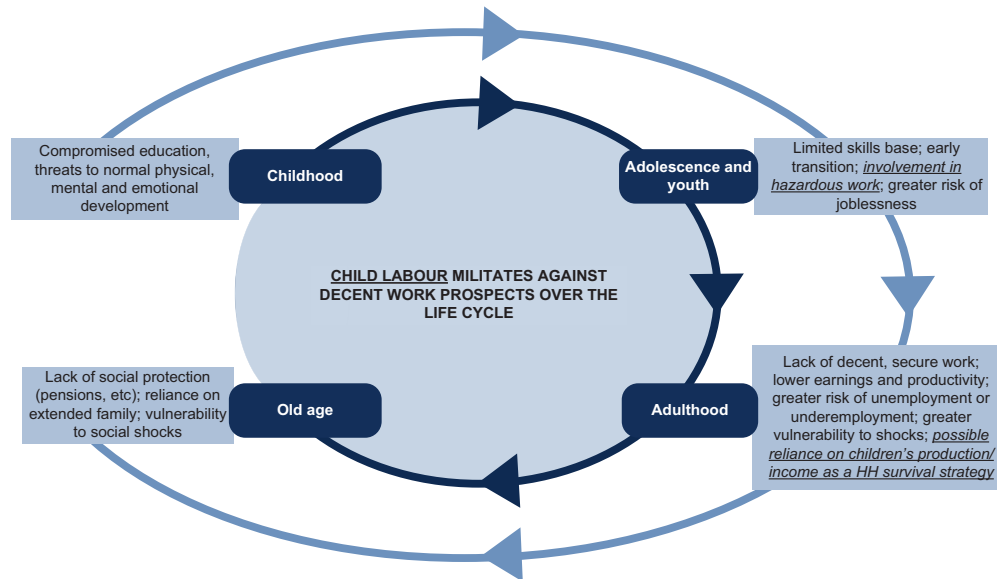
- *Promoting youth entrepreneurship and self employment.* Promoting youth entrepreneurship represents another important demand-side strategy for expanding youth employment opportunities and improving employment outcomes for the large proportion of Rwandan young people currently underemployed or in low productivity family work. Limited evidence from elsewhere shows that self-employment programmes can significantly increase the probability of young participants finding a job, at least in the short-term, but their cost effectiveness still needs to be tested.

1. INTRODUCTION

1. Overcoming the related challenges of child labour and the lack of decent work opportunities for youth will be critical to Rwanda's progress towards the Millennium Development Goals. The effects of child labour and poor youth employment outcomes are well-documented: both can lead to social vulnerability and societal marginalisation, and both can permanently impair productive potential and therefore influence lifetime patterns of employment and pay.

2. Children whose education is denied or impeded by child labour enter their youth years lacking the skills base needed for gainful employment, leaving them much more vulnerable to joblessness or to low paid, insecure work in hazardous conditions. These poor job prospects will continue into adulthood, and low earnings, insecurity and unemployment spells are likely to characterise their work experience as adults. More likely to be poor, these adults are also more likely to have to depend on their children's labour or productivity as a household survival strategy, thus perpetuating the child labour-poverty cycle (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Child labour and decent work over the lifecycle



3. The issues of child labour, education and youth employment outcomes are closely linked. Employment outcomes are typically worst for former child labourers and others whose education has been compromised. Indeed, today's jobless or inadequately employed youth are often yesterday's child labourers. The link between child labour and labour market outcomes can also operate in the other direction: poor future employment prospects can reduce the incentive of households to invest in children's education. From a policy perspective, therefore, it makes sense to look at the issues of child labour and youth employment side by side. Efforts to provide young people with quality employment opportunities cannot be divorced from efforts to combat child labour.

4. The current report examines the issues of child labour and youth employment in Rwanda. The report was developed under the aegis of the Understanding Children's Work (UCW) programme, a research co-operation initiative of the International Labour Organisation, UNICEF and World Bank (see Panel 1). It is the product of a collaborative effort involving the Rwandan National Institute of Statistics, other concerned Government ministries, local research institutes, the UCW programme secretariat, ILO/IPEC and the UNICEF and World Bank Rwanda country offices. The statistical analyses on child labour and youth employment in the report are based primarily on the National Child Labour Survey (NCLS) conducted by the National Institute of Statistics in 2008 in collaboration with the ILO/IPEC SIMPOC programme.¹

5. Four related objectives are served by the report: (1) improve the information base on child labour and youth employment, in order to inform policy and programmatic responses; (2) promote policy dialogue on child labour and the lack of opportunities for decent and productive work for youth; (3) analyse the relationship between early school leaving, child labour and future status in the labour market; and (4) build national capacity for regular collection and analysis of data relating to child labour and youth employment.

6. The report is divided into ten chapters. Following this introduction, chapter 2 briefly describes the national context, including socio-economic trends and key human development challenges facing the country. Chapters 3 and 4 present descriptive data relating to the extent and nature of children's work, and to how children divide their time between work and school. Chapter 5 assesses the impact of children's work on their health and educational status, and chapter 6 assesses the extent of child labour. Chapter 7 employs econometric tools to assess key determinants of child labour and their implications for policy. Chapter 8 addresses youth labour market outcomes. Chapter 9 reviews national responses to child labour and youth employment issues. The final chapter discusses policy options for progressively eliminating child labour and improving youth employment outcomes.

Panel 1. Understanding Children's Work (UCW) programme

The inter-agency research programme, Understanding Children's Work (UCW), was initiated by the International Labour Organisation (ILO), UNICEF and the World Bank to help inform efforts towards eliminating child labour.

The programme is guided by the Roadmap adopted at The Hague Global Child Labour Conference 2010, which laid out the priorities for the international community in the fight against child labour.

The Roadmap calls for effective partnership across the UN system to address child labour, and for mainstreaming child labour into policy and development frameworks. The Roadmap also calls for improved knowledge sharing and for developing

further methodologies and capacity to conduct research on child labour.

Research on the work and the vulnerability of children constitutes the main component of the UCW programme. Through close collaboration with stakeholders in partner countries, the programme produces research allowing a better understanding of child labour in its various dimensions.

The results of this research support the development of intervention strategies designed to remove children from the world of work and prevent others from entering it. As UCW research is conducted within an inter-agency framework, it promotes a shared understanding of child labour and provides a common platform for addressing it.

¹ Additional financial support was provided by UNICEF.

2. NATIONAL CONTEXT

7. Rwanda is located in central Africa, bordered by Uganda to the north, Tanzania to the east, the Democratic Republic of Congo to the west and Burundi to the south. The country is landlocked, lying 1,200 km from the Indian Ocean and 2,000 km from the Atlantic Ocean. Rwanda's total area of 26,338 km² is mostly grassy uplands and hills. The climate is tropical, moderated by altitude, with two rainy seasons (February to April and November to January). Arable land accounts for about 46 percent of the total area and permanent crops for about 10 percent. Environmental concerns include deforestation from the uncontrolled cutting of trees for fuel, over grazing, soil exhaustion and soil erosion.

8. With a population of about 10 million inhabitants (2009) living in a limited land area, Rwanda has one of the highest population densities in Africa. At the same time, both population growth (2.8 percent per year) and fertility rate (the total fertility rate is 5.3) remain very high (2009). The country's demographic structure is very “young”, characteristic of a rapidly growing population. Forty-two percent of the population is under the age of 15 years and only three percent are over 64 years of age, resulting in a very high age dependency ratio of 81 (2009).² The structure of the population by sex shows a misbalance in favour of females: females account for 52 percent of the total population (2009), and nearly 34 percent of households are headed by women (2005).³

9. Although still one of the least urbanised countries in Africa, Rwanda has, since 1994, experienced rapid urbanisation, due mainly to the rural exodus and return of refugees after the genocide and civil war. The urban population represents 19 percent of the total population (2009) but is growing rapidly at 4.3 percent annually (2009). The rapid and often unplanned urbanisation has strained urban infrastructure and basic services in Kigali, where almost 45 percent of the urban population and 70 percent of wealth production is concentrated. More than two-thirds of the urban population lives in slums (2007).⁴

10. Since the genocide and civil war in 1994, Rwanda has recorded significant progress in restoring peace and political stability and in continuing reconciliation efforts. After the adoption of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) in 2001 and the new Constitution in 2003, the Government of Rwanda is committed to progressively conducting macro-economic and structural reforms aimed at laying the groundwork for poverty reduction and good governance.

11. Rwanda's economic growth slowed sharply to 4.1 percent in 2009 as a result of the global downturn, after growing by an estimated 11.2 percent the previous year (Figure 2). Growth rebounded in 2010 to 7.5 percent and is

² Age dependency ratio is the ratio of dependents—people younger than 15 or older than 64—to the working-age population—those ages 15-64. Data are shown as the proportion of dependents per 100 working-age population.

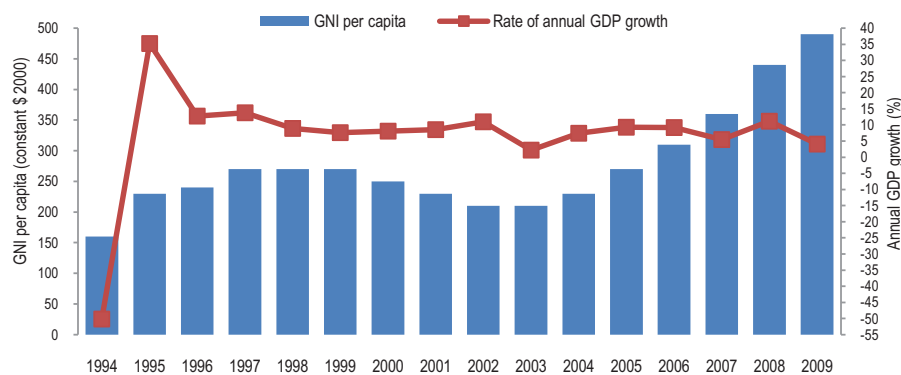
³ Figures from World Bank, World Databank.

⁴ Figures from World Bank, World Databank

projected to grow by a similar amount in 2011; the outlook for a full economic recovery is cautiously optimistic.⁵ Nonetheless, the Rwandan economy remains vulnerable to climatic hazards, to the changing terms of trade and to fluctuations on international markets.

12. The agriculture sector forms the backbone of the economy, accounting for 36 percent of GDP, occupying 80 percent of the labour force and generating 45 percent of export revenues.⁶ But growth of the agriculture sector suffers a number of important constraints, including a production system characterized by small farms averaging less than one hectare in area, simple technology and low investment rates.

Figure 2. GNI per capita^(a) and percentage annual GDP growth, 1994-2008



Notes: (a) The GNI per capita (formerly GNP per capita) (Atlas method) is gross national income converted into U.S. dollars, divided by the population at mid-year

Source: World Bank Development Indicators

13. The economic performance of recent years has not sufficed to create the conditions for sustainable economic and social development for all segments of the population. Nationally, the poverty level remains high, although it decreased marginally over the period from 2000/01 (60.4 percent) to 2005/06 (56.9 percent).⁷ Levels of poverty vary considerably by location. With a 13 percent poverty rate in 2005/06, the city of Kigali is in a more favourable position than the other provinces. Poverty levels are much higher in rural areas (62.5 percent of households in 2005/06) than in urban areas (41.5 percent of households in 2005/06). The incidence of poverty remains high among households whose main source of income is agricultural employment (Figure 4). The results reflect the lack of land in certain regions and the lack of off-farm employment opportunities in rural areas.⁸

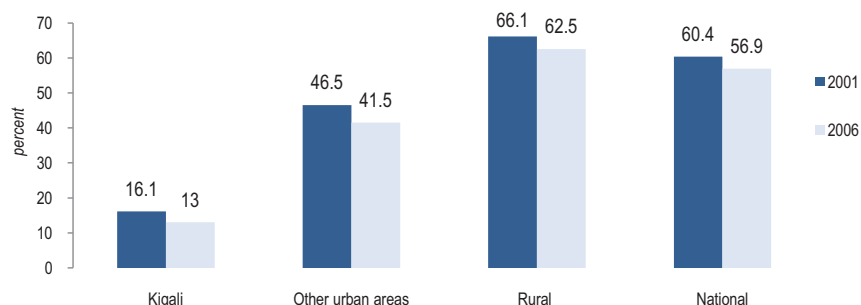
⁵ World Bank, *Rwanda Economic Update*, Spring Edition, April 2011.

⁶ World Bank, *Rwanda Economic Update*, Spring Edition, April 2011.

⁷ Lack of more recent poverty data prevents an assessment whether the high growth of 2005-2008 translated into significant poverty reduction in Rwanda. In November 2010, a new household survey, the EICV3, was launched and will deliver updated poverty indicators in 2012. (The World Bank, Rwanda Country Brief)

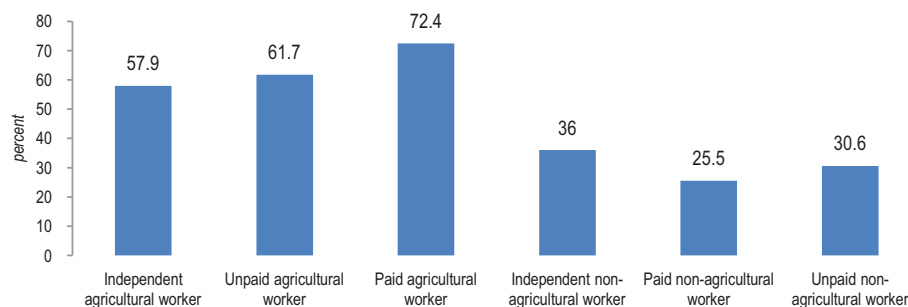
⁸ Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy, 2008-2012.

Figure 3. Poverty incidence by place of residence, 2000/2001 - 2005/06



Source : Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy, 2008-2012.

Figure 4. Rate of poverty by status in employment, persons aged 15 years and over, 2005/2006

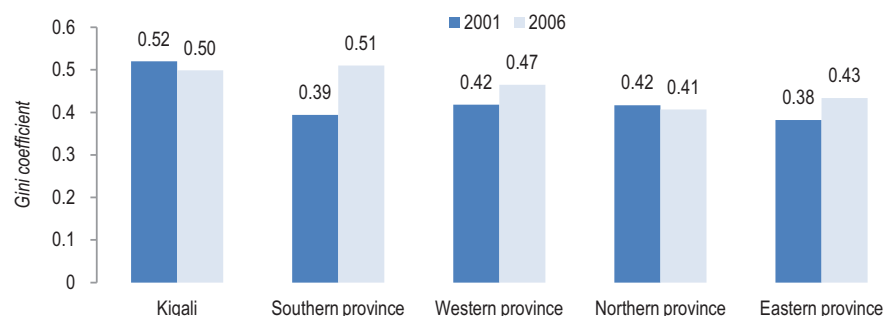


Source : EICV Poverty Analysis for Rwanda's Economic Development and Poverty reduction strategy, 2007.

14. There is also a high level of inequality in income distribution in Rwanda, as shown in Figure 5. The evolution of the Gini coefficient, which measures income inequality, shows a rise in inequality between 2000/2001 and 2005/2006, from 0.47 to 0.51.⁹ The 20 percent of richest households alone account for over 50 percent of the country's wealth, while the 20 percent of the poorest account for only five percent of assets. Inequalities are particularly entrenched in the Southern and Western provinces. The high and growing levels of income inequality may explain why economic performance has not had the desired effect in terms of poverty reduction.

⁹ Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy, 2008-2012.

Figure 5. Income inequality (Gini coefficient), by place of residence



Source : Rwanda, *Enquête intégrale sur les conditions de vie des ménages* (EICV), 2001 and 2005/2006

















15. The lack of infrastructure and basic services is at the heart of the problem of poverty in Rwanda. Households have limited access to electricity, water and sanitation.¹⁰ Only six percent of Rwandan households have electricity, with a large disparity between urban (31 percent of households) and rural (two percent of households). At the same time, nearly one third of households use unsafe water from unprotected sources and are thereby exposed to risks from water-borne diseases. In urban areas, the proportion of households that consume unsafe water (open public wells, rivers, ponds and lakes) is 22 percent and in rural areas this proportion rises to 34 percent. Access to safe sanitation is also very low. At the national level, only a little more than one in two households (56 percent) use improved latrines or septic systems.¹¹

16. Rwanda is undertaking major efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. But at current rates of progress, some of the goals are unlikely to be realised (Table 1).

¹⁰ Ministry of Health, National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda and ICF Macro, 2009

¹¹ Demographic and Health Survey 2007/08.

Table 1. Rwanda and the Millennium Development Goals

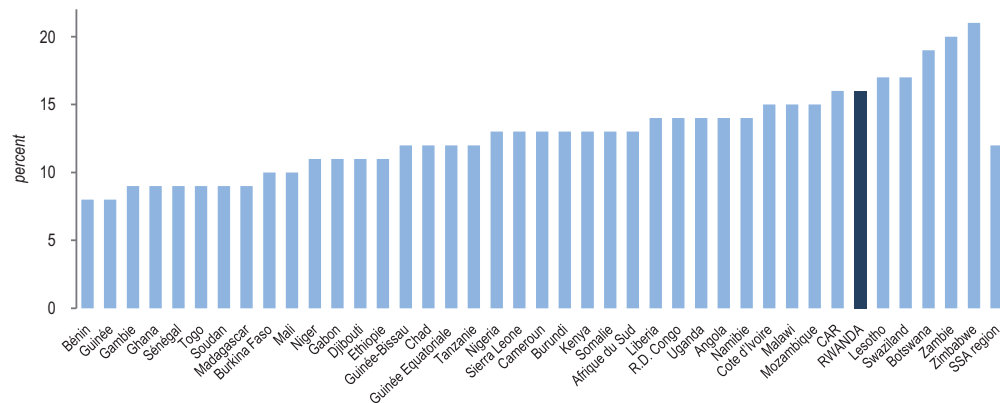
Goals	Will the goals/ targets be met?				State of supportive environment			
	Probably	Potentially	Unlikely	No data	Strong	Fair	Weak but improving	Weak
Goal 1a: ERADICATE EXTREME POVERTY: Reduce by half the proportion of people living on less than a dollar a day								
Goal 2: UNIVERSAL PRIMARY EDUCATION: Ensure that all boys and girls complete a full course of primary schooling								
Goal 3: PROMOTE GENDER EQUALITY AND EMPOWER WOMEN: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005, and at all levels by 2015								
Goal 4: REDUCE CHILD MORTALITY: Reduce by two thirds the mortality rate among children under five between 1990 and 2015								
Goal 5: IMPROVE MATERNAL HEALTH: Reduce by three quarters the maternal mortality ratio								
Goal 6: COMBAT HIV/AIDS, MALARIA AND OTHER DISEASES: a) Halt and begin to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS, b) Halt and begin to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases								
Goal 7: ENSURE ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY: a) Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes; reverse loss of environmental resources, b) Reduce by half the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water, c) Achieve significant improvement in lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers, by 2020								
Goal 8: DEVELOP A GLOBAL PARTNERSHIP FOR DEVELOPMENT:								

Source: UNDP, <http://www.undp.org.rw/MDGs1.html>

17. Health indicators for Rwanda in particular describe a situation that is one of the most challenging in Sub-Saharan Africa. HIV/AIDS prevalence rates are a particular health concern. Since the first cases were reported in 1983, the epidemic has grown steadily, reaching all segments of the population. The prevalence of HIV/AIDS among persons aged 15-49 years is 2.9 percent (2009). Women from this age group (prevalence rate of 1.9 percent) are more affected than similarly-aged men (prevalence rate of 1.3 percent) (2009). Regionally, the city of Kigali has a significantly higher prevalence rate than other provinces.¹²

¹² Figures from World Bank, World Databank.

Figure 6. Percentage of orphaned children, Sub-Saharan Africa



Source: UNICEF et UNAIDS, 2006, *Les Générations Orphelines et Vulnérables d'Afrique: Les Enfants Affectés par le SIDA*

18. One consequence of the spread of the HIV/AIDS and, more importantly, of armed conflict and the genocide is the growing number of orphans and children made vulnerable by the death of a member of their household or by sick parents. As shown in Figure 6, Rwanda has one of the highest percentages of child orphans in Sub-Saharan Africa. According to a 2005 survey, about 21 percent of children under 18 years of age are orphans: four percent have lost both parents, 13 percent are fatherless and three percent are motherless. When children of sick parents are also considered, the proportion of orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) under the age of 18 years is around 30 percent in Rwanda.¹³

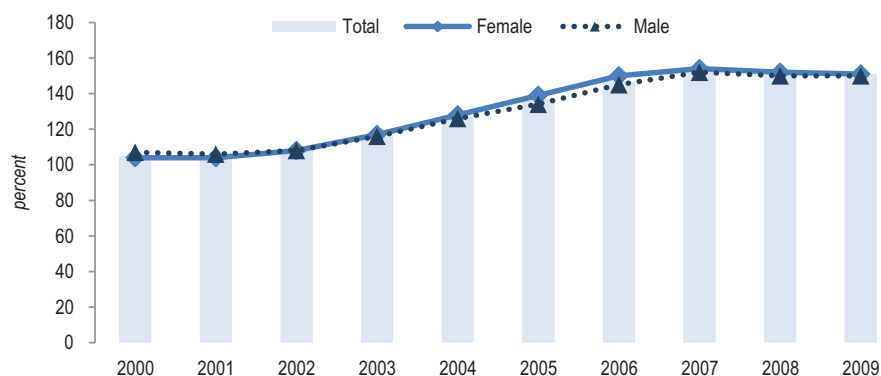
19. The Rwandan education system consists of six years at primary school, three years at the lower level and three at higher level of secondary education. Free and compulsory primary education lasts six years, and children are required to attend school from age 7 to 13. The six years of primary education are divided into two cycles: the literacy cycle covering the first three years and the general education cycle covering the last three years. Due to space constraints, classes are delivered in two shifts. There are concerns that a lack of extra-curricular activities may make it more likely that parents send their children to work during the daytime hours when children are not in the classroom.

20. The Government has made great efforts to promote access to primary education for girls and boys in the country. The gross enrolment ratio (GER) at primary level has increased substantially, from 105 percent to 151 percent over the period 2000-2009 (Figure 7), with little disparity between male and female students. The abolition of school fees through application of the "Capitation Grant" at the primary level has had a particularly important affect on school attendance. A national programme offering second chance learning

¹³ Demographic and Health Survey 2005.

opportunities through Catch-up Centres has also played an important role in encouraging children to re-enter the education system after having dropped out.

Figure 7. Gross primary enrolment rate, by year and sex (%)



Source : World Bank, World Development Indicators 2010

21. The net attendance rate at primary level is 86 percent, again with little difference between girls and boys (2009). Net enrolment, however, remains higher in urban areas (90 percent) than in rural ones (85 percent). Differences between gross and net enrolment rates also indicate that many primary students are older than the official age criteria, due to late entry or repetition. The gross enrolment ratio (GER) in secondary education remains very low (27 percent)(2009), despite having more than doubled since 2000, underscoring that most children fail to continue to secondary education after completing the primary cycle.

Table 2. Challenges facing the Rwandan education system

	Primary				Secondary			
	2005	2006	2007	2008	2005	2006	2007	2008
Student teacher ratio	65.9%	65.9%	69.3%	67.7%	23.7%	---	22.0%	---
Completion rate	46.7%	51.7%	52.0%	54.0	---	---	---	---
Drop-out rate	14.6%	14.3%	---	---	---	---	---	---
Repetition rate	14.6%	14.6%	14.6	17.7%	8.7%	7.7%	---	7.6%

Source : World Development Indicators, World Bank, 2009 and 2010;

22. The increase in primary enrolment has compounded the problem of classroom space. The teacher-pupil ratio increased from 66 in 2005 to 68 in 2008, representing a key quality-related challenge facing the education system. New construction is planned to meet the government's target of reducing the average pupil to classroom ratio in basic education to 52 to 1 by 2012. Other issues affecting quality include teacher motivation levels, traditional pedagogical methods and scarce electricity access in all provinces

except Kigali.¹⁴ The low completion rate for primary education, i.e., the proportion of school-age children completing their primary education, is at least in part product of quality challenges. Only about one half (54 percent) of children entering primary school remain there until the end of the primary (2009).

¹⁴ World Bank, *Rwanda education country status report. Toward quality enhancement and achievement of universal nine year basic education. An education system in transition; a nation in transition*. World Bank report no. 57926, Washington, 2011.

3. CHILDREN'S INVOLVEMENT IN WORK AND SCHOOL

23. This chapter looks at the time use patterns of children in Rwanda, focusing in particular on the extent of children's involvement in work (see Panel 2 on terminology) and schooling. The analysis in this and the remaining sections is based on data from the 2008 Rwandan national child labour survey (NCLS 2008), a nationally representative household-based survey designed to study the extent and nature of child labour in the country. The survey collected information on the work and other time uses of children aged 5-17 years, including children's involvement in employment and household chores, working hours, workplace hazards and ill health.

3.1 Children's employment and schooling

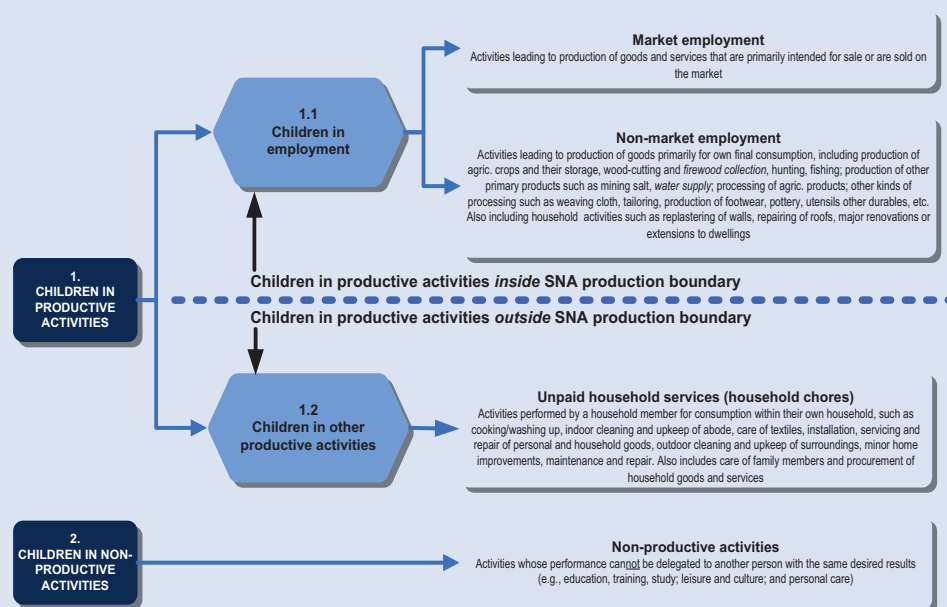
24. Children's involvement in employment remains an important policy concern in Rwanda. An estimated eight percent of children aged 7-15 years, over 180,000 children in absolute terms, were in employment (i.e. involved in economic activities) in 2008. Rwandan legislation sets the general minimum working age at 16 years, with no exceptions for light work; all 7-15 year-olds in employment, therefore, are to be considered in child labour (see discussion in Chapter 6 of this report). An additional 137,000 older children aged 16-17 years are in employment, accounting for about 40 percent of this age group. Only the subset of the latter group in *hazardous* work should be considered as child labour in accordance with Rwandan legislation (again, see Chapter 6 of the report).

25. Children's employment is closely associated with compromised education in Rwanda. Statistics from NCLS 2008 show a clear negative correlation between involvement in employment and school attendance. Ninety-three percent of *non-working* 7-15 year-olds attend school against only 74 percent of children at work in employment. The attendance gap between non-working and working children is even larger for 16-17 year-olds: 82 percent versus 24 percent, a difference of almost 60 percentage points. And the negative educational impact of work extends well beyond school attendance, as the time and energy required by work can impede school performance among those working children managing to attend school. The close link between children's employment and their education underscores the fact that policy efforts towards Education for All and the progressive elimination of child labour should go hand in hand. Children's work and education are discussed further in Chapter 5 of this report.

Panel 2. Children's work and child labour: A note on terminology

Terminology and concepts used for categorising children's work and child labour (and in distinguishing between the two) are inconsistent in published statistics and research reports, frequently creating confusion and complicating cross-country and longitudinal comparisons. In this study, "children's work", is used broadly to refer to all productive activities performed by children. Productive activities, in turn, are defined as all activities falling within the general production boundary, i.e., all activities whose performance can be delegated to another person with the same desired results. This includes production of all goods and the provision of services to others within or outside the individual's household.

In accordance with the standards for national child labour statistics set at the 18th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (Res. II), the study distinguishes between two broad categories of child workers – children in employment and children in other productive activities. The definition of **children in employment** in turn derives from the System of National Accounts (SNA) (Rev. 1993), the conceptual framework that sets the international statistical standards for the measurement of the market economy. It covers children in all market production and in certain types of non-market production, including production of goods for own use. **Children in other productive activities** are defined as children in productive activities falling outside the SNA production boundary. They consist mainly of work activities performed by household members in service to the household and its members, i.e., household chores.



The term "child labour" is used to refer to the subset of children's work that is injurious, negative or undesirable to children and that should be targeted for elimination. It can encompass both children in employment and children in other productive activities. Three main international conventions – the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), ILO Convention No. 182 (Worst Forms) and ILO Convention No. 138 (Minimum Age) – provide the main legal standards for child labour and a framework for efforts against it.

Child labour in the context of Rwanda is defined primarily by Law No. 13/2009 regulating labour in the country. The specific statistical definitions employed to measure child labour in the context of Rwanda are discussed in Chapter 6 of this report.

26. Another way of viewing the interaction between children's employment and schooling is by disaggregating the child population into four non-overlapping activity groups – children only engaged in employment, children only attending school, children combining school and employment and children doing neither (Table 3 and Table 4, Figure 8). This disaggregation shows that in 2008, almost seven percent of all 7-15 year-olds were in employment and attended school at the same time, and a little over two percent were in employment without also going to school. A further 84 percent of all

children aged 7-15 years attended school exclusively, while the remaining seven percent of 7-15 year-olds were not involved in employment or in schooling (but likely involved in other productive activities). Activity patterns differed somewhat for older, 16-17 year-old children: a smaller share was in school exclusively and a much greater share was in employment exclusively or inactive (Table 4). Youth activity patterns are discussed in more detail in Chapter 8 of this report.

Table 3. Child activity status (7-15), by age group and sex

Sex	Area of residence		Only employment	Only schooling	Employment and schooling	Neither activity	Total in employment ^(a)	Total in school ^(b)	Total out-of-school ^(c)
Male	Kigali	No.	1,086	77,657	1,534	4,494	2,619	79,190	5,580
		%	1.3	91.6	1.8	5.3	3.1	93.4	6.6
	Other provinces	No.	24,456	760,929	73,572	74,103	98,028	834,501	98,559
		%	2.6	81.6	7.9	7.9	10.5	89.4	10.6
	Total	No.	25,542	838,586	75,105	78,597	100,647	913,691	104,139
		%	2.5	82.4	7.4	7.7	9.9	89.8	10.2
Female	Kigali	No.	2,514.91	68,471.13	1,087.45	4,152.87	3,602	69,559	6,668
		%	3.3	89.83	1.43	5.45	4.7	91.3	8.8
	Other provinces	No.	20,459	799,397	58,809	54,658	79,268	858,206	75,117
		%	2.2	85.7	6.3	5.9	8.5	92	8.1
	Total	No.	22,974	867,868	59,896	58,810	82,870	927,764	81,785
		%	2.3	86	5.9	5.8	8.2	91.9	8.1
Total	Kigali	No.	3,600	146,128	2,621	8,647	6,222	148,749	12,247
		%	2.2	90.8	1.6	5.4	3.9	92.4	7.6
	Other prov	No.	44916	1,560,327	132,380	128,760	177,295	1,692,707	173,676
		%	2.4	83.6	7.1	6.9	9.5	90.7	9.3
	Total	No.	48,516	1,706,454	135,001	137,407	183,517	1,841,456	185,923
		%	2.4	84.2	6.7	6.8	9.1	90.8	9.2

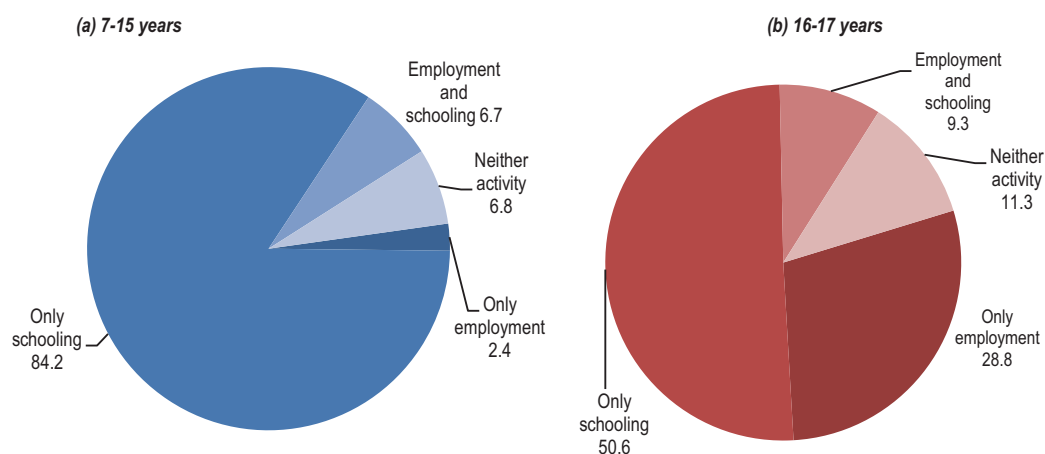
Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008

Table 4. Child activity status (age 16-17), by sex and place of residence

Sex	Area of residence		Only employment	Only schooling	Employment and schooling	Neither activity	Total in employment ^(a)	Total in school ^(b)	Total out-of-school ^(c)
Male	Kigali	No.	3,928	10,082	56	3,029	3,984	10,138	6,957
		%	23.0	59.0	0.3	17.7	23.3	59.3	40.7
	Other provinces	No.	46,850	81,511	16,287	15,586	63,137	97,798	62,436
		%	29.2	50.9	10.2	9.7	39.4	61.0	39.0
	Total	No.	50,777	91,594	16,343	18,615	67,120	107,937	69,392
		%	28.6	51.7	9.2	10.5	37.9	60.9	39.1
Female	Kigali	No.	5,267	9,212	340	1,940	5,607	9,552	7,207
		%	31.4	55.0	2.0	11.6	33.5	57.0	43.0
	Other provinces	No.	47,383	80,799	16,542	20,150	63,924	97,341	67,532
		%	28.7	49.0	10.0	12.2	38.8	59.0	41.0
	Total	No.	52,649	90,011	16,882	22,090	69,531	106,893	74,739
		%	29.0	49.6	9.3	12.2	38.3	58.9	41.2
Total	Kigali	No.	9,195	19,294	396	4,969	9,591	19,690	14,164
		%	27.2	57.0	1.2	14.7	28.3	58.2	41.9
	Other provinces	No.	94,232	162,311	32,829	35,736	127,061	195,139	129,968
		%	29.0	49.9	10.1	11.0	39.1	60.0	40.0
	Total	No.	103,426	181,605	33,225	40,705	136,652	214,829	144,131
		%	28.8	50.6	9.3	11.3	38.1	59.9	40.1

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008

Figure 8. Child activity status , by age group



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

27. Aggregate estimates of children's activities mask important differences by age and sex, residence and orphan status. Tables 3 and 4 illustrate the main patterns. (Note that child-, household- and community-related *determinants* of child labour are discussed in Chapter 7 of this report).

28. **Age.** Children's employment rises with age, particularly beyond the age of 12 years when the primary schooling cycle finishes. This pattern is undoubtedly in part the product of the fact that children's productivity (and therefore the opportunity cost of keeping them in school) rises with age. But it may also reflect the more limited educational opportunities beyond the primary level in Rwanda. It is worth noting that numbers of very young children in employment are far from negligible. The rate of participation in employment reaches six percent by the age of 10 years and reaches 17 percent by the age of 14 years.

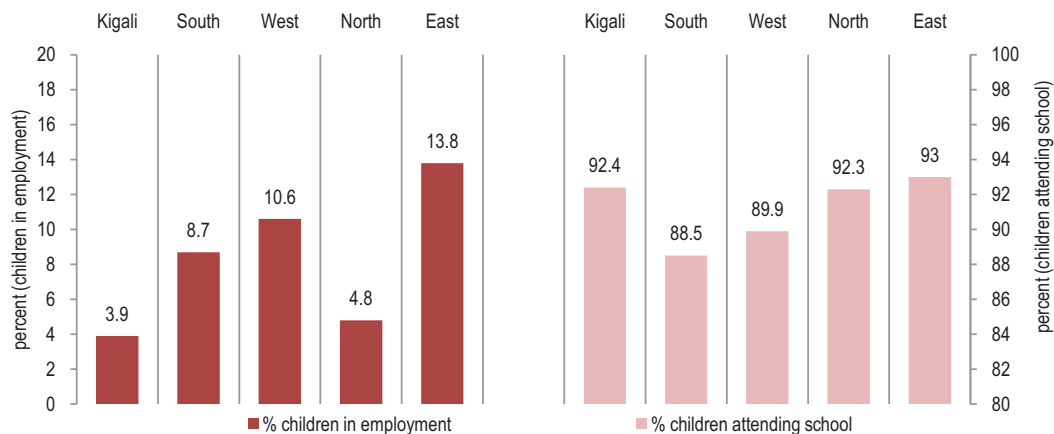
29. **Sex.** The proportion of boys in employment (10 percent) is slightly higher than that of girls (eight percent) countrywide, although in Kigali the opposite pattern prevails. It is worth recalling, however, that *other* productive activities, such as child care and household chores performed within one's own home, where girls predominate, were not considered in the estimates. The issue of children's involvement in household chores is taken up in the next chapter of the report. It is also worth underscoring that girls are often disproportionately represented in less visible forms of child labour such as domestic service in a third party household which can be underestimated in household surveys.

30. **Place of residence.** The level of children's involvement in employment is closely linked to where they live. The data from NCLS 2008 do not permit a distinction between urban and rural places of residence. Nonetheless, the data indicate that the level of children's employment among 7-15 year-olds in the capital Kigali, where the majority of urban residents are found, is less than half that of other, more rural, provinces. Most of this difference is accounted for by smaller numbers of children combining employment and schooling in Kigali compared to elsewhere.

31. A more detailed disaggregation by province shows large intra-provincial differences in children's employment, pointing to the importance of the geographic targeting of interventions against child labour. While the level of children's employment in North province approaches that of Kigali, the share of children in employment in South and West provinces is more than double that of the capital, and in the East province is more than triple that of Kigali. There are smaller, but nonetheless statistically significant,¹⁵ intra-provincial differences in terms of children's school attendance. Of particular note, East province performs best in terms of school attendance despite having the worst record in terms of children's involvement in employment (Figure 9), pointing to a relatively large proportion of children combining the two activities.

¹⁵ T-test on attendance estimates indicate that the intra-provincial differences are significant at the 0.05 level.

Figure 9. Percentage of children in employment and attending school, 7-15 years age group, by province of residence



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

32. Orphan status. Armed conflict and the HIV/AIDS epidemic have resulted in very large numbers of children with one or both parents deceased. Almost 450,000 Rwandan children aged 7 to 15 years are maternal,¹⁶ paternal¹⁷ or double orphans,¹⁸ over one-fifth of this age group. The effect of orphanhood on children's involvement in employment and schooling is therefore of particular policy interest in Rwanda. Estimates from NCLS 2008 indicate that orphaned children are more vulnerable to involvement in employment and to educational marginalisation. The involvement of orphaned children in employment is four percentage points higher (12 percent versus eight percent) and their involvement in schooling is five percentage points lower (88 percent versus 92 percent), relative to non-orphans. Double orphans appear particularly at risk: their involvement in employment is higher and their school attendance is lower than other groups of orphans (Figure 10). These results corroborate those from other research, including a 2006 study indicating that Rwandan orphans begin school later and are much more likely to work than other children.¹⁹

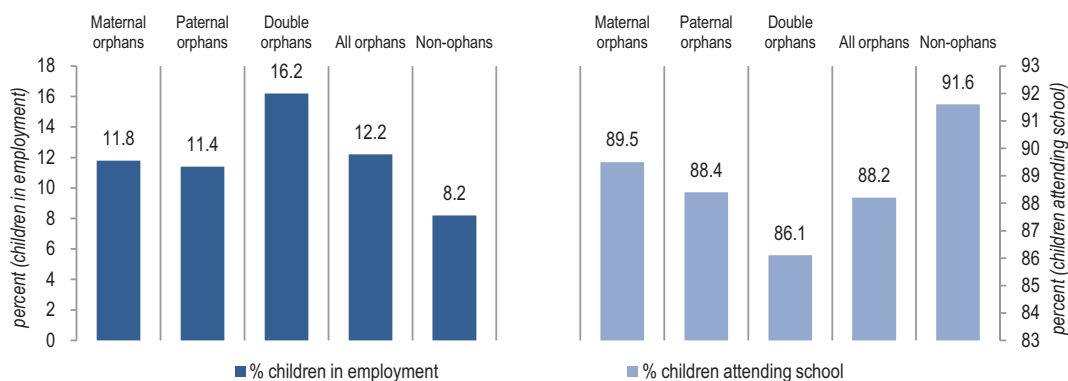
¹⁶ Mother deceased.

¹⁷ Father deceased.

¹⁸ Both parents deceased.

¹⁹ Siaens, Corinne & Subbarao, K. & Wodon, Quentin, 2006. "Assessing the Welfare of Orphans in Rwanda: Poverty, Work, Schooling, and Health," MPRA Paper 11085, University Library of Munich, Germany.

Figure 10. Children's involvement in employment and schooling, 7-15 years age group, by orphan status



Source: UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Panel 3. Child orphans in Rwanda

More than 550,000 children under age 15 had lost one or both parents due to conflict, poverty, violence and HIV/AIDS in Rwanda in 2008 (see table below).

Given the insufficient number of public or private programmes of assistance for these children, many must rely exclusively on informal extended family support networks for their basic needs and care. At least 36 percent of Rwandan households are already caring for other children in addition to theirs (often under informal arrangements). And as the number of orphans rises, extended family networks are becoming severely strained.

As a result, more and more children are forced after the death of one or both parents to assume responsibility not only for their own

Education is often one of the first things lost by orphan children. They can be pulled from school by family responsibilities or because their foster household is unwilling or unable to pay for schooling costs. They may then also be excluded from other services, including vital information on health, nutrition and practical knowledge useful, for example, for protecting themselves against violence and abuse.

Orphans are more likely than other children to suffer infringements on their rights, and to be victims of abuse and exploitation. The death of a parent, when no system of support is in place, opens a gap in children's protection.

Orphans under the age of 15 years in Rwanda

	Number	% of age group
Paternal orphan	402,403	11.5
Maternal orphan	71,694	2.0
Double orphan	81,087	2.3
Total orphans	555,186	15.8

Source: UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

subsistence but also for that of their younger brothers and sisters, with often tragic consequences for their rights and their development.

According to UNICEF, Rwanda has the highest proportion of child-headed households in the world. These children are left to themselves because their parents were killed during the genocide, or because they died of AIDS or because they are imprisoned for genocide-related crimes.

Source : Guarcello et al, 2004 ; UNICEF, 2004 ; UNICEF, 2006.

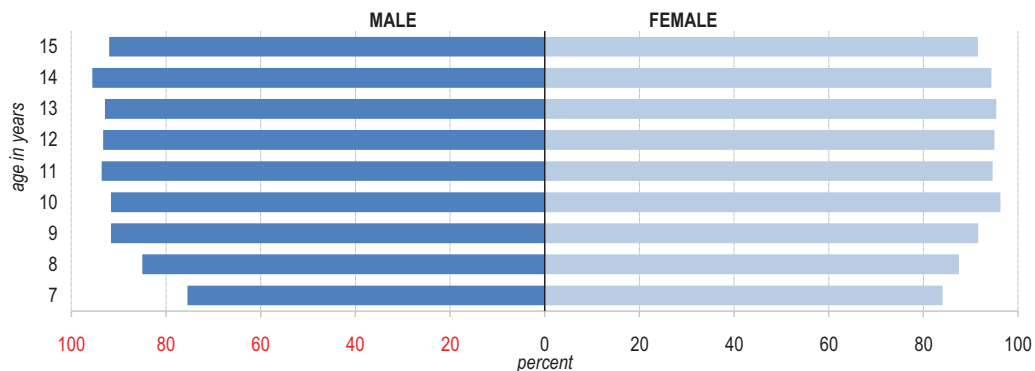
A study conducted by the UCW programme to clarify the relationship between orphanhood on the one hand, and child labour and schooling on the other, indicates that the loss of both parents particularly reduces the chances of a child to attend school and increases their probability of engaging in child labour (Guarcello et al, 2004). In Central African Republic and Cote d'Ivoire, for example, being a double orphan increases the risk of child labour by six and eight percent, respectively.

3.2 Involvement in other productive activities (household chores)

33. Employment in economic activity is not the only category of work involving children. An even larger proportion of Rwandan children is engaged

in other productive activities, and specifically household chores, which fall outside the international System of National Accounts (SNA) production boundary and are typically excluded from published estimates of child labour (see Panel 1 on terminology). Almost nine out of ten children aged 7-15 years performed household chores as part of their daily lives in the 2008 reference year. Involvement in household chores tends to start earlier than employment. The share of girls performing chores is greater than that of boys at most ages, but responsibility for chores is by no means limited to girls in Rwanda (Figure 11).

Figure 11. Children's involvement in performing household chores, by age and sex



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Panel 4. Household chores and the measurement of child labour

Children's involvement in household chores is also important to the discussion of child labour. While boys tend to outnumber girls in employment, this pattern is reversed when looking at household chores. The gender implications of these differing patterns for child labour measurement are clear – excluding household chores from consideration as child labour understates girls' involvement in child labour relative to boys.

But how should child labour in household chores be measured? There are unfortunately no clear measurement criteria yet established. The resolution on child labour measurement emerging from the 18th ICLS recommends considering hazardous household chores as child labour for measurement purposes, and, in line with ILO Recommendation No. 190., cites household chores "performed (a) for long hours, (b) in an unhealthy environment, involving unsafe equipment or heavy loads, (c) in dangerous locations, and so on" as general criteria for hazardousness.

But the resolution contains no specific guidance in terms of what, for example, should constitute "long hours" or "dangerous locations" for measurement purposes, and states that this as an area requiring further conceptual and methodological development.

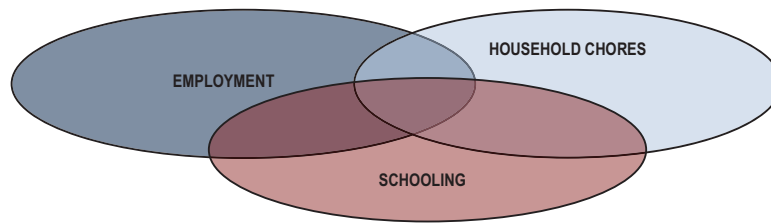
Some published statistics on child labour apply a time threshold of 28 hours, beyond which household chores are classified as child labour. But this threshold, while useful in advocating for the inclusion of household chores within statistical definitions of child labour, is based only on preliminary evidence of the interaction between household chores and school attendance, and does not constitute an agreed measurement standard.

At the same time, considering all children spending at least some time performing household chores as child labourers would clearly be too inclusive, as helping out at home for limited amounts of time is considered a normal and beneficial part of the childhood experience in most societies.

Source: UCW, 2010. *Joining forces against child labour: Inter-agency report for The Hague Global Child Labour Conference of 2010*. Understanding Children's Work (UCW) Programme – Geneva: ILO, 2010.

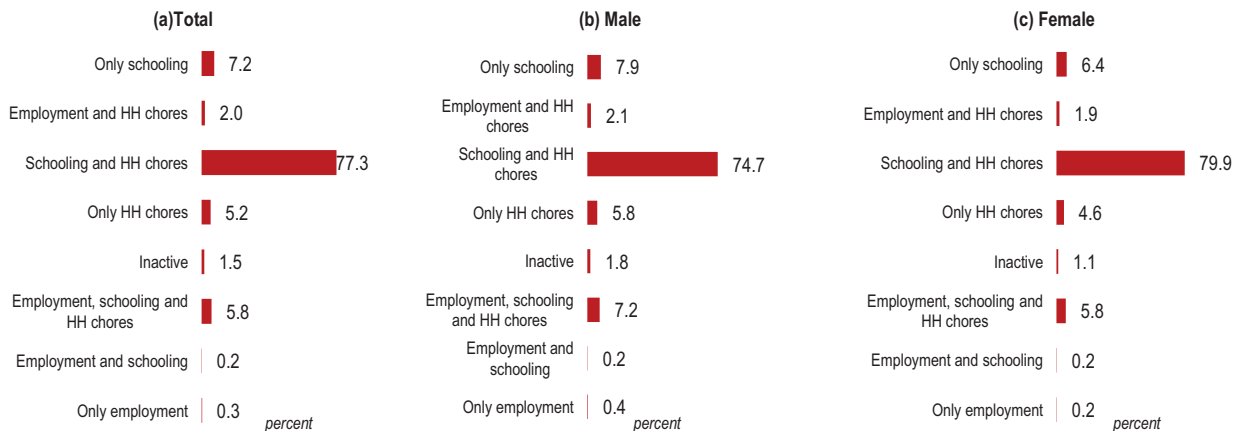
34. Considering household chores adds another layer of complexity to the discussion of children's time use, as children may perform chores in combination with school, employment or in combination with both school and employment (Figure 12).

Figure 12. Children's time use



35. This more complex – but also more complete – picture of children's activities is depicted in Figure 13. It shows that only about seven percent of children succeed in attending school unburdened by any work responsibilities. A small but by no means insignificant proportion of children (six percent), by contrast, have the triple burden of performing both employment and household chores while also attending school, with obvious consequences on their time for study, rest and leisure. About five percent of children perform household chores exclusively; as shown in the next section, this group accounts for nearly 60 percent of all out-of-school children. Almost no children work in employment exclusively (0.3 percent), i.e., without also either attending school, performing chores or doing both. Less than two percent of Rwandan children are completely inactive, i.e., not attending school or performing any form of productive activity.²⁰ Differences by sex in terms of activity status are not large; for both sexes, the group attending school and performing household chores accounts for by far the large proportion of children.

Figure 13. Child activity status when household chores are also taken into consideration, 7-15 years age group, by sex



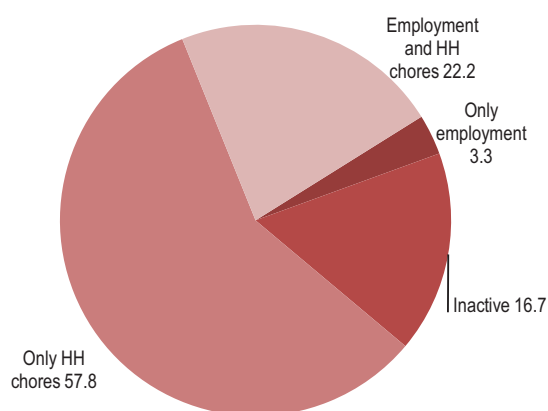
Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

²⁰ It is likely that at least some in this putatively inactive group is in reality performing worst forms of work other than hazardous, which are beyond the scope of household surveys (see also discussion on worst forms of child labour in Section 6.3 of this report).

3.3 Out-of-school children

36. The child labour phenomenon is closely related to that of out-of-school children, as the overwhelming majority of children not in school (83 percent) are engaged in some form of work activity. As shown in Figure 14 and Table 5, while the largest proportion of out-of-school children (58 percent) only performs household chores, over one in five children in this group performs double work duty, i.e., both household chores and employment. A much smaller proportion (three percent) only works in employment. These figures once again underscore the close link between getting children out of work and getting them into school. Understanding the interplay between child labour and out-of-school children is critical to achieving both Education for All (EFA) and child labour elimination goals.

Figure 14. Activity status of out-of-school children, 7-15 years age group



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Table 5. Out-of-school children, 7-15 years age group, by sex and province

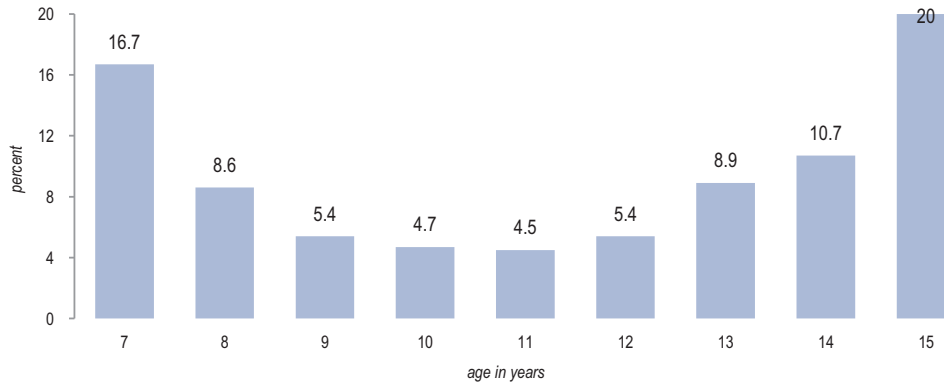
Province	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Kigali city	5,580	6.6	6,668	8.7	12,247	7.6
South province	33,197	13.7	23,597	9.3	56,794	11.5
Western province	32,373	11.3	25,503	8.9	57,876	10.1
North province	17,955	8.8	13,499	6.7	31,453	7.7
Eastern province	15,034	7.6	12,518	6.5	27,553	7.0
Total	104,139	100	81,784	100	185,923	100

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

37. Out-of-school children aged 7-15 years numbered 186,000 in Rwanda in the 2008 reference year (Table 5), accounting for just under one in ten children in this age group. The number of girls out of school (82,000) was somewhat less than that of boys out of school (104,139). The proportion of children out-of-school also differs somewhat by province. Children in the South and West provinces face the greatest risk of being denied schooling; children in the East province face the lowest risk, despite the fact that East province has the highest level of children's employment. The proportion of children out of school falls from age eight years to age 11 years, as late school entrants outnumber those

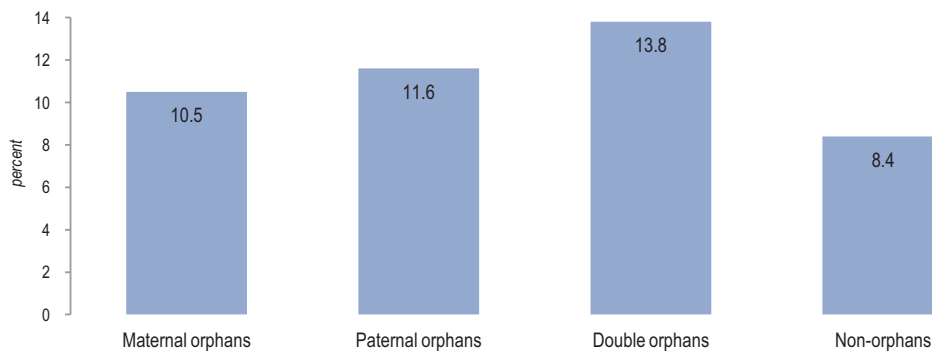
dropping out or never entering the system, but rises steadily thereafter (Figure 15).

Figure 15. Out-of-school children, by age



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Figure 16. Out-of-school children, 7-15 years age group, by orphan status



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

38. Orphans face a greater risk than non-orphans of both being denied schooling (Figure 16) and of having to work in employment (Figure 10); children with both parents deceased are particularly likely to be out-of-school and in employment, indicating that this group should be a particular focus of intervention efforts.

4. CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILDREN'S WORK

4.1 Children's employment

39. Children's work is concentrated overwhelmingly in the agriculture sector in Rwanda. Eighty-four percent of total employed children aged 7-15 years work in this sector, followed by services²¹ (domestic or other) (nine percent of employed 7-15 year-olds) and commerce (four percent). Mines, construction and manufacturing together account for around four percent of children in employment (Table 6). The predominance of the agriculture sector in children's employment is a reflection of its broader importance in the Rwandan economy: activities relating to agriculture account for 40 percent of the GDP and for 90 percent of total employment. The Rwandan agricultural sector is made up primarily of low-productivity, subsistence farming.

40. Children's sector of work appears to depend to an important extent on where they live. While agriculture predominates in the primarily rural provinces outside Kigali, the composition of children's work is more varied in the capital. Domestic service plays a particularly important role in Kigali, accounting for over half of all children in employment. Sometimes the children themselves negotiate such arrangements, approaching an adult and offering to work for him as a servant in exchange for a place to sleep, perhaps for food or even a small salary²². The use of child labour in the domestic sector is subject to no regulation and is out of public view. Children, and especially girls, who live as domestic servants behind closed doors of private houses are particularly vulnerable to abuse, and constitute a particular policy priority in Kigali. Involvement in commerce sector employment is also much more common in Kigali than in the other provinces.

Table 6. Sector of children's employment, 7-15 years age group, by age, sex and province

Characteristics		Agriculture	Manuf.	Commerce	Services	Dom. service	Mines & constr.	Total
Age	7 years	88.9	0.0	0.0	6.9	4.2	0.0	100
	8 years	79.1	0.0	11.2	2.8	3.1	3.9	100
	9 years	75.8	3.4	7.5	11.1	0.0	2.2	100
	10 years	88.9	0.0	0.8	3.9	3.1	3.2	100
	11 years	80.7	0.0	6.6	2.8	4.5	5.4	100
	12 years	91.5	0.0	1.8	2.3	3.5	1.0	100
	13 years	81.5	0.0	4.5	4.4	5.5	4.1	100
	14 years	88.2	1.4	0.6	2.7	2.8	4.3	100
	15 years	79.7	0.5	5.9	4.8	8.0	1.1	100
Sex	Male	84.5	0.9	4.2	3.6	4.3	2.5	100
	Female	83.5	0.3	3.5	4.8	4.9	3.1	100

²¹ Domestic services in this context refer to the household activities performed in another household for an employer. The term excludes household chores performed by children in their own households.

²² Human Rights Watch, *Lasting Wounds*, 2 April 2003.

Table 6. *Cont'd*

Characteristics		Agriculture	Manuf.	Commerce	Services	Dom. service	Mines & constr.	Total
Province	Kigali	28.2	3.8	11.3	5.4	51.3	0.0	100
	South	91.7	0.9	3.4	2.2	1.1	0.6	100
	West	84.6	0.9	5.3	2.3	5.0	1.9	100
	North	89.0	0.0	2.9	3.2	1.6	3.2	100
	East	81.3	0.0	2.4	7.7	3.1	5.5	100
Total		84.0	0.6	3.9	4.1	4.6	2.8	100

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

41. There are also small differences in work sector between male and female working children, although the agriculture sector predominates for both. Patterns by age in the sectoral composition of children's work are unclear.

Table 7. Children's status in employment,^(a) by age, sex and province

Characteristics		Non-waged family work	Waged employment	Self employed	Total
Age	7 years	77.8	9.7	12.5	100,0
	8 years	73.9	7.3	18.8	100,0
	9 years	71.0	16.3	12.6	100,0
	10 years	74.4	12.5	13.1	100,0
	11 years	75.3	14.3	10.3	100,0
	12 years	74.2	8.4	17.4	100,0
	13 years	64.3	17.0	18.8	100,0
	14 years	73.7	12.9	13.4	100,0
	15 years	56.7	20.1	23.2	100,0
Sex	Male	67.7	12.0	20.4	100,0
	Female	69.4	17.7	12.9	100,0
Province	Kigali	30.9	44.9	24.2	100,0
	South	82.7	3.6	13.7	100,0
	West	65.0	15.9	19.1	100,0
	North	69.2	14.0	16.9	100,0
	East	64.9	18.7	16.4	100,0
Total		68,4	14.6	17.0	100,0

Notes: (a) Categories for status in employment are those used in the questionnaire for the Rwanda National Child Labour Survey

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

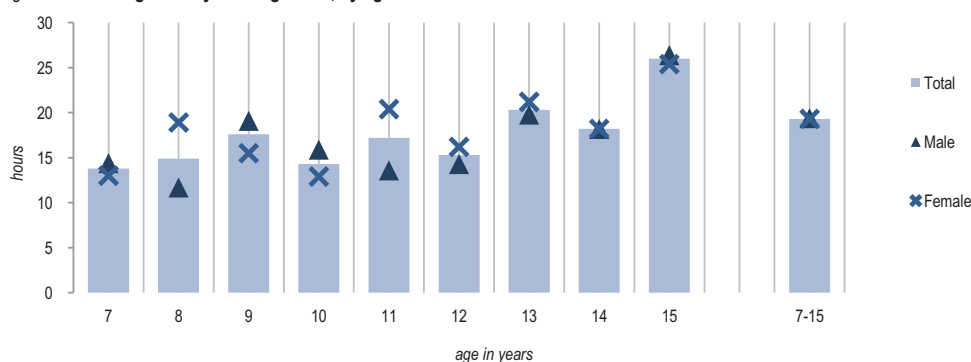
42. Some two-thirds of children in employment work without wages within the family unit. The remainder work in either self-employment (17 percent) or in more formal waged (regular) employment (15 percent). The small proportion of children working in waged employment in the formal sector is significant because these children are the only ones typically reached by labour inspection

regimes. Inspection capacity, however, is low, and systematic inspections unable to cover even many formal sector entities.

43. The aggregate figures on children's status in employment mask large variations between Kigali and the other provinces. Family work accounts for less than one-third of all children's employment in the capital, while 45 percent of Kigali working children are in waged employment and one-fourth are self-employed. Children's status in employment also differs somewhat by sex and age. Girls are somewhat more likely to be in waged employment and somewhat less likely than boys to be in self-employment. The importance of family work declines with children's age, while self employment and waged employment gain in importance as children grow older (Table 7).

44. Not considered thus far in the discussion of children's work is the question of how much time they actually spend performing it. Hours worked provide insight into the possible health and educational consequences of work. As shown in Figure 17, average weekly working hours remain high in Rwanda: children aged 7-15 years log an average of 19 hours a week of work in employment. The time intensity of children's employment rises considerably as children grow older. Working children aged 7-12 years put in an average of 16 hours of work per week, while those aged 16-17 years log an average of 31 hours per week. Children working for their families put in fewer working hours than their counterparts in regular or self employment (Table 8).

Figure 17. Average weekly working hours, by age and sex



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Table 8. Average weekly working hours, by status in employment, age group and sex

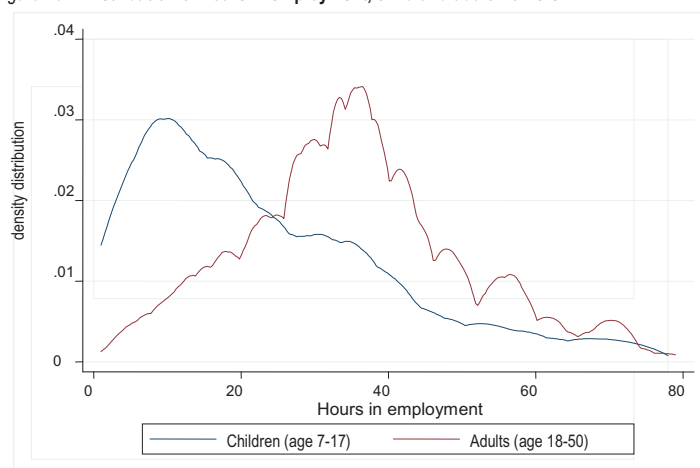
Sex	7-12 years			13-15 years			16-17 years		
	Non-waged family work	Waged employment	Self employed	Non-waged family work	Waged employment	Self employed	Non-waged family work	Waged employment	Self employed
Male	13.9	22.1	17.6	17.6	34.4	28.9	22.3	43.7	34.9
Female	16.0	17.1	17.9	18.3	35.6	19.3	22.4	58.1	26.9
Total	14.9	18.9	17.7	17.9	34.9	25.9	22.4	50.2	31.4

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

45. The distribution of children in employment by weekly working hours indicates that while most working children are clustered in the range of 10-15 hours per week, there is also a significant proportion of children in the "tail" of the distribution performing exceptionally long working hours, i.e., 40 or more

hours per week (Figure 18). These are among the worst off working children, as their work responsibilities preclude their rights to schooling, study, leisure and adequate rest. Their prolonged exposure to workplace risks also undoubtedly increases their susceptibility to work-related sickness and injury.

Figure 18. Distribution of hours in employment, child and adult workers



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Table 9. Average weekly working hours, by age group, schooling status and sex

Sex	7-12 years			13-15 years			16-17 years		
	Employment only	Employment and schooling	Employment	Employment only	Employment and schooling	Employment	Employment only	Employment and schooling	Employment
Male	33.9	13.0	15.1	36.3	14.1	22.2	36.4	11.3	30.4
Female	33.0	14.4	16.3	33.0	13.6	21.9	37.3	10.7	31.2
Total	33.4	13.7	15.7	34.8	13.9	22.0	36.9	11.0	30.8

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

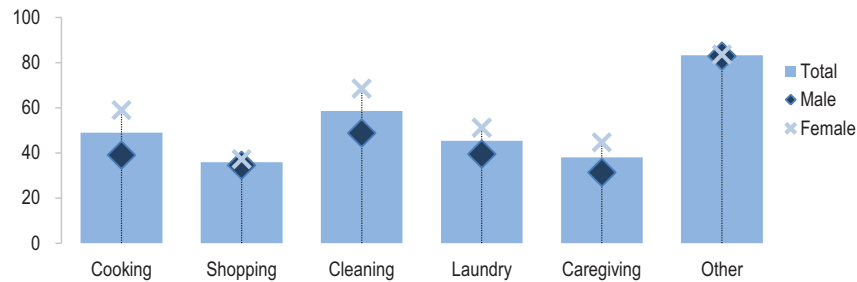
46. The aggregate figures on children's working hours also mask important differences between working children that go to school and working children that do not. Not surprisingly, children not in school spend much more time working than those attending school. Nonetheless, the working hours logged by working students are by no means insignificant: around 14 hours for both the 7-12 years and 13-15 years age groups, with important consequences for children's time and energy for their studies. A growing body of literature indicates that the burden of work makes it more difficult for children to benefit from their time in the classroom and makes it more likely that they drop-out prematurely. It is also worth recalling that these figures do not include time spent performing household chores, which add to the time burden of work for working students and non-students alike.

4.2 Household chores

47. Unpaid household services performed within one's own household, or household chores, also form an integral part of the daily lives of Rwandan

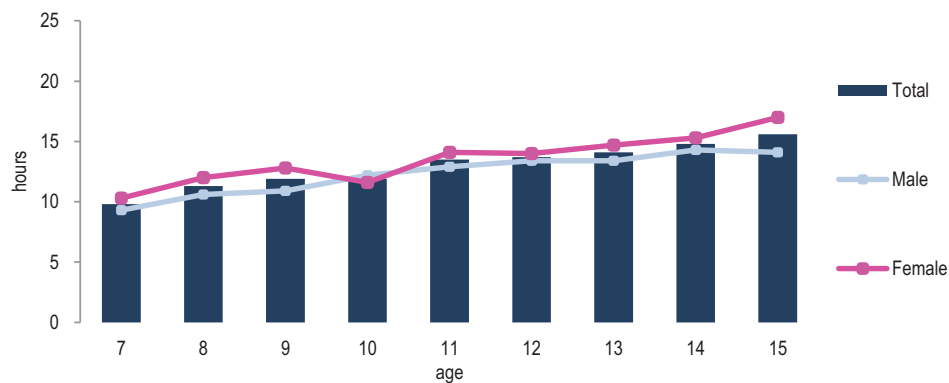
children. The most common types of chores performed by children in the 7-15 years age group are as follows: cleaning (59 percent); cooking (49 percent); laundry (45 percent) and care-giving (38 percent) and shopping (36 percent).²³ Gender considerations appear important in the assignment of chores within households: girls in particular are more likely to be tasked with cleaning, cooking, laundry and care-giving (Figure 19).

Figure 19. Types of household chores performed by children, 7-15 years age group, by sex



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Figure 20. Average weekly working hours in household chores, by sex and age



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

48. The time intensity of household chores (around 13 hours per week for 7-15 year-olds) is much less than that of employment (around 20 hours per week for the same age group). Boys spend fewer hours performing chores than girls, with the difference rising with age (Figure 20).

²³ Figures sum to more than 100 percent because children typically perform more than one type of chore in the household.

5. CONSEQUENCES OF CHILDREN'S WORK

5.1 Children's work and education

49. The degree to which work interferes with children's schooling is one of the most important determinants of the long-term impact of early work experience. Reduced educational opportunities constitute the main link between child labour, on the one hand, and youth employment outcomes, on the other. Clearly, if the exigencies of work mean that children are denied schooling altogether or are less able to perform in the classroom, then these children will not acquire the human capital necessary for more gainful employment upon entering adulthood. Links between children's work, human capital levels and youth employment outcomes in Rwanda are explored in more detail in Chapter 8 of this report.

50. This section presents evidence showing that child labour and education are largely incompatible activities – in other words, evidence indicating that child labour cannot be associated with successful education. Achieving Education for All and eliminating child labour are therefore closely linked objectives – attempts to achieve one without addressing the other are unlikely to be successful. Data from NCLS 2008 permit the generation of three core education indicators – school attendance rate, average grade-for-age²⁴ and school life expectancy.²⁵ When disaggregated by children's work status, these indicators point to important differences between working and non-working children in terms of their ability to participate in school, and to progress through the school system once there.²⁶

51. The school attendance²⁷ of children in employment lags significantly behind that of their non-working counterparts: 74 percent of 7-15 year-olds in employment attend school against 93 percent of children in the same age group not in employment. The gap in attendance increases as children grow older, from from eight percentage points at age 11 years, to 22 percentage points at age 14 years and to 40 percentage points at age 15 years (Figure 21). The differences in school attendance between working and non-working children are largest at the two extremes of the household wealth continuum (Figure 22). The large proportion of working children not attending school highlights the need for “second chance” learning opportunities to compensate for school lost due to work.

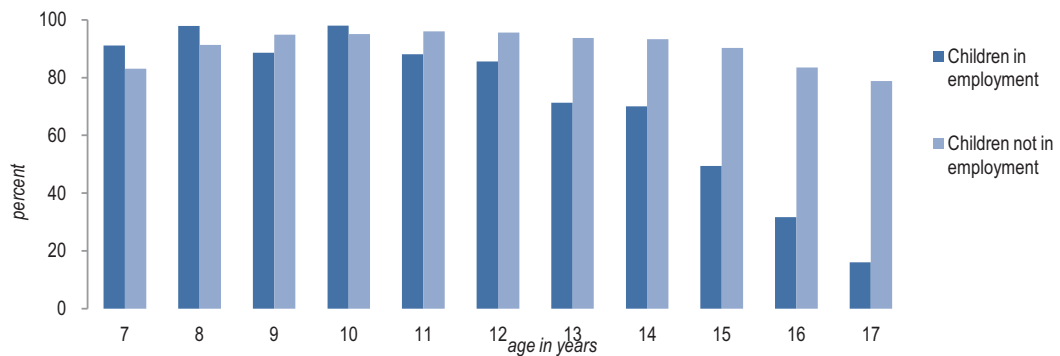
²⁴ Grade for age is computed as average grade completed of children currently attending school at a given age.

²⁵ School life expectancy provides a measure of the total number of years of education that a child can be expected to complete.

²⁶ While suggestive, a causal relationship between child labour and school cannot of course be asserted from descriptive data on these indicators. Establishing causality is complicated by the fact that children's employment and school attendance are usually the result of a joint decision on the part of the household, and by the fact that this decision may be influenced by possibly unobserved factors such as innate talent, family behaviour and or family preferences.

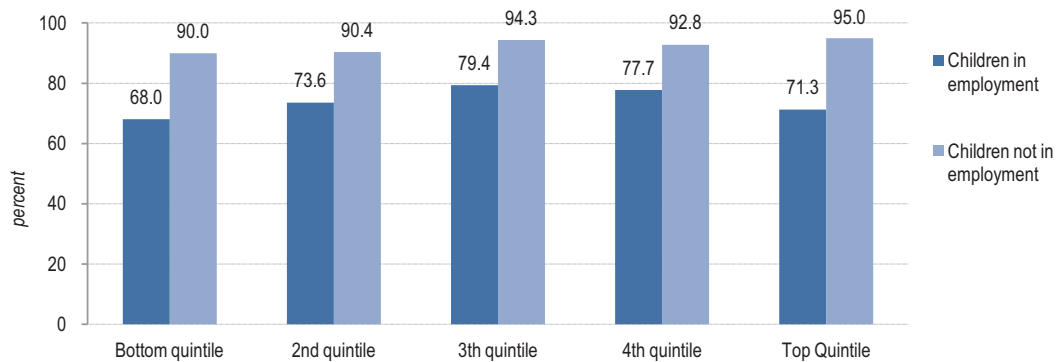
²⁷ School attendance refers to children attending school at the time of the survey. As such it is a more restrictive concept than enrolment, as school attendance excludes those formally enrolled in school according to school records but not currently attending.

Figure 21. School attendance rate, by work status and age



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Figure 22. School attendance rate (age group 7-15), by work status and wealth quintile



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

52. Not surprisingly, attendance is negatively correlated not only with involvement in employment but also with the time children spend actually working. As illustrated in Figure 23, the likelihood of a working child attending school falls off sharply as the number of hours he or she must work each week increases, even at low levels of working hours.

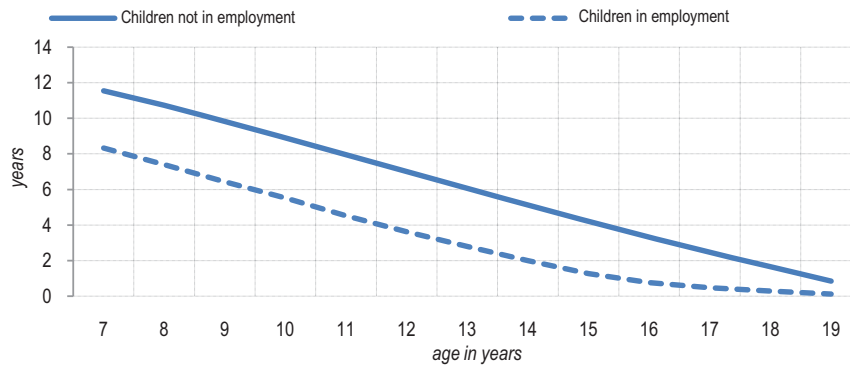
Figure 23. Working hours and school attendance (non-parametric estimates)



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

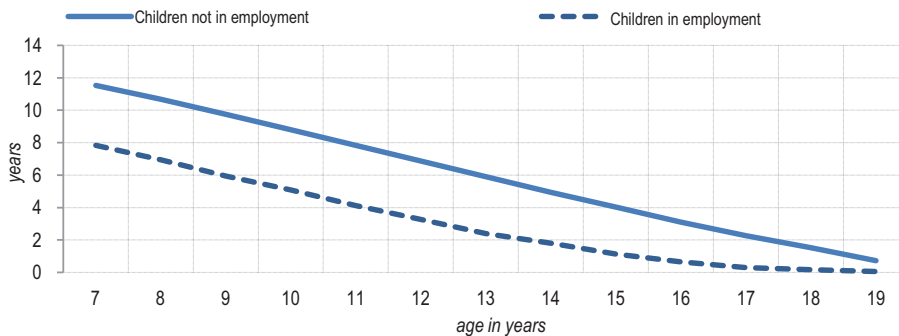
53. School life expectancy provides a measure of the total number of years of education that a child can be expected to complete.²⁸ Relatively higher school life expectancy indicates greater probability of achieving a higher level of education.²⁹ This measure also serves to illustrate the substantially reduced educational prospects associated with early involvement in work in Rwanda. Having to work reduces the number of years that a child can expect to remain in the schooling system at every age, for both sexes (Figure 24 and Figure 25).

Figure 24. School life expectancy, male children, by work status



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Figure 25. School life expectancy, female children by work status



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

54. Not discussed thus far is the possible impact of child labour involvement on the ability of children to learn effectively once in the classroom. It stands to reason that the demands of work limit the time and energy children have for

²⁸ SLE at an age a in year t is calculated as follows:

$$SLE_a^t = \sum_{i=a}^{i=n} \frac{A_i^t}{P_i^t}$$

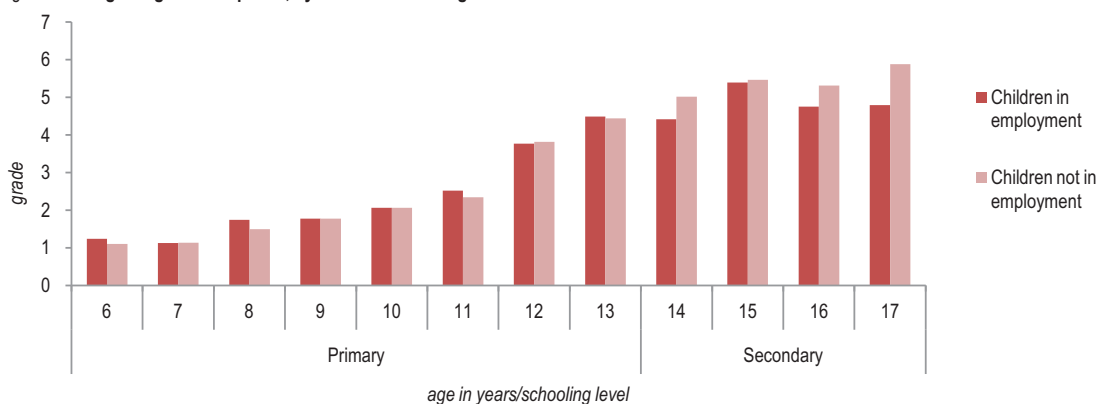
where: A_a^t - attendance of the population of age i ($i=a, a+1, \dots, n$) in school year t ; n - the theoretical upper age-limit of schooling; P_i^t - population of age i in school-year t .

²⁹ Although expected number of years does not necessarily coincide with the expected number of grades of education completed, because of grade repetition.

their studies, in turn negatively impacting upon their academic performance. But in the absence of test scores or some other direct measure of achievement, it is difficult to draw concrete conclusions regarding the link between school performance and child labour.

55. Data on average grade-for-age show that children in employment lag behind their non-working counterparts in terms of grade progression beyond the age of 13 years, presumably at least in part due to poor performance (Figure 26).³⁰ And because child workers are more likely to drop out of school at early ages, and drop outs are presumably those with higher accumulated delay, the observed gap in average grade-for-age is likely to underestimate the true gap in completed grades, i.e., the gap that would be observed in the absence of selective drop out.

Figure 26. Highest grade completed, by work status and age



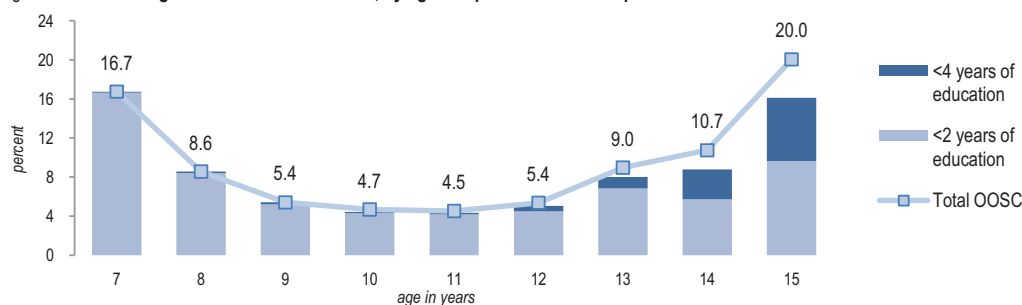
Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

5.2 Second chance learning requirements

56. The large number of out-of-school children in Rwanda, in part due to the exigencies of work, underscores the continued importance of providing “second chance” learning opportunities. Assessing the second chance learning needs of out-of-school children requires information not only of total numbers of children out of school, but also of their ages, previous schooling experience and literacy levels. The first indicator offers a measure of the total *extent* of the second chance learning needs, while the interaction of the latter three indicators provides a general idea of the *nature* of these learning needs.

³⁰ The lags in progression might also be due to higher incidence of late entry among children who are identified as workers, or to higher absenteeism among child labourers in turn leading to grade repetition.

Figure 27. Percentage of children out of school, by age and previous school experience



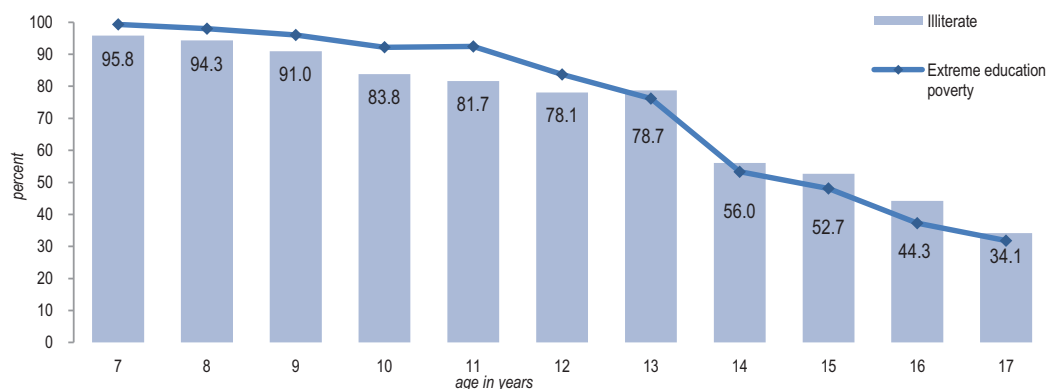
Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Table 10. Out of school children aged 7-15 with less than 2 and 4 years of education

Age	Extreme education poverty (OOSC with <2 years of education)		Education poverty (OOSC <4 years of education)		Total OOSC
	No.	% of total OOSC	No.	% of total OOSC	
7	38,383	99.3	38,640	100.0	38,640
8	23,523	98.0	24,004	100.0	24,004
9	11,366	96.0	11,836	100.0	11,836
10	9,426	92.2	9,708	95.0	10,221
11	8,908	92.4	9,224	95.7	9,636
12	12,106	83.7	13,641	94.3	14,462
13	13,943	76.2	16,353	89.4	18,301
14	12,149	53.3	18,615	81.7	22,783
15	17,344	48.1	28,984	80.4	36,040
Total	147,147	79.1	171,004	92.0	185,923

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Figure 28. Rate of illiteracy among out-of-school children, by age



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

57. Four out of every five out-of-school children suffer what UNESCO terms “extreme education poverty”, i.e., possess less than two years of education, and almost all (over nine out of ten) suffer “education poverty”, i.e., possess less than four years of schooling. In light of these figures, it is not surprising that levels of illiteracy among out-of-school children are very high (Figure 28).

In all, almost 60 percent of 7-15 year-old out of school children is unable to read or write in any language. What is more, the rate of illiteracy among older out-of-school children exceeds the percentage in extreme education poverty. While about 37 percent of out-of-school 16 year-olds, for instance, is in extreme education poverty, 44 percent is illiterate. This suggests that second chance learning needs for older children may be considerably greater than that indicated by extreme education poverty.

5.3 Children's work and health

58. The health impact of children's employment is an important consideration in determining which forms of work constitute child labour. Indeed, health impact lies at the heart of international legal standards relating to child labour. ILO Convention No. 138 states that no child should enter work that by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out is likely to jeopardise her or his health, safety or morals (Article 3).³¹ ILO Convention No. 182 following from Convention No. 138, calls on Members to take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency (Article 1),³² and identifies threats to health, safety or morals of children, as one of the criterion for worst forms (Article 3).³³

59. Early exposure to work increases children's risk of disease and injury. Children working with dangerous materials, such as asbestos or molten glass, in unhealthy environments, such as mines or quarries, or long hours in sweatshop conditions obviously face serious jeopardy to their health. Likewise, the toll of heavy farm labour on young bodies, use of dangerous tools and machinery, contact with fertilizers and pesticides and sheer exhaustion from long working days (or nights) all undoubtedly impact negatively on health.³⁴ Particularly insidious, because they tend to be hidden and therefore unrecognized, are the psychosocial effects of stress, violence, harassment, isolation and the like, whose damage on the developing child may have serious cumulative and compounding effects on health.

³¹ The full text of Article 3(1) reads: The minimum age for admission to any type of employment or work which by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out is likely to jeopardise the health, safety or morals of young persons shall not be less than 18 years.

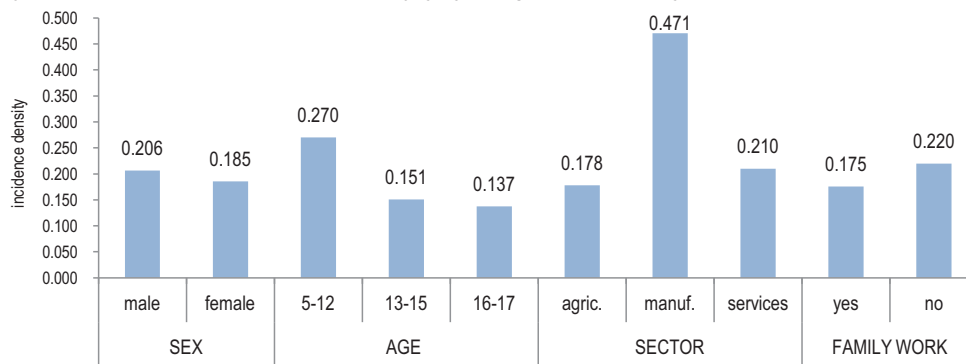
³² The full text of Article 1 reads: "Each Member which ratifies this Convention shall take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency."

³³ The full text of Article 3 reads: "For the purposes of this Convention, the term *the worst forms of child labour* comprises: (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties; (d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children."

³⁴ The reader can refer to the study by Guarcello *et al.* (2004) for a detailed review of the impact of child labour on the health of children.

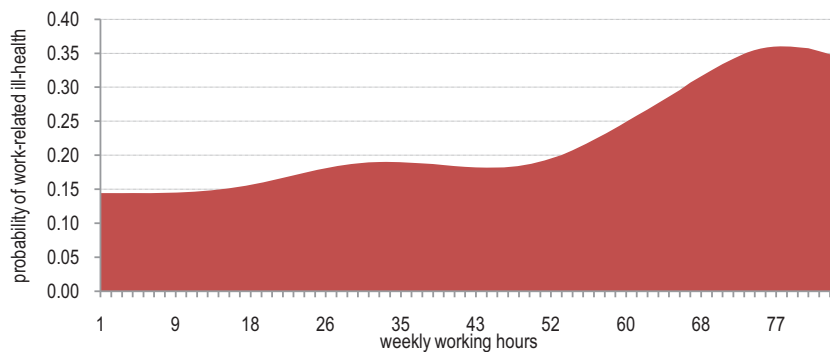
60. Figure 29 presents a measure of the incidence of work-related illness and injury among Rwandan children.³⁵ It indicates that children in the manufacturing sector are particularly vulnerable: children in this sector are more than twice as likely to suffer work-related illness or injury compared to children in the agriculture or services sectors. The same figure shows that young, 5-12 year-old children in employment face a much higher risk of work-related illness and injury than their older counterparts, again underscoring the particular urgency of eliminating child labour among young children. Figure 29 indicates that work outside the family poses a slightly greater risk than work within the family, although the latter is by no means risk free. Indeed, an average of almost one in five children working for their families experiences at least one incident of work-related ill-health over a 12-month period.

Figure 29. Incidence of work-related disease and injury, by sex, age, sector, and family work



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Figure 30. Weekly working hours and the probability of work-related ill-health (non-parametric estimates)



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

³⁵ To take exposure into consideration, a standard *incidence density* is computed as follows:

$$\text{Incidence Density} = \frac{\text{children injured during a specified period of time}}{\text{total person time}}$$

where "total person-time" is cumulated exposure for all the individuals considered.

61. The time intensity of child labour determines the duration of exposure of children to health risks in the workplace, and therefore is a critical factor in determining the relationship between child labour and health. The non-parametric estimates shown in Figure 30 illustrate the positive relationship between working hours and the likelihood of work-related illness and injury. It indicates that the risk of ill-health rises sharply for additional hours beyond about 15 weekly working hours, well within the average range of working hours for Rwandan children.³⁶

³⁶ It should be recalled, however, that these figures reflect reduced form estimates, and the relationship estimated is subject to change if the underlying structure changes. They must therefore be interpreted with care.

6. INVOLVEMENT IN CHILD LABOUR FOR ELIMINATION

62. Before leaving the discussion of children's work, it is worth addressing one final question: the extent to which this work constitutes "child labour" in accordance with national legislation and international labour standards.³⁷ It is the narrower subgroup of child labourers that is most relevant for policy purposes. Estimates of child labour are presented below based, to the extent possible, on national child labour legislation for both the 5-15 years and 16-17 years age groups.

6.1 Measuring child labour

63. Rwanda has made a number of important legal commitments to protecting children from child labour, including the ratification of ILO Convention No. 138 (Minimum Age) in 1980, ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Children in 1990 and ratification of ILO Convention No. 182 (Worst Forms) in 2000.³⁸ Law No. 13/2009 regulating labour in Rwanda provides the primary legal framework regarding child labour in the country.³⁹ The law prohibits employment of a child in any company,⁴⁰ even as apprentice, before the age of 16 years (article 4), and sets specific conditions for the employment of 16-17 year-olds (articles 5 and 6).⁴¹

³⁷ Three main international conventions – the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), ILO Convention No. 182 (Worst Forms) and ILO Convention No. 138 (Minimum Age) – define child labour and provide a framework for efforts against it.

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) recognises the child's right to be protected from forms of work that are likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development. In order to achieve this goal, the CRC calls on States Parties to set minimum ages for admission to employment, having regard to other international instruments.

ILO Conventions No. 138 (Minimum Age) and No. 182 (Worst Forms) target as child labour 1) all forms of work carried out by children below a minimum cut-off age (at least 12 years in less developed countries); 2) all forms except 'light work' carried out by children below a second higher cut-off age (at least 14 years in less developed countries); and 3) all 'worst forms' of child labour carried out by children of any age under 18 years, where worst forms include any activity or occupation which, by its nature or type has, or leads to, adverse effects on the child's safety, health, or moral development.

³⁸ Other international and regional conventions and treaties related to child labour ratified by Rwanda include: Forced Labour Convention, No. 29, 1930 (ratified on 23.05.2001); Optional Protocol to the Convention on Rights of the Child, 2000 on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography (ratified by Rwanda on 26/02/2000); Optional Protocol on the Convention on Rights of the Child, 2000 on the involvement of children in armed conflicts (ratified by Rwanda on 26.02/2002); Optional Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (ratified through the Presidential decree No. 161/01 of 31/12/2002); The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child adopted in June 1990 ratified by Rwanda on 30/05/2000; The Paris Principles and guidelines on Children and Armed Conflicts, February 2007; and The Cape Town Principles and Best Practices on the Recruitment of Children into the Armed Forces, and on Demobilisation and Social Reintegration of Child Soldiers in Africa, April 1997.

³⁹ Specifically, child labour provisions are contained in Title I, Chapter 3, Section 1 (Child labour prohibition) and in Title III, Chapter 4, Section 1 (Prohibited child labour and its nature) of Law 13/2009.

⁴⁰ For the purposes of this report, this encompasses all economic activities performed by children.

⁴¹ These conditions concern (1) child's rest (the rest between two working periods for a child shall be of a minimum duration of twelve (12) consecutive hours) and prohibited work (the child shall be subject to the work which is proportionate to his/her capacity. The child cannot be employed in the nocturnal,

Panel 5. Ministerial order N°06 of 13/07/2010 determining the list of worst forms of child labour, their nature, categories of institutions that are not allowed to employ them and their prevention mechanisms.

CHAPTER I: LIST AND NATURE OF WORKS PROHIBITED TO CHILDREN

Article 1: Purpose of this Order This Order determines the list of worst forms of child labour, their nature, categories of institutions that are not allowed to employ them and their prevention mechanisms.

Article 2: List of worst forms of child labour Worst forms of child labour, prohibited to children are divided into three categories:

- 1° worst forms of child labour;
- 2° works that may affect the health, security or morality of the child;
- 3° works that may be dangerous to the health of the child.

CHAPTER II: NATURE OF THE WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR

Article 3: Worst forms of child labour The worst forms of child labour shall especially include:

- 1° to indulge children in slavery or similar practices;
- 2° children trafficking;
- 3° to turn them into debt bondage;
- 4° to replace them with mature people in forced labour;
- 5° to use them in conflicts and wars;
- 6° attract them into prostitution and to make use of them in these activities, to use them in all activities and in the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
- 7° to use them in producing and trafficking of drugs.

Article 4: Works that may affect the health, security or morality of the child Works that may affect the health, security or morality of the child shall include:

- 1° works carried out on the surface or underground aimed at mining or works carried out underneath the water, places with high heights or congested places;
- 2° works carried out in the drainage of marshlands, cutting down of trees, utilising fertilisers and pesticides;
- 3° works carried out in unhygienic places that may expose children to dangerous products and chemicals, conditions of very high temperature, noise and vibrations that may affect the lives of the children;
- 4° works related to demolitions.

Article 5: Works that may be dangerous to the health of the child The works that may be dangerous to the health of the child shall include among others:

- 1° works that may affect the child's health, either physically or psychologically;
- 2° works that are carried out using machines or other dangerous materials that may affect the health of the child or that require lifting or carrying heavy load;
- 3° works related to fishing using boats;
- 4° domestic works carried out of their family circles for a salary or whatever gain ;
- 5° works that require children to carry loads that are heavier than their physical capacity;
- 6° works carried out in long hours and at night between 8 p.m and 6 a.m for a salary or other direct or indirect wages;
- 7° construction works carried out using ropes and other materials;
- 8° construction and demolition works, heavy lifting machines and other dangerous instruments ;
- 9° works of lifting or removing heavy products using lifting machines if they are not operated from far and in an enclosed area ;
- 10° works that require driving heavy machines and vehicles that lift loads and those that used to level the ground ;
- 11° works involving visiting, verifying servicing machines that are turned on except where those machines have protective parts to avoid contact with such parts in motion ;
- 12° works carried out in places with machines that are turned on or off automatically and other annexed machines that do not have guards to prevent free access.

laborious, unsanitary or dangerous services for his/her health as well as his/her education and morality).

Panel 5.Cont'd

CHAPTER III: CATEGORIES OF INSTITUTIONS THAT ARE NOT ALLOWED TO EMPLOY CHILDREN

Article 6: Industrial institutions prohibited to employ children It is prohibited to employ children in the following institutions with works that are considered worst forms of employment to children:

- 1° institutions that produce pornographic materials or pornographic shows;
 - 2° institutions that manufacture, sell, advertise draw, print different publications that contrary to the morality and which are punishable by Law in case of their sale, exposed or distributed to the public;
 - 3° mining and quarry institutions whether public or private;
 - 4° institutions that carry out slaughtering of animals, rear dangerous or poisonous animals;
 - 5° institutions that manufacture toxic gases;
 - 6° institutions that are involved in the manufacture and traffic of drugs;
 - 7° military camps or paramilitary organisations;
 - 8° institutions that carry out the works stipulated in Article 3 of this Order;
- It is also prohibited to employ children in the following institutions with works that are considered dangerous to the health of the children:
- 1° institutions that produce and sell alcoholic drinks;
 - 2° construction institutions;
 - 3° bricks and tiles manufacturing institutions;
 - 4° institutions that carry out the works mentioned in Article 4 of this Order.

CHAPTER IV: PREVENTIVE MECHANISMS FOR WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR

Article 7: Birth certificate Every employer in the institutions mentioned in Article 6 of this Order shall request a birth certificate from a worker before signing an employment contract with him/her.

Article 8: Implementation of the Law Labour inspector carries out regular inspection to see whether there are children below 16 years employed in institutions.

Source Official Gazette of the Republic of Rwanda, *Official Gazette n° 30 of 26/07/2010*



64. Law No. 13/2009 states that no child below the age of 18 years may engage in worst forms of work, and states that worst forms include (Article 72):

- slavery or similar practices;
- trafficking;
- debt bondage;
- forced labour;
- soldiers in conflicts and wars;
- recruitment, use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution or for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
- use, recruitment and procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities such as manufacture and marketing of drugs; and
- work that is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of a child.

65. A Ministerial Order sets out a more detailed list of worst forms of child labour, including hazardous work, their nature, categories of institutions that are not allowed to use them and their prevention mechanisms (Panel 5).

Panel 6. Framework for statistical identification of child labour in Rwanda

Age group	Regular work (i.e., excluding worst forms)	Worst forms of child labour	
		Hazardous work	Worst forms of child labour other than hazardous work
Children below the general minimum working age (age group 5-15 years)	Employment below the general minimum working age	Employment in industries and occupations designated as hazardous, or for long hours and/or at night in industries and occupations not designated as hazardous	Children trafficked for work; forced and bonded child labour; commercial sexual exploitation of children; use of children for illicit activities and armed conflict
Children at or above the general minimum working age (age group 16-17 years)			

 Denotes activities not considered child labour
 Denotes child labour as defined by Rwandan legislation

66. Therefore, for a complete estimate of child labour in accordance with national legislation, it is necessary to look at all 5-15 year-olds in any form of employment, and all 16-17 year-olds in worst forms (Panel 6). Children in hazardous household chores are not included, as national legislation does not deal with this category of work.⁴²

6.2 Prevalence of child labour

67. Child labour based on these criteria is not uncommon in Rwanda. As shown in Table 11, almost 190,000 children below the age of 16 years are in employment and an additional 69,000 older, 16-17 year-old children are at work in hazardous employment. Summing these two groups yields a total of almost 260,000 children aged 5-17 years in child labour, about nine percent of total children in this age range. The almost 190,000 younger, 5-15 year-old, children in child labour include a significant number of children in *hazardous* forms of child labour; these children face particular threats to their health, safety and morals, and constitute an especially important policy priority.

⁴² Global guidelines for child labour statistics are set out in Resolution II (2008) of the Eighteenth International Conference of Child Labour Statisticians (ICLS). The resolution states that child labour may be measured in terms of the engagement of children in productive activities either on the basis of the general production boundary or on the basis of the SNA production boundary. The former includes unpaid household services (i.e., household chores) while the latter excludes it. When the general production boundary is used as the basis for measuring child labour, the resolution recommends classifying those performing hazardous unpaid household services as part of the group of child labourers for measurement purposes. Hazardous unpaid household services, in turn, are defined as those requiring long hours; involving unsafe equipment or heavy loads; in dangerous locations; etc. For further details, see: Resolution II, Resolution Concerning Statistics of Child Labour, as cited in: International Labour Organization, *Report of the Conference, 18th International Conference of Labour Statisticians, Geneva, 24 November–5 December 2008. Resolution II*. Rpt. ICLS/18/2008/IV/FINAL, International Labour Office, Geneva, 2009.

Table 11. Estimates of child labour involvement, based on national legislation and international statistical measurement standards

	(A) Children aged 5-15 years in employment		(B) Children aged 16-17 years in hazardous employment		(A)&(B) Children aged 5-17 years in child labour	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Male	8.2	103,767	20.3	35,939	9.7	139,706
Female	6.7	84,241	18.2	33,071	8.2	117,312
Total	7.5	188,008	19.2	69,010	8.9	257,018

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008

68. It should be stressed that child labour figures presented in Table 11 are lower bound estimates, as they do not include involvement in what ILO terms “worst forms of child labour other than hazardous work”,⁴³ which were beyond the scope of NCLS 2008. It is also worth noting that the child labour estimates presented in Table 11 differ from those presented in the report of the Ministry of Public Service and Labour and the National Institute of Statistics on the national child labour survey⁴⁴ because the estimates in Table 11 reflect the recent changes in child labour legislation in Law No. 13/2009 and the Ministerial order N° 06 of 13/07/2010.

69. Children living in the street are one group especially vulnerable to worst forms of child labour other than hazardous in Rwanda. Estimates of their numbers vary widely, owing to the hidden and transient nature of the population. One study put the total number of street children in the country at 7,000 in 2002, of whom about 2,000 were in the city of Kigali.⁴⁵ Many of these children have been demonized and marginalized by the townspeople. Children living in the street are mostly boys, although girls are also found. Their living conditions (housing, clothing and food) expose them to diseases and accidents. They are also likely to be led to various forms of violence, exploitation and sexual abuse.⁴⁶ A large proportion is orphans or children who have lost at least one parent.⁴⁷

⁴³ Activities targeted by ILO as “worst forms other than hazardous” are those referred to in Article 3(a)-(c) of ILO Convention No. 182: (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; and (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;

⁴⁴ Ministère de la fonction publique et du travail et Institute national de la statistique, *Enquête nationale sur le travail des enfants (2007)*.

⁴⁵ Human Rights Watch, *Lasting Wounds*, 2 April 2003.

⁴⁶ Human Rights Watch, *Lasting Wounds*, 2 April 2003.

⁴⁷ Veale, A., Dona, G. (2003) 'Street children and political violence: a socio-demographic analysis of street children in Rwanda. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 27 (3):253-269.

7. DETERMINANTS OF CHILDREN'S WORK

70. As most children (excluding those that live on their own) exercise little control over their time allocations, determining why children work requires investigating why parents choose to engage their children in work rather than sending them to school or leaving them idle at home. This chapter makes use of econometric evidence from NCLS 2008 to identify some of the factors influencing parents' decisions concerning their children's time use.⁴⁸ Results of the econometric analysis are reported in Table 12; some of the key qualitative inferences from the analysis are presented below.

71. Child age and sex. The analysis shows that the probability of a child working increases with age. The available information is insufficient to provide a precise idea of the relative importance of the two most probable reasons for this, i.e., the rising opportunity cost of schooling as a child grows older, or the lack of access to schooling at the post-primary level. Parents' decisions concerning whether to involve their children in school or work also appear influenced by gender considerations in Rwanda. Holding constant household income, parents' education and other relevant factors, boys are more likely to work exclusively and less likely to attend school only, than their female counterparts. But it is worth noting that these results do not extend to involvement in household chores, a variable not included in the multivariate analysis. The descriptive evidence presented above suggests that gender considerations are an important factor in the assignment of responsibility for chores in the household – a greater proportion of girls than boys perform chores at almost every age.

72. Education of household head. The effect of an increase of parents' education levels on the reduction of child labour is positive. Holding income and other factors constant, children from households where the head has higher education are less likely to work exclusively, and five percentage points more likely to attend school unencumbered by work responsibilities, than children from households where the head has no education. It is worth reiterating that these results are obtained holding income constant, i.e., independent of any disguised income effect. One possible explanation is that more educated parents might have a better knowledge of the returns to education, and/or are in a better position to help their children exploit the earning potential acquired through education.

Occupation status of household head. The occupation status of the household head is also relevant to decisions concerning children's time use. This is particular the case for households headed by persons enjoying wage

⁴⁸ A bivariate probit model was used to jointly determine the correlated decisions on child schooling and work. A simple economic model of household behaviour is used to guide the empirical specification. For detailed information on the model, see Cigno, A. and Rosati, F.C., "The Economics of Child Labour", 2005. The analysis carried out in this section is, obviously, conditioned by the information available. Notwithstanding the extensiveness of the survey utilised, potentially important variables are missing. In particular, information on the relative price of children's work is difficult to capture: indicators for returns to education, work and household chores are not easily available.

employment relative to those headed by persons with only occasional employment. Controlling for other factors, children from the latter households are about two percentage points more likely to be in employment and almost ten percentage points less likely to be attending school relative to their peers from households headed by persons in wage employment. This is an illustration of how adult employment outcomes can feed back into decisions concerning children's work and schooling, as discussed at the outset of this report (see Figure 1).

Table 12. Determinants of children's work and schooling, 7-15 years age group. Marginal effects after bivariate probit model

		Employment only	School only	Both	Neither
Child characteristics	Age	-0.019 (8.26)**	0.241 (28.59)**	0.027 (7.74)**	-0.248 (32.90)**
	Age squared	0.001 (9.44)**	-0.011 (27.57)**	-0.001 (4.53)**	0.011 (29.88)**
	Female	-0.005 (3.71)**	0.028 (3.97)**	-0.005 (2.13)*	-0.018 (2.85)**
Household characteristics	Household size	-0.001 (1.98)*	-0.003 (1.32)	-0.004 (4.39)**	0.008 (3.89)**
	No. of adults	-0.001 (0.70)	0.010 (1.56)	0.001 (0.52)	-0.010 (1.83)
	No. of siblings (aged 0-4)	0.001 (0.72)	-0.003 (0.66)	0.001 (0.50)	0.002 (0.40)
	Sex of HH head (male)	0.004 (2.51)*	-0.017 (1.53)	0.008 (2.41)*	0.004 (0.41)
Household head education ^(b)	Primary	-0.001 (0.61)	0.004 (0.49)	-0.001 (0.49)	-0.002 (0.23)
	Higher	-0.004 (1.85)	0.040 (2.94)**	0.001 (0.15)	-0.037 (3.23)**
Household head employment status ^(c)	Occasional	0.020 (3.04)**	-0.097 (4.06)**	0.017 (1.74)	0.059 (2.86)**
	Own account	0.005 (1.75)	-0.035 (2.42)*	0.002 (0.41)	0.028 (2.23)*
	None	0.006 (1.29)	-0.044 (1.87)	0.003 (0.37)	0.035 (1.64)
Wealth quintile ^(d)	Wealth quintile 2	-0.004 (2.51)*	0.021 (2.08)*	-0.006 (1.85)	-0.011 (1.20)
	Wealth quintile 3	-0.011 (7.05)**	0.072 (8.12)**	-0.011 (3.60)**	-0.050 (6.40)**
	Wealth quintile 4	-0.008 (5.04)**	0.050 (5.04)**	-0.010 (2.85)**	-0.032 (3.69)**
	Top quintile	-0.012 (6.90)**	0.088 (8.95)**	-0.010 (2.48)*	-0.067 (7.84)**
Orphan status ^(e)	Double orphan	0.017 (2.81)**	-0.080 (3.15)**	0.017 (1.86)	0.047 (2.11)*
	Maternal orphan	0.002 (0.46)	-0.045 (1.69)	-0.007 (1.13)	0.049 (2.00)*
	Paternal orphan	0.002 (0.79)	-0.016 (1.19)	0.000 (0.02)	0.014 (1.17)
Exposure to shocks ^(f)	Individual shock ^(g)	0.002 (1.01)	0.002 (0.20)	0.006 (1.78)	-0.009 (1.10)
	Collective shock ^(h)	0.007 (5.13)**	-0.018 (2.33)*	0.017 (6.23)**	-0.007 (1.04)

Table 12.Cont'd

		Employment only	School only	Both	Neither
Province ⁽ⁱ⁾	South province	0.011 (3.04)**	-0.035 (2.35)*	0.024 (2.99)**	0.000 (0.03)
	Western province	0.015 (3.86)**	-0.041 (2.74)**	0.037 (4.15)**	-0.010 (0.93)
	North province	-0.003 (1.12)	0.038 (2.96)**	0.007 (0.98)	-0.042 (4.10)**
	Eastern province	0.011 (3.10)**	-0.012 (0.82)	0.055 (5.06)**	-0.054 (5.66)**

Notes: (a) * = significant at 5%; ** = significant at 1%; (b) Comparison group is no education; (c) Comparison group is wage employee; (d) Comparison group is first (poorest) wealth quintile; (e) Comparison group is non-orphans; (f) Comparison group is no shock; (g) Individual shocks refer to those that directly impact on household members (e.g., death or illness of a household member); (h) Collective shocks refer to those affecting the community (e.g., natural disaster); and (i) Comparison group is Kigali.

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

73. Household wealth. The level of household wealth appears to play an important role in decisions concerning children's work and schooling, even when controlling for exposure to shocks and other factors. Children from wealthier households are more likely to go to school and less likely to participate in employment. The results underscore that children's earnings or productivity play an important role in household survival strategies among low-income families, and point to the need for some form of social protection strategies like compensatory income or earnings schemes as part of a broader effort for encouraging school attendance and discouraging children's work among poor households.

74. Place of residence. Children's living location has an influence on their time use, highlighting the importance of targeted, area-specific approaches to reducing child labour and raising school attendance. Again holding other factors constant, children living in the Southern, Western and Eastern provinces are significantly more likely to be in employment exclusively than children in Kigali. Children in the Southern, Western and Northern provinces are significantly less likely than their peers in Kigali to attend school only.

75. Exposure to shocks. Socio-economic shocks are common in Rwanda and their impact on children's involvement in work and schooling is therefore of considerable policy interest. Results of the econometric analysis indicate that collective shocks (i.e., those affecting the community such as natural disasters) are associated with a higher probability of children's employment and lower probability of school attendance. These results suggest that child labour forms an important part of a poor household's strategy for dealing with risk, making them less vulnerable to sudden losses of income arising from collective shocks. The results point to the need for policies aimed at reducing household vulnerability as part of a broader effort against child labour.

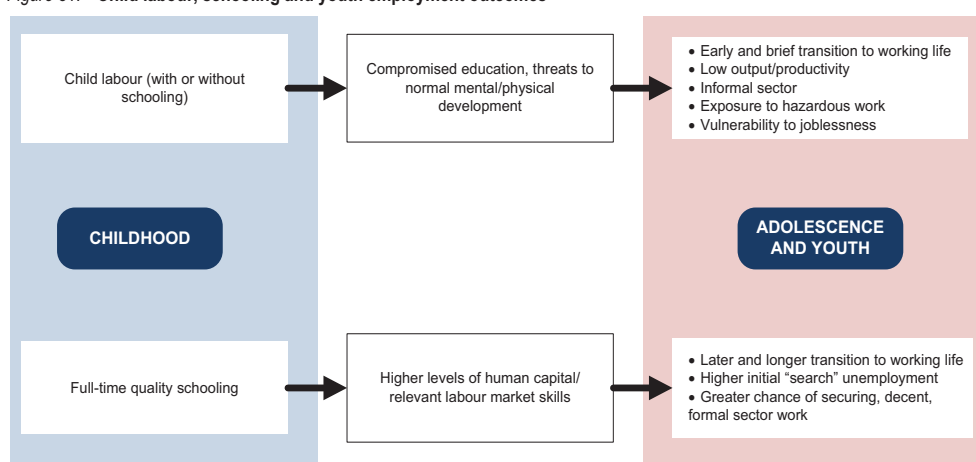
76. Orphanhood. Rwanda suffers very high child orphan rates and understanding how orphanhood affects children's involvement in school and child labour is therefore another area of particular policy interest. The regression results indicate that children that have lost both parents are at greater risk of child labour and of being denied schooling; the impact of the loss of only one parent, however, is not statistically significant. Double

orphans are also more likely to be absent from both school and economic activity compared to non-orphans; this raises the possibility that double orphans more than other children are kept at home, away from school and the workplace, to perform household chores.

8. YOUTH LABOUR MARKET OUTCOMES

77. Children's employment and youth labour market outcomes are closely linked. As shown in the preceding chapters, child labour is strongly associated with compromised education and other negative consequences, which, in turn, can impact negatively on youth employment outcomes (Figure 31). The links between youth employment and child labour can also operate in the opposite direction. In situations where there are few opportunities for good jobs as a child reaches the minimum working age, and where the transition from school to work is difficult, parents may have little incentive to invest in their children's schooling, and instead send their children to work prematurely.

Figure 31. Child labour, schooling and youth employment outcomes



78. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the situation of young people in the labour market in Rwanda, using data derived from NCLS 2008. Young people, or youth, are defined for the purposes of this chapter as belonging to the age group 15-24 years, in keeping with the typical international definition of this group. As seen in the preceding chapters, however, many persons in Rwanda actually transition to the labour force prior to the age of 15 years. It is also worth recalling that 15 year-old young persons in employment, and 16-17 year-olds performing hazardous work, are technically still child labourers according to national labour legislation and should therefore be included in broader efforts towards the progressive elimination of child labour.⁴⁹

8.1 Status of young people in the labour market

79. Young Rwandans aged 15–24 years are divided between education and the labour force. Table 13 and Table 14, which report the activity status of the

⁴⁹ Calculations based on the method used by ILO in producing global child labour estimates (see IPEC, *Accelerating Action Against Child Labour*, Geneva, ILO, 2010.) indicate that almost eight percent of all children aged 16-17 years, and over one-third of 16-17 year-olds in employment, are in hazardous work.

youth population, indicate that 37 percent of 15-24 year-olds is still in education exclusively while just under half is either in employment exclusively (46 percent) or actively seeking work (one percent). Work and schooling are not of course necessarily mutually exclusive: an additional seven percent of 15-24 year-olds combines the two activities. About 10 percent of the youth are jobless, where jobless is defined as the sum of the unemployed and the inactive not in education, expressed as a percentage of the relevant population cohort. Unlikely unemployment, joblessness has the advantage of reflecting both unemployed and discouraged workers who have left or not entered the workforce. A smaller but by no means negligible proportion of young people, nine percent, are inactive and not in education, a category that includes discouraged workers who have given up actively searching for a job.

80. The proportion of employed youth who are *underemployed*, i.e., available to take an additional job or to work additional hours but unable to do so, is discussed in section 8.5 of this report.

Table 13. Activity status distribution, young persons aged 15-24 years, by sex and age group

Category	Only employment	Only education	Employment & education	Unemployed	Inactive not in education	Total
Total	46.4	37.3	6.5	1.1	8.7	100.0
Sex						
Male	46.2	37.8	7.1	1.0	7.9	100.0
Female	46.7	36.8	5.8	1.2	9.5	100.0
Age group						
15 - 17 yrs	23.5	56.0	10.3	0.7	9.5	100.0
18 - 19 yrs	53.2	31.3	6.9	1.0	7.6	100.0
20 - 24 yrs	69.5	18.7	1.7	1.6	8.6	100.0

Source: UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Table 14. Aggregate indicators of activity status, young persons aged 15-24 years, by sex and age group

Category	% in labour force	% in employment	% in education	% jobless
Total	54.0	52.9	43.7	9.8
Sex				
Male	54.3	53.3	44.9	8.9
Female	53.7	52.5	42.6	10.7
Age range				
15 - 17 yrs	34.5	33.8	66.4	10.2
18 - 19 yrs	61.1	60.1	38.2	8.6
20 - 24 yrs	72.8	71.1	20.3	10.2

Source: UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

81. These aggregates mask large variations in young people's time use by age. This is not surprising, as the 15-24 age range is a period of transition. A comparison of teenagers (15-19 year-olds) and young adults (20-24 year-olds) reveals large differences in involvement in education, with relatively few people continuing education beyond their teens into young adulthood. Young adults are more represented in the labour force (both employed and unemployed), though the labour force participation of teenagers (and particularly persons in their late teens) is also high. Involvement in part-time work in combination with schooling is not uncommon among 15-17 year-olds (10 percent are working students), but declines among subsequent cohorts. Less than two percent of young adults combine the two activities.

82. The aggregate figures regarding the activity status of young people also mask large differences between (primarily urban) Kigali and the other

(primarily rural) provinces in the country (Table 15 and Table 16). Young persons in the former are much less likely to be in the labour market and much more likely to be in education exclusively or to be inactive not in education, compared to their peers living in the other provinces. These differences in the time use patterns of young people reflect underlying differences in the rural and urban labour markets. In rural areas, the agriculture sector plays a key role in absorbing rural youth. They are able to find work in agriculture without the need for a lengthy job search or formal contractual arrangements. In urban areas, on the other hand, young people benefit from greater educational opportunities, staying in education longer and joining the labour force at a later age.

Table 15. Activity status distribution, young persons aged 15-24 years, by province

Category	Only employment	Only education	Employment & education	Unemployed	Inactive not in education	Total
Kigali	38.0	44.3	2.5	1.8	13.5	100.0
South	45.8	35.9	7.7	1.0	9.6	100.0
West	48.2	34.8	7.6	1.3	8.2	100.0
North	50.9	37.3	4.3	0.5	7.1	100.0
East	45.2	38.5	7.8	1.2	7.3	100.0

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Table 16. Aggregate indicators of activity status, young persons aged 15-24 years, by province

Category	% in labour force	% in employment	% in education	% jobless
Kigali	42.3	40.5	46.8	15.3
South	54.5	53.5	43.6	10.5
West	57.1	55.8	42.4	9.5
North	55.7	55.2	41.5	7.6
East	54.2	53.0	46.4	8.5

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

83. Finally, youth activity status is closely correlated with wealth (Table 17 and Table 18). Young persons from the poorer wealth quintiles are much more likely to be in employment and much less likely to be in education than their peers from the higher wealth quintiles. The lower investment in the education of poor youth has obvious consequences in terms of efforts to narrow wealth disparities. With fewer opportunities to acquire human capital, poor youth are in a weaker position to secure the quality employment needed to escape from poverty. Wealthier youth are more likely to be jobless, undoubtedly at least in part the product of the fact that their better circumstances permit them a longer search period in order to find their preferred job.

Table 17. Activity status distribution, young persons aged 15-24 years, by wealth quintile

Category	Only employment	Only education	Employment & education	Inactive not in education	Unemployed	Total
Poorest	52.6	30.0	7.7	8.8	0.9	100.0
Quintile-2	54.8	30.8	7.1	6.5	0.8	100.0
Quintile-3	47.0	35.6	7.7	8.8	0.9	100.0
Quintile-4	41.4	42.7	6.4	8.0	1.5	100.0
Wealthiest	38.2	45.5	3.8	11.0	1.4	100.0
Total	46.4	37.3	6.5	8.7	1.1	100.0

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Table 18. Aggregate indicators of activity status, young persons aged 15-24 years, by wealth quintile

Category	% in labour force	% in employment	% in education	% jobless
Poorest	61.2	60.3	37.7	9.7
Quintile-2	62.8	62.0	37.9	7.3
Quintile-3	55.6	54.7	43.3	9.7
Quintile-4	49.3	47.8	49.1	9.5
Wealthiest	43.4	42.1	49.4	12.4
Total	54.0	52.9	43.7	9.8

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Table 19. Determinants of employment, young person's out of school aged 15-24 years(a)(b)

		All provinces		Kigali		Other region	
Child age and sex	Age	0.162***	(0.0394)	0.0117	(0.132)	0.168***	(0.0405)
	Age squared	-0.00352***	(0.00101)	0.000319	(0.00333)	-	(0.00104)
	Female	-0.0163	(0.0137)	-0.0609	(0.0455)	0.00370***	(0.0139)
HH characteristics	Household size	-0.00275	(0.00430)	-0.00865	(0.0113)	-0.00147	(0.00477)
	No. Adults	-0.0167*	(0.00957)	0.0347	(0.0283)	-0.0254**	(0.0102)
	No. siblings	0.00310	(0.0102)	0.0360	(0.0309)	0.00102	(0.0108)
	Sex of the HH head: male	0.0336*	(0.0198)	0.00128	(0.0545)	0.0354	(0.0217)
	Educ. of HH head: primary or higher ^(c)	-0.00879	(0.0150)	0.0349	(0.0581)	-0.0108	(0.0149)
Wealth ^(d)	Wealth quintile 2	0.0218	(0.0218)	0.0713	(0.200)	0.0145	(0.0207)
	Wealth quintile 3	-0.0299	(0.0234)	-0.164	(0.268)	-0.0238	(0.0217)
	Wealth quintile 4	-0.0287	(0.0257)	-0.0445	(0.239)	-0.0331	(0.0254)
	Wealth quintile richest	-0.0620**	(0.0292)	-0.124	(0.207)	-0.0662**	(0.0313)
Orphan status	Double orphan	-0.00996	(0.0247)	-0.0743	(0.0612)	0.00902	(0.0274)
	Maternal orphan	0.0238	(0.0263)	0.0127	(0.0933)	0.0151	(0.0278)
	Paternal orphan	-0.0139	(0.0197)	-0.00894	(0.0539)	-0.0161	(0.0216)
Basic services	Water	-0.0429	(0.0306)	-0.0192	(0.0563)	-0.0555	(0.0433)
	Electricity	0.0624***	(0.0224)	0.0967	(0.0634)	0.0838***	(0.0243)
Youth educ. level ^(e)	Education: primary	0.109***	(0.0252)	0.151*	(0.0771)	0.101***	(0.0262)
	Education: secondary or higher	-0.111***	(0.0400)	-0.306***	(0.0984)	-0.0384	(0.0389)
Labour market	Adult employment to pop. ratio	0.924***	(0.146)	-5.175	(5.157)	0.896***	(0.196)
	Share of youth in population	-0.534**	(0.219)	3.150	(2.538)	-0.531**	(0.225)

Notes: (a) Standard errors in parentheses; (b) *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1; (c) Comparison group is HH head with no education; (d) Comparison group is lowest wealth quintile; and (e) Comparison group is youth with no education.

Source: UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008

84. Regression tools permit a more robust assessment of the factors associated with youth labour market status. Results are reported in Table 19 and summarised below:

- the probability of employment increases, as expected, with age, as young people leave school and begin entering the labour market;
- young people belonging to poorest households are more likely to be working than those from wealthier ones, because wealthier youth tend to stay in school longer and because poor cannot afford prolonged job search periods;
- relative to uneducated youth, employment likelihood is higher for those with primary education but lower for those with secondary education or higher. This seems to indicate that more-educated youth face greater difficulties in finding employment, as discussed further in the sections below. Unfortunately the dataset did not permit analyzing the impact of vocational training on employment prospects; and
- the conditions of the local labour market appear to substantially influence the probability of finding employment for young people. An increase of the adult employment ratio, a proxy for labour demand, raises the probability of young people finding employment. By contrast, the share of youth in the overall population, a proxy for the supply of youth labour, is negatively associated with youth employment.

8.2 Youth job characteristics

85. Non-wage labour performed within the household is by far the most important form of youth work. Table 20, which reports the employed youth population by employment status (i.e., regular employment, occasional employment, self employment and non-wage family employment), indicates that almost half of employed young people (48 percent) work without monetary wages for their families. Most of the remaining employed youth are either in self employment (29 percent) or occasional employment (17 percent). Only about six percent of young people, on the other hand, enjoy regular employment. Taken together, these figures suggest that most young people are engaged in non- or low-paying jobs in the informal sector.

Table 20. Status in employment, young persons aged 15-24 years, by sex and age group

Category		Status in employment				Total
		Waged	Occasional	Self	Non-wage family	
Total	15 - 17 yrs	5.2	18.2	19.0	57.7	100.0
	18 - 19 yrs	6.2	17.2	26.7	50.0	100.0
	20 - 24 yrs	6.0	16.1	36.0	41.9	100.0
	15 - 24 yrs	5.8	16.9	29.1	48.1	100.0
Male	15 - 17 yrs	5.2	19.2	20.9	54.7	100.0
	18 - 19 yrs	6.6	20.1	23.5	49.8	100.0
	20 - 24 yrs	7.7	23.2	34.5	34.6	100.0
	15 - 24 yrs	6.7	21.4	28.0	43.9	100.0
Female	15 - 17 yrs	5.2	17.0	17.1	60.8	100.0
	18 - 19 yrs	5.7	14.6	29.6	50.1	100.0
	20 - 24 yrs	4.5	9.3	37.5	48.7	100.0
	15 - 24 yrs	5.0	12.6	30.2	52.2	100.0

Source: UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

86. Status in employment varies somewhat with age and sex. Among male youth, there is a shift away from non-wage family employment and towards other occupational categories as they grow older. Female youth move from non-wage family work and occasional work into self employment as they enter early adulthood; unlike their male counterparts, however, the presence of female youth in formal waged employment does not increase with age.

87. The agriculture sector absorbs most of the labour force in Rwanda, including those members of the labour force in the 15–24 years age group. Eight out of every 10 employed youth is engaged in agriculture, while about 15 percent are in services and less than two percent in manufacturing (Table 21). The sector of employment varies with age, but again the patterns in this regard differ between male and female youth. For male youth, agriculture work diminishes in importance, and work in manufacturing and services gain in importance, as they move from their teens to early adulthood. For female youth the opposite pattern prevails; their involvement in domestic services in particular declines with age.

Table 21. Sector of employment, young persons aged 15-24 years, by age group and sex

Category		Sector of employment					
Sex	Age range	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Domestic services	Other services	Other	Total
Total	15 - 17 yrs	81.4	0.6	9.0	6.4	2.7	100.0
	18 - 19 yrs	81.6	1.1	6.9	7.2	3.2	100.0
	20 - 24 yrs	77.5	2.0	4.7	10.5	5.3	100.0
	15 - 24 yrs	79.5	1.4	6.4	8.6	4.1	100.0
Male	15 - 17 yrs	81.9	0.5	6.0	7.8	3.8	100.0
	18 - 19 yrs	79.0	0.6	3.2	11.1	6.1	100.0
	20 - 24 yrs	68.1	1.9	4.4	15.6	10.0	100.0
	15 - 24 yrs	74.6	1.2	4.6	12.3	7.3	100.0
Female	15 - 17 yrs	80.8	0.7	12.3	4.8	1.5	100.0
	18 - 19 yrs	84.0	1.5	10.3	3.7	0.6	100.0
	20 - 24 yrs	86.3	2.2	5.0	5.7	0.8	100.0
	15 - 24 yrs	84.3	1.6	8.2	5.0	0.9	100.0

Source: UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

88. The job characteristics of young people differ considerably between the urban province of Kigali and the other, primarily-rural, provinces, again reflecting underlying differences in the nature of the urban and rural labour markets (Table 22 and Table 23). Employment in the Rwandan capital is characterised by greater diversity as well as a greater degree of formalisation. Unlike the other provinces, where the primary sector accounts for almost all jobs, the main employment sector for youth in Kigali is services; jobs in the services account for 62 percent of total youth employment in the capital (and for 70 percent of female employment). The manufacturing sector is also more important in Kigali, although even there it accounts for only five percent of total youth employment. Youth in Kigali are much more likely than their peers outside the capital to enjoy regular employment (about one in four urban youth is regularly employed), although less formal employment arrangements still form the bulk of youth jobs in Kigali.

89. Youth employment in the other provinces is more homogeneous: agriculture sector work under primarily informal employment arrangements (i.e., occasional, self or family-based employment) predominates for male and female youth alike. Only a very small proportion of youth outside Kigali (six percent in East province and less than four percent in the others) enjoy regular employment and the various benefits that typically accompany it (e.g., pension system, social security, unemployment compensation, etc.).

Table 22. Status in employment, young persons aged 15-24 years, by province

Province	Status in employment				Total
	Waged employment	Occasional employment	Self employment	Non-wage family employment	
Kigali	26.2	39.4	20.0	14.5	100.0
South	3.1	10.8	24.0	62.1	100.0
West	3.7	16.3	31.9	48.0	100.0
North	3.5	16.4	27.3	52.9	100.0
East	5.9	16.1	37.7	40.4	100.0

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Table 23. Sector of employment, young persons aged 15-24 years, by province

Province	Sector of employment					Total
	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Domestic services	Other services	Other	
Kigali	24.7	5.0	41.7	19.9	8.7	100.0
South	89.1	0.6	1.7	6.1	2.6	100.0
West	81.4	1.2	5.4	8.5	3.6	100.0
North	84.8	1.4	1.5	6.6	5.6	100.0
East	83.1	1.2	3.7	9.1	3.0	100.0

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

90. Both employment status and sector appear related to wealth. Young persons from the highest wealth quintile are much more likely to be in formal waged employment compared to young persons of other wealth levels. Youth from wealthy households, not surprisingly, are much less likely to be found in the primary agricultural sector and much more likely to be employed in the tertiary services sector. These results reflect the well-known mutually reinforcing effects of wealth and employment outcomes: higher levels of wealth permit greater investment in education, and the returns to education in terms of better employment outcomes permit the greater accumulation of wealth. The high proportion of youth in wealthy households in domestic service (31 percent) is at first glance surprising, but can be explained by the fact that these young persons are in fact working as domestics in third party households and not their own households.

Table 24. Status in employment, young persons aged 15-24 years, by wealth quintile

Province	Status in employment				Total
	Waged employment	Occasional employment	Self employment	Non-wage family employment	
Poorest	1.6	14.8	28.5	55.1	100.0
Quintile-2	1.5	16.4	30.0	52.1	100.0
Quintile-3	2.5	11.1	30.3	56.2	100.0
Quintile-4	4.6	12.0	37.0	46.4	100.0
Wealthiest	21.2	31.8	20.3	26.8	100.0

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Table 25. Sector of employment, young persons aged 15-24 years, by wealth quintile

Province	Sector of employment					Total
	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Domestic services	Other services	Other	
Poorest	90.1	0.0	0.5	5.5	3.8	100.0
Quintile-2	89.0	1.0	0.6	5.0	4.4	100.0
Quintile-3	86.1	1.4	0.9	8.3	3.3	100.0
Quintile-4	79.8	1.1	2.3	11.7	5.2	100.0
Wealthiest	46.8	3.9	31.3	14.0	3.9	100.0

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

91. While the agriculture sector remains most important in terms of the youth employment, employment in non-farm enterprises is of growing importance in Rwanda (see next section). Table 27 reports status in employment for young people and adults working in non-farm enterprises. For both age groups, wage work predominates, followed by independent work and unpaid work. Table 28 reports non-farm enterprise employment for the two age groups broken down by industry. The biggest difference between the two age groups in terms of industry lies in services – young workers are much more likely to be in domestic service while adult workers are more likely to be in other forms of service sector employment.

Table 26. Non-farm enterprise employment, by age group and status in employment

Status in employment	Age group	
	15-24 years	25-65 years
Wage non-farm	59.0	49.2
Independent non-farm	27.2	42.7
Unpaid (family enterprise, apprentice, etc.)	13.9	8.2
Total	100	100

Source: UCW calculations based on Rwanda, Integrated Living Conditions Survey, 2005/06.

Table 27. Non-farm enterprise employment, by age group and industry

Industry	Age group	
	15-24 years	25-65 years
Manufacturing	6.0	8.4
Construction	5.0	9.3
Commerce	24.1	29.8
Hotels and restaurant	3.5	6.0
Transport	7.7	5.5
Services	13.3	30.0
Domestic service	34.3	6.4
Other ^(a)	6.0	4.8
Total	100	100

Note: (a) "Other" category includes: mining, electricity, gas and water, other not well specified activities
Source: UCW calculations based on Rwanda, Integrated Living Conditions Survey, 2005/06.

92. Table 28 and Table 29 report employment status in non-farm enterprise for persons with different levels of education. While links between education level and employment status are difficult to discern for young persons (waged work predominates for persons at all levels of education), clearer patterns emerge when looking at the adult labour force. Adult workers with vocational, and, in particular, secondary education, are much more likely to enjoy waged employment than their counterparts with lower levels of education. Returns to education are discussed in more detail in Section 9.7 below.

Table 28. Young people aged 15-24 years in non-farm enterprise, by status in employment and education

Status in employment	Education level				
	No education	Primary or lower	Vocational	Secondary	Higher
Wage non-farm	60.7	57.0	72.1	68.2	67.1
Independent non-farm	28.4	28.9	21.7	16.3	8.2
Unpaid (family enterprise)	11.0	14.1	6.2	15.5	24.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: UCW calculations based on Rwanda, Integrated Living Conditions Survey, 2005/06.

Table 29. Adults aged 25-64 years in non-farm enterprise, by status in employment and education

Status in employment	Education level				
	No education	Primary or lower	Vocational	Secondary	Higher
Wage non-farm	34.4	39.6	54.6	74.0	92.5
Independent non-farm	57.5	50.6	37.9	20.9	5.3
Unpaid (family enterprise)	8.1	9.8	7.6	5.2	2.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: UCW calculations based on Rwanda, Integrated Living Conditions Survey, 2005/06.

8.3 Changes in youth job characteristics

93. A comparison of figures for 2001 and 2005 points to a substantial shift away from agricultural work for both youth and adult workers (Table 30),⁵⁰ a reflection of the significant structural changes occurring in the economy and labour market. The proportion of young workers in agriculture fell by nine percentage points over the 2001-2005 period, from 89 to 80 percent.

94. What types of non-agricultural work did young workers move into? The commerce sector grew the most in proportionate terms, almost tripling its share of total employment, from 1.7 percent in 2001 to 4.9 percent in 2005. Workers in this sector include boutique, kiosk and other sales-related proprietors; salespersons and family members who help run shops; street vendors and those involved in other commercial activities. The share of workers in domestic service grew by about half, to seven percent of total youth workers, and in other services by about two-fifths, to almost three percent of total youth workers. Other sectors also saw increased shares, though they still accounted for limited portions of total youth employment.

95. The shifts in the sectoral composition of the youth employment were accompanied by important changes in status in employment (Table 31). Wage employment almost doubled over the 2001-2005 period, moving from 12 to 22 percent of total youth employment. This was offset by a fall in self employment of almost 11 percentage points over the same period.

Table 30. Changes in the sectoral composition of employment, 2001 and 2005, by sex and age range

Category	Youth (15-24 years)			Adults (25-65 years)		
	2001	2005	Change	2001	2005	Change
Agriculture	89.3	79.9	-9.4	87.7	79.6	-8.1
Manufacturing	0.5	1.2	0.7	1.0	1.7	0.7
Construction	0.6	1.0	0.4	0.9	1.9	1
Commerce	1.7	4.9	3.2	3.1	6.1	3
Hotels and restaurant	0.5	0.7	0.2	0.4	1.2	0.8
Transport and communication	0.7	1.6	0.9	0.7	1.1	0.4
Services	1.9	2.7	0.8	5.1	6.1	1
Domestic service	4.7	6.9	2.2	0.7	1.3	0.6
Other ^(a)	0.2	1.2	1	0.4	1.0	0.6
Total	100	100	--	100	100	--

Note: (a) The category other includes mining, electricity, gas and water, not well specified sectors.

Source: UCW calculations based on Rwanda, Integrated Living Conditions Survey, 2001 and 2005/06.

⁵⁰ Owing to survey comparability considerations, results from the 2008 Rwanda National Child Labour Survey are not considered here.

Table 31. Changes in status in employment, 2001 and 2005, by sex and age range

Industry	Youth (15-24 years)			Adults (25-65 years)		
	2001	2005	Change	2001	2005	Change
Wage employee	11.5	22.2	10.7	11.4	18.6	7.2
Self employed	25.7	14.8	-10.7	65.6	49.3	-15.7
Unpaid family	62.6	63.0	0.4	23.0	32.0	9
Apprentice	0.3	--	--	--	--	--
Total	100	100	--	100	100	--

Note: (a) The category other includes mining, electricity, gas and water, not well specified sectors.

Source: UCW calculations based on Rwanda, Integrated Living Conditions Survey, 2001 and 2005/06.

Table 32. Changes in sector and status in employment, 2001 and 2005, young persons aged 15-24 years

Sector	2001					2005			
	Wage employee	Self employed	Unpaid family	Apprentice	Total	Wage employee	Self employed	Unpaid family	Total
Agriculture	4.2	26.3	69.2	0.3	100	12.8	11.8	75.4	100
Manufacturing	51.5	37.6	8.8	2.1	100	50.3	35.1	14.6	100
Construction	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	95.6	0.0	4.4	100
Commerce	24.5	68.5	7.0	0.0	100	16.4	62.2	21.4	100
Hotels and restaurant	76.8	19.7	3.6	0.0	100	55.9	26.1	18.0	100
Transport and communication	69.2	29.0	1.8	0.0	100	58.5	40.6	0.9	100
Services	75.7	21.8	1.3	1.2	100	66.5	29.3	4.2	100
Domestic service	85.2	2.3	12.5	0.0	100	82.0	0.0	18.0	100
Other ^(a)	57.9	4.1	38.0	0.0	100	61.2	35.3	3.5	100
Total	11.4	25.7	62.6	0.3	100	22.1	14.9	63.0	100

Note: (a) "Other" includes mining, electricity, gas and water, not well specified sectors.

Source: UCW calculations based on Rwanda, Integrated Living Conditions Survey, 2001 and 2005/06.

96. These changes were driven largely by the agriculture sector (Table 32), where the bulk of young workers are found. The proportion of total agricultural workers in wage employment tripled between 2001 and 2005, while the proportion of young agricultural workers in self employment⁵¹ fell by two-thirds over the same period. While further investigation of these patterns is beyond the scope of the current paper, the gain in wage employment at the expense of small family agricultural enterprises suggests that agricultural production is becoming more market-oriented and consolidated.

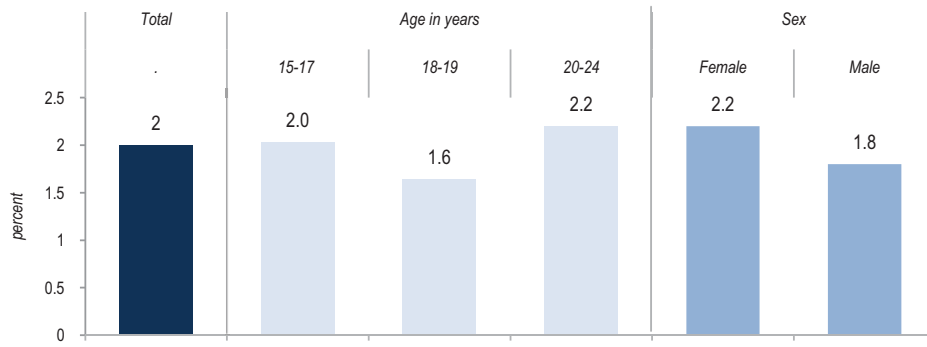
8.4 Youth unemployment and joblessness

97. Rates of measured unemployment are very low among Rwandan young people: only two percent of those in the labour force are unemployed (Figure 32). The rate of unemployment in Kigali is more than twice that in the other provinces, again underscoring the different nature of the urban and rural labour markets, and in particular the important role that the agriculture sector plays in absorbing young rural workers. Figure 32 shows that female youth in the labour force are somewhat more likely to be unemployed than their male

⁵¹ Self employment in the context of the agriculture sector refers to a person working on a household farm in which no other household member or paid non-household member is also working.

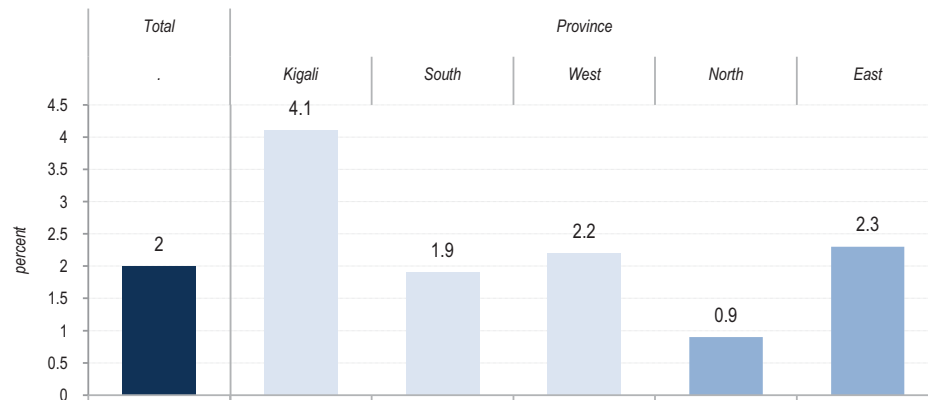
counterparts. Female youth are also more likely to be inactive, i.e., neither in the labour force nor in education, suggesting that gender is an important factor in youth labour market outcomes (see discussion below).

Figure 32. Youth unemployment rate, by age and sex



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

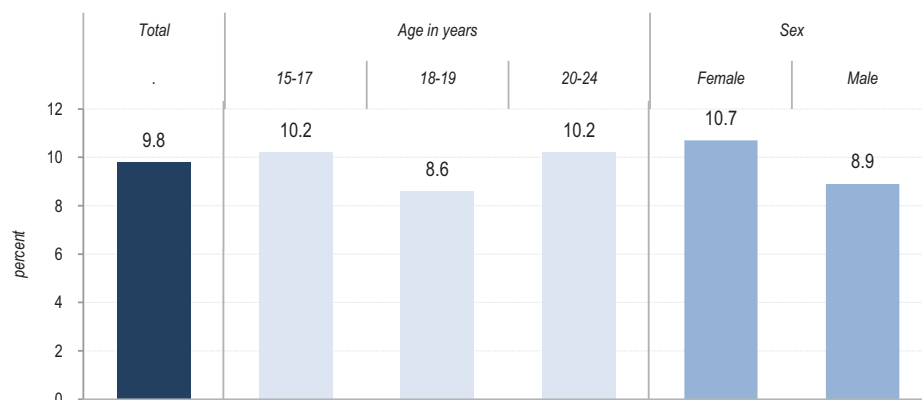
Figure 33. Youth unemployment rate, by province



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

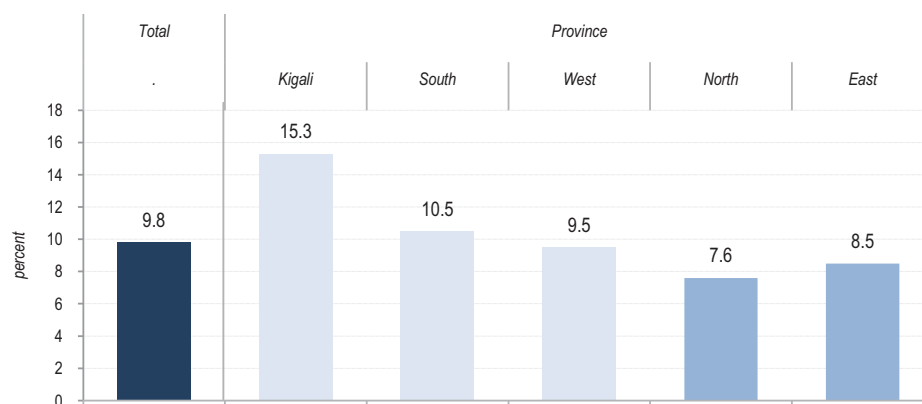
98. Levels of joblessness, again arguably a better measure of youth employment disadvantage because it also captures discouraged workers, are higher. Some 10 percent of all 15-24 year-olds are jobless. Female youth are more likely to be jobless than male youth, owing to both a higher rate of unemployment (2.2 versus 1.8 percent) and to a higher level of inactivity (10 versus eight percent). But the latter figure indicating higher inactivity is likely at least as much a reflection of the greater domestic responsibilities shouldered by female youth within the household as of greater numbers discouraged female youth. Levels of youth joblessness are much higher in Kigali than in other provinces, a result driven by higher levels of both unemployment and inactivity in the capital.

Figure 34. Youth joblessness, by age and sex



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Figure 35. Youth joblessness, by province



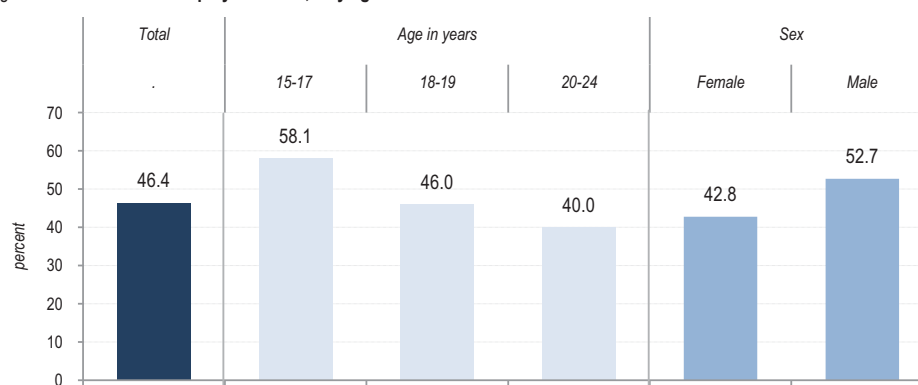
Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

99. It is important to note that neither the youth unemployment rate nor the level of joblessness provide a full description of youth difficulties in the labour market in Rwanda. In fact, in countries such as Rwanda with widespread poverty, looking at the unemployment might be misleading since most youth simply cannot afford to remain unemployed (Cling et al. 2006; Fares et al. 2006). In these cases, difficulties in the labour market might be better reflected by the quality of employment and/or other measures of *under-employment*. The previous section indicated that most employed youth are in low-quality jobs involving informal and/or unstable employment arrangements and for low or no wages. Youth under-employment is assessed below.

8.5 Underemployment

100. The rate of underemployment is defined as the number of persons in situations of under-employment expressed as a percentage of total persons in employment.⁵² A person is considered in a situation of under-employment, in turn, if the total number of weekly hours he or she works is less than 30. As shown in Figure 36, employed male youth are much more likely to be in part-time jobs than their female counterparts, and younger employed youth are more likely to be working part-time than their older counterparts. Female youth therefore face greater difficulties in securing a job, but the eventual job is more likely to be a full-time one.

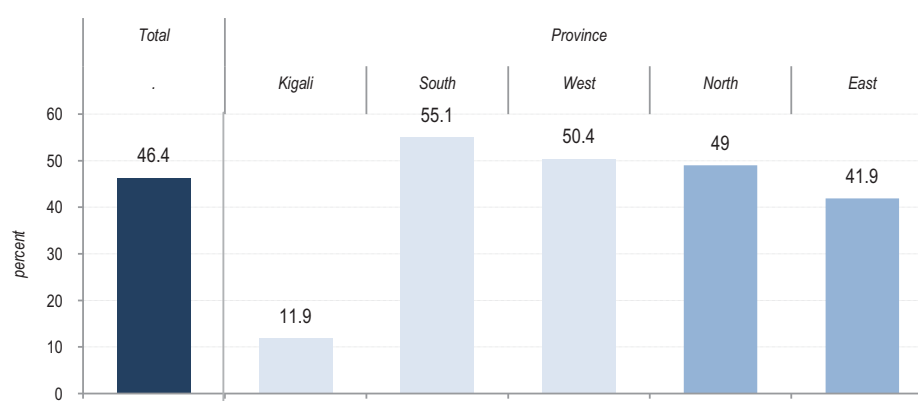
Figure 36. Youth underemployment rate,^(a) by age and sex



Notes: (a) The rate of underemployment is defined as the number of persons in situations of under-employment expressed as a percentage of total persons in employment. A person is considered in a situation of under-employment, in turn, if the total number of weekly hours he or she works is less than 30.

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Figure 37. Youth underemployment rate,^(a) by province



Notes: (a) The rate of underemployment is defined as the number of persons in situations of under-employment expressed as a percentage of total persons in employment. A person is considered in a situation of under-employment, in turn, if the total number of weekly hours he or she works is less than 30.

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

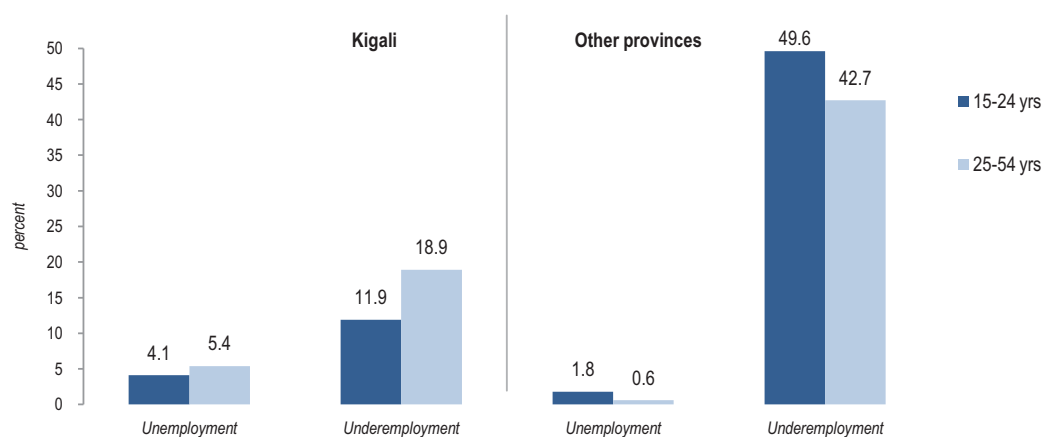
⁵² Strictly speaking, the concept of underemployment is not applicable to children aged 15 years, as the minimum working age in Rwanda is 16 years. For ease of exposition and comparability, however, we do not exclude them from the statistics.

101. Underemployment provides a much different picture of employment difficulties of young persons in Kigali with respect to the other provinces. While the indicators of unemployment and joblessness presented earlier suggest that young people in the other provinces have fewer difficulties securing jobs, the indicator of under-employment suggests that these jobs are much more likely to be only part-time in nature. Indeed, the rate of under-employment is over four times higher in the other provinces than in the capital. The high rate of under-employment in the other provinces points to the substantial under-utilisation of the productive capacity of rural youth.

8.6 Relative position of youth in the labour market

102. Comparing the labour market status and job characteristics of young persons and adults provides an indication of the extent to which young workers are disadvantaged in relation to their adult counterparts in securing quality jobs. A comparison of rates of unemployment and underemployment in the capital Kigali do not suggest that young persons are disadvantaged in the labour force. Indeed, if anything the opposite appears to hold true: adult workers are slightly more likely to be unemployed and much more likely to be underemployed than their counterparts aged 15-24 years (Figure 38). The picture changes somewhat in the other, primarily rural, provinces. Young persons in the other provinces are more likely to be unemployed (although unemployment is very low for both youth and adult workers), and much more likely to be underemployed than adult workers.

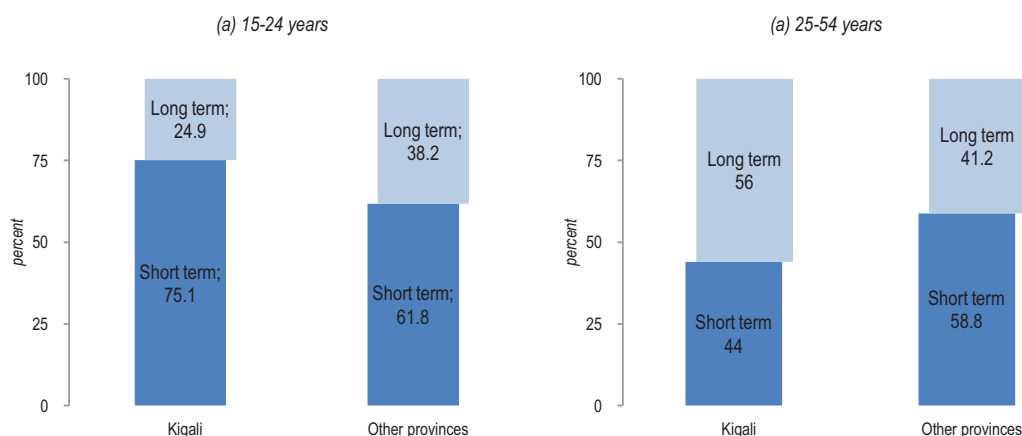
Figure 38. Unemployment^(a) and underemployment^(b), young persons and adults, by residence



Notes: (a) Expressed as a percentage of the labour force; (b) The rate of under-employment is defined as the number of persons in situations of under-employment expressed as a percentage of total persons in employment. A person is considered in a situation of under-employment, in turn, if the total number of weekly hours he or she works is less than 30.

Source: UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Figure 39. Distribution of unemployed workers, youth and adult workers, by duration of unemployment, and residence



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

103. Differences in the duration of employment are also important to consider when assessing labour market disadvantage. Low outflows from unemployment and long spell durations are likely to indicate employment problems, but high outflows and short spell durations may merely reflect active search on the part of youth for their “preferred” work. The negative effects of unemployment are therefore largely associated to prolonged spells of unemployment, rather than the incidence of unemployment *per se*. Figure 39 does not indicate that young persons in the labour force are more likely to experience long spells of unemployment than adult workers, although this result should be interpreted in light of the fact that young workers are likely to have been in the labour force for a shorter period of time.

Table 33. Sector of employment, by residence and age group

Residence	Age group	Sector of employment				
		Agriculture	Manufacturing	Domestic Services	Other Services	Other
Kigali	15-24 yrs	24.7	5.0	41.7	19.9	8.7
	25-55 yrs	31.9	5.4	4.3	50.0	8.4
Other provinces	15-24 yrs	84.5	1.1	3.2	7.6	3.7
	25-55 yrs	86.7	1.4	0.2	9.2	2.5
Total	15-24 yrs	79.5	1.4	6.4	8.6	4.1
	25-55 yrs	82.2	1.7	0.6	12.4	3.0

Source: UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Table 34. Employment status, by residence and age group

Residence	Age group	Status in employment			
		Regular employment	Occasional employment	Self employment	Non-wage family employment
Kigali	15-24 yrs	26.2	39.4	20.0	14.5
	25-55 yrs	23.4	17.5	56.2	2.9
Other provinces	15-24 yrs	4.0	14.8	30.0	51.2
	25-55 yrs	4.8	9.8	81.3	4.1
Total	15-24 yrs	5.8	16.9	29.1	48.1
	25-55 yrs	6.4	10.5	79.1	4.1

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

104. Differences in the job characteristics of young persons and adults represent another indicator of the disadvantage, if any, faced by youth in the labour force. In both Kigali and the other provinces, young workers are much more likely to be found in the most *informal* types of employment, i.e., occasional employment and non-wage family employment, while adult workers are much more likely to be in self employment. Differences in involvement in “regular” employment vary according to location: the proportion of young workers in regular employment is actually higher than that for adult workers in Kigali, while in the other provinces the opposite pattern prevails. In terms of the sectoral composition of employment, Kigali youth are more likely than their adult counterparts to work in services, and less likely to work in agriculture; the sectoral make-up of employment differs little between youth and adult workers outside the capital.

105. How then does the quality of youth jobs compare with that of adult jobs? Much of the answer depends on the nature of jobs in self employment, the general category of employment to which most workers appear to move as they enter adulthood. More information is needed concerning the specific types of jobs that constitute this general category and the conditions in which they are carried out.

8.7 Education level and labour market outcomes

106. The most obvious connection between child labour and poor youth labour market outcomes is through compromised education. In Chapter 5 of this report, evidence was presented indicating that child labour and education are largely incompatible activities – in other words, evidence indicating that child labour cannot be associated with successful education. This section, in turn, looks at the role of educational levels on youth labour market outcomes.

107. Many Rwandan young people have had little opportunity to acquire significant human capital: 11 percent of 15-24 year-olds have no education and 93 percent have a primary education or less. Less than six percent, on the other hand, possess post-primary education (Table 35). Low human capital is a particular concern in rural provinces outside Kigali; less than five percent of youth from these provinces have a post-primary education, compared to 15 percent of their peers from the capital. Most of the group of school non-

entrants and early-leavers were undoubtedly once child labourers, underscoring the fact that the challenge of finding satisfactory employment as adults cannot be separated from the issue of child labour.⁵³

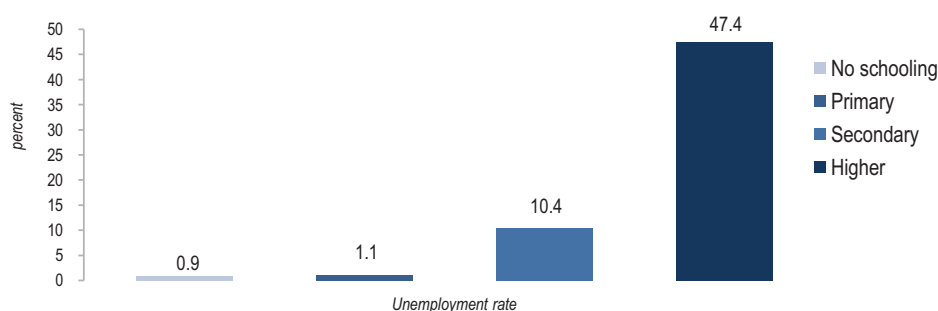
Table 35. Level of education attained, young persons aged 15-24 years not currently in education, by province

Level of education	Kigali		Other provinces		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No	%
None	5,946	9.1	63,593	11.0	69,540	10.7
Primary	48,334	73.8	482,549	84.0	530,883	82.0
Secondary	9,781	14.9	25,373	4.4	35,133	5.4
Higher	117	0.2	875	0.2	993	0.2

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

108. Descriptive evidence suggests that more educated young people may face greater difficulty securing jobs, but that the quality of the jobs they eventually do secure are often better. Figure 40 reports rates of unemployment among young people by level of education. It shows that the rate of unemployment increases with education level, peaking among those with higher education. This is partially the product of the fact that less-educated young people by definition begin their transition to work at an earlier age, and therefore have had a greater length of exposure to the labour market and more time to secure employment. It is also a reflection of the important role of the agriculture sector in absorbing low skill labour. As the reservation wage is likely to rise with skill level, search time might increase with the level of human capital of the individual. This finding *per se*, therefore, says little about links between human capital levels and success in the labour market. What is more, results based on data from other household surveys suggest that unemployment among skilled young persons may be falling over time.⁵⁴

Figure 40. Unemployment rate, young persons aged 15-24 years not currently in education, by level of education attained



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

⁵³ In the absence of retrospective information on work involvement, however, it is not possible to estimate the precise proportion of young people that were working as children.

⁵⁴ UCW calculations based on Rwanda *Enquête intégrale sur les conditions de vie des ménages*, 2001 and 2005, point to a fall in unemployment among skilled youth over the 2001-2005 period. Survey comparability issues, however, mean that a comparison of the unemployment estimates from these surveys with those of the more recent NCLS 2008 survey are not possible.

109. Table 36 reports the status in employment of young people according to the level of education that they have attained (only those no longer in education are considered). It indicates that young people having attained at least a secondary diploma have a much better chance of holding regular formal employment and are much less likely to be in non-wage family employment. But even for this elite group of most-educated young persons, the proportion that succeeds in securing regular employment is relatively small; like their less-educated peers, they are much more likely to be found in occasional and self employment, or in non-wage family employment. Similarly, Table 37, which reports the sector of employment of young people by education level, indicates that while educated youth are more likely to be found in the tertiary sector, by far the largest proportion – over 62 percent – is still found in the primary (agricultural) sector.

Table 36. Education level and status in employment, young persons aged 15-24 years

Status in employment	Education level		
	No school	Primary	Secondary or higher
Regular employment	6.8	6.1	10.4
Occasional employment	26.3	16.9	24.3
Self employment	28.9	30.5	30.8
Non-wage family employment	38	46.5	34.6
Total	100	100	100

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

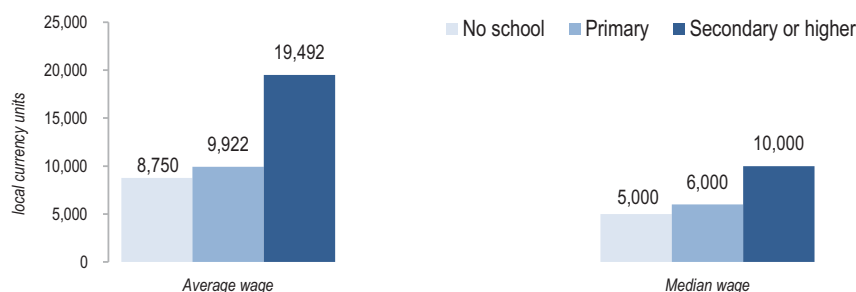
Table 37. Education level and the sectoral composition of employment, young persons aged 15-24 years

Sector	Education level		
	No school	Primary	Secondary or higher
Agriculture	79.3	79.6	62.2
Mining	2.5	1.4	0.0
Manufacturing	0.8	1.5	2.1
Construction	2.6	2.5	5.9
Commerce	3.9	3.6	7.9
Hotel and restaurant	1.5	0.5	0.0
Transport and communication	1.2	1.5	2.9
Domestic service	6.3	7.3	5.3
Other services	2.2	2.1	13.7
Total	100	100	100

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

110. Wage levels offer a more direct indicator of returns to education. Returns to even small amounts of education measured on this basis appear substantial. Figure 41 reports average and median wages disaggregated by education level. Overall, the average wage of youth with a primary education is 14 percent higher than that of young people with no education, while the average wage of youth with at least secondary education is twice that of youth with only primary education. The median wage of young people rises by one-fifth moving from no education to primary education, and by a further two-thirds moving from primary to at least secondary education.

Figure 41. Education level and wages, young persons aged 15-24 years



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

Table 38. Education level and wages, young persons aged 15-24 years, by sector

Category		Education level			Total
		No school	Primary	Secondary or higher	
Agriculture	average wage	6,988	8,656	9,576	8,480
	median wage	5,000	6,000	10,000	6,000
Manufacturing	average wage	11,091	16,570	33,491	17,399
	median wage	12,000	12,000	40,000	12,000
Construction	average wage	11,799	15,691	20,244	15,721
	median wage	10,000	11,000	20,000	10,000
Commerce	average wage	11,572	13,669	50,400	16,920
	median wage	10,000	10,000	50,000	10,000
Hotels and restaurants	average wage	7,069	11,173	-	10,515
	median wage	5,000	8,000	-	8,000
Transport and communication	average wage	31,552	12,307	10,483	13,875
	median wage	6,000	6,500	10,000	6,500
Domestic services	average wage	11,058	6,746	9,560	7,267
	median wage	5,000	5,000	10,000	5,000
Other services	average wage	8,325	16,342	27,340	18,185
	median wage	4,000	10,000	25,000	10,000
Other	average wage	11,135	17,058	-	15,930
	median wage	13,000	15,000	-	15,000
Total	average wage	8,750	99,22	19,492	10,329
	median wage	5,000	6,000	10,000	6,000

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

111. These wage differentials extend to virtually all of the sectors where young workers are found. Table 38 reports average and median wages disaggregated by education level and sector. It shows that returns to education are, not surprisingly, largest in the tertiary and secondary sectors, but even in the agriculture sector the most educated young people enjoy a median wage that is two-thirds higher than that of their counterparts with only primary education. The high returns to education in agriculture are likely at least in part a reflection of changes within the sector, and in particular the shift towards more market-oriented modes of production requiring higher levels of skills (see previous discussion).

112. Regression tools, which permit a more robust assessment of the factors associated with youth wages, confirm the importance of education. As reported in Table 39, the positive link between education level and wages is

statistically significant at the 99 percent level for youth and adult workers alike. Beyond education level, age, location and sector appear most important in determining wages for young people. Wages rise with age, albeit at a decreasing rate. Wages are significantly higher in Kigali relative to other provinces, and are significantly lower in agriculture than in all other sectors except domestic service. In addition, for adult workers, being female, being without a contract and being from household led by less educated persons are all associated with significantly lower wages.

Table 39. Wage determinants, youth labour force and total labour force (Heckman selection model)

<i>Lnwage</i>		<i>Coefficient</i>	
		15-24 years	15-65 years
Age		0.576** (0.148)	0.064** (0.015)
Age squared		-0.012** (0.004)	-0.001** (0.000)
Female		-0.045 (0.045)	-0.111** (0.019)
Grade level of education		0.034** (0.009)	0.040** (0.004)
Without contract ^(b)		-0.034 (0.049)	-0.076** (0.029)
Education of household head		0.017 (0.024)	0.020 (0.012)
Region ^(c)	South province	-0.488** (0.079)	-0.882** (0.036)
	Western province	-0.359** (0.072)	-0.637** (0.036)
	North province	-0.408** (0.075)	-0.569** (0.039)
	Eastern province	-0.237** (0.072)	-0.495** (0.037)
Sector of employment ^(d)	Mining	0.699** (0.129)	0.589** (0.097)
	Manufacturing	0.583** (0.124)	0.559** (0.066)
	Electricity, gas and water	0.059 (0.789)	0.909* (0.386)
	Construction	0.567** (0.104)	0.685** (0.057)
	Commerce	0.377** (0.087)	0.716** (0.044)
	Hotel and restaurant	0.556** (0.208)	0.695** (0.100)
	Transport	0.269* (0.125)	0.824** (0.077)
	Domestic services	-0.171* (0.077)	-0.180** (0.065)
	Other services	0.499** (0.098)	1.064** (0.042)

Notes: (a) * = $p < 0.05$; ** = $p < 0.01$; Standard errors in parenthesis; (b) 1=without contract; 0=other form of contract; (c) For provinces, the comparison group is Kigali city; and (d) For Sector of employment, the comparison group is agriculture.

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

113. In summary, the balance of evidence points to substantial returns to education in the Rwandan labour market. While high unemployment levels indicate that educated young people have greater difficulties in securing jobs, the jobs that they do eventually secure are likely to be significantly better paid. This in turn has important implications in terms of tradeoffs between child labour and education earlier in the lifecycle. Theory and evidence suggests that positive returns to education can have an important feedback effect on parents' decisions to invest in children's education.⁵⁵ In situations where there are opportunities for better paid jobs for educated young persons, parents have greater incentive to invest in their children's schooling, and to *not* send their children to work prematurely.

8.8 School to work transitions

114. The discussion in this report thus far on youth in labour force has focussed on key outcomes of the transition to working life – youth labour force involvement, employment, employment composition, unemployment and joblessness. In this section, attention turns to the transition process itself: the timing and length of the transition to working life, and the pathways taken in making this transition. The section uses a summary indicator to provide an overview of the routes young people take from education to the labour force. For the group transitioning directly to the labour force without entering education, the average entry in the labour market is also reported.⁵⁶

Table 40. School to work transition points, by sex and residence

Background characteristic	Children ever in school			Children never in school
	Beginning point of transition (average age of dropping out)	End point of transition (average age of entering into work for the first time)	Transition duration	Average age of entering into work for the first time
Total	17.5	18.9	1.4	15
Sex				
Male	17.6	19.5	1.9	15
Female	17.4	18.4	1.0	15
Residence				
Kigali	17.4	21.4	4.0	n.a
Other region	17.5	18.6	1.1	15
Residence, Sex				
Male/Kigali	17.9	21.6	3.7	n.a
Female/Kigali	17.1	21.2	4.1	n.a
Male/other region	17.6	19.1	1.5	15
Female/other region	17.5	18.5	1.0	15

Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

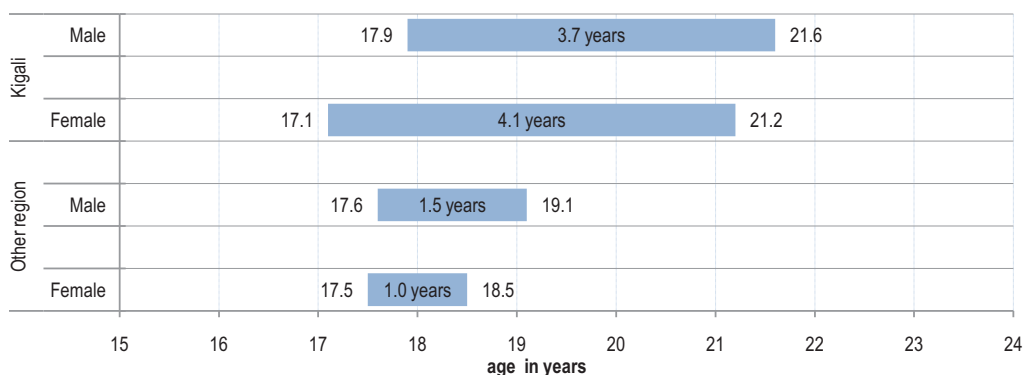
⁵⁵ See, for example, the discussion on this point in: UCW programme, *Joining Forces Against Child Labour. Inter-agency report for The Hague 2010 Global Child Labour Conference*. Rome, May 2010.

⁵⁶ It is worth underlying that a non-negligible number of children drop out very early from school. While they are formally included in the youth transitioning through school, their condition and the problems they face are likely to be closer to those of the children that never attend school.

115. Table 40 presents information on the beginning and end of the transition from school to work, as well as the transition duration, disaggregated by sex and residence. The last column gives the average age of entry in labour market for those never attending school. The average school-leaving age (i.e., the starting point of the transition) of children and youth conditional on ever being in school is 17.5 years, while the average age of entering into work for the first (i.e., the end point of the transition) is 18.9 years. This means that there is an average time lag of almost one and a half years between leaving school and entering work for the first time.

116. The characteristics of the transition appear to depend significantly on both residence and sex, and on the interaction between the two (Table 40 and Figure 42). Specifically, youth outside Kigali find employment more quickly than their counterparts in the capital, suggesting labour entry problems are especially relevant in urban areas. But the apparently smoother transition in rural areas does not necessarily mean better transition outcomes. Indeed, the short transition in rural areas is in part a product of lower returns to education and job search, and culminates in only subsistence farm jobs for many individuals.⁵⁷ Youth in Kigali take much more time to secure employment, but, as seen above, their eventual jobs are more likely to be in the formal sector.

Figure 42. Length and timing of transition from school to work in Rwanda, by sex and residence



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

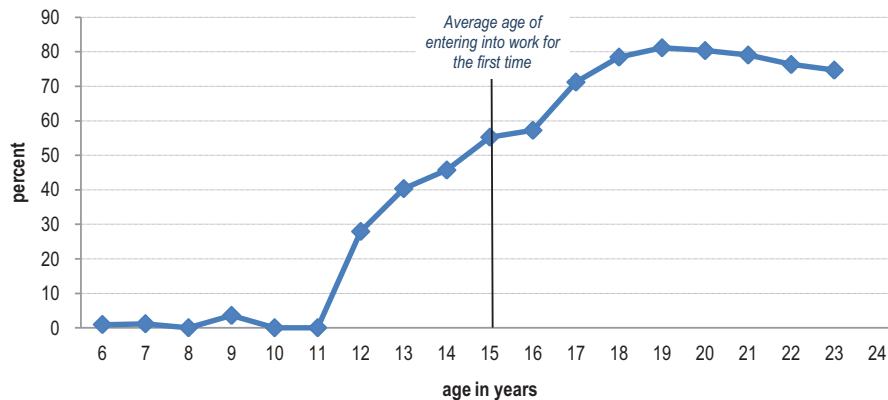
118. This summary transition indicator does not permit conclusions to be drawn regarding the “efficiency” or “success” of the transition. A better understanding of the transition period would require integrating the analysis of optimal school leaving age with that of employment search and labour force participation. Nonetheless, the summary indicator does reveal two important features of the transition in Rwanda which fit within this more detailed analysis – the relatively late starting age of the transition in all regions and its typically long length in the Kigali region.

119. We have considered up to this point only the group of children that has spent at least some time in formal education. But youth entering the labour

⁵⁷ Kondylis F. and Manacorda M., Youth in the Labour Market and the Transition from School to Work in Tanzania. World Bank Social Protection Discussion Paper no. 0606, July 2006.

market do not necessarily transit through the schooling system. There is also a substantial though diminishing group of young people that never enters school, and transits, therefore, directly from inactivity to the labour force. This group of school non-entrants is a particular policy concern, for with very little human capital they are especially vulnerable to undesirable transition outcomes. As children, school non-entrants are among the groups most vulnerable to child labour, underscoring the fact that the issue of finding satisfactory employment as adults cannot be separated from the issue of child labour.

Figure 43. Involvement in employment, children never in school, by age



Source : UCW calculations based on Rwanda National Child Labour Survey, 2008.

120. There is no obvious benchmark to establish from what age these children begin to look for any form of employment. Nonetheless, the average age at first job for those never in school in Rwanda appears high – 15 years, only one year below the minimum legal working age. As shown in Figure 43, almost no school non-entrants are in employment up to the age of 11 years, but their employment rises rapidly thereafter.

9. NATIONAL POLICY FRAMEWORKS FOR CHILD LABOUR AND YOUTH EMPLOYMENT CONCERNS

121. The Government of Rwanda recognises the challenge posed by child labour and youth employment concerns. As detailed below, it has a well-developed policy framework for addressing both issues. The key challenge facing the Government is effectively *implementing* these policies in the face of resource, capacity and institutional constraints.

122. The Government is currently working towards finalising a National Policy on the Elimination of Child Labour (NPEC). The NPEC has two overarching objectives: first, to establish a framework that will guide and promote sustainable actions for the progressive elimination of child labour, with particular emphasis on the elimination of the worst forms of child labour; and, second, to ensure that all children engaged in, or at risk of, child labour are protected and supported in order to achieve their full potential (physical, intellectual, social, emotional and spiritual).⁵⁸

123. The Government Employment Policy of 2006 recommends enhanced youth employment opportunities, including vocational training and development of entrepreneurship, while also calling for the elimination of child labour. The Government in 2007 endorsed a Five-Year Action Plan for Youth Employment Promotion.⁵⁹ The Plan is designed to address youth employment concerns through four main policy pillars: training to improve job relevant skills and employability; job creation and income generation targeted to the rural poor through labour-intensive public works; promotion of self-employment potential in formal and informal sectors; and the development of agro-business. The Five-Year Action Plan focuses on active labour market policies, and builds on the wide range of existing projects and activities targeting youth.⁶⁰

124. The draft National Policy on the Elimination of Child Labour and the Five-Year Action Plan for Youth Employment Promotion are supported by a larger policy framework for national economic and social development. Key components of this larger framework include Vision 2020, the Government Programme 2010-2017, the Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy 2008-2012 (EDPRS), and other sectoral policies related to education, social protection, technical and vocational training, and orphans and vulnerable children (OVC).

⁵⁸ Republic of Rwanda, *Draft National Policy for the Elimination of Child Labour*. Ministry of Public Service and Labour, Kigali, January 2008.

⁵⁹ Republic of Rwanda, *Five-Year Action Plan for Youth Employment Promotion*. Ministry of Public Service and Labour, Kigali, March 2007.

⁶⁰ For further information on youth programmes in Rwanda, see: (a) USAID, *Rwanda Youth Employment Assessment Report*, Submitted by Education Development Center, Inc., January 2009; and (b) Youth Employment Systems, *Nationwide youth organization mapping and youth organization activities field survey 2009*, Compiled by: Katherine McAleer Claude Gilbert Kamba, Policy Research and Advocacy Program, and by Jean de Dieu Kabengeru Communications and Outreach Program.

- *Vision 2020*.⁶¹ Vision 2020 represents the broad national long term development aspirations of Rwandans and their leaders. Published in 2000, the Vision 2020 document outlines plans to promote macroeconomic stability and wealth creation in the short term, to transform from an agrarian to a knowledge-based economy in the medium term, and to create a productive middle class and foster entrepreneurship in the long term.
- *Government Programme 2010-2017*.⁶² The Government Programme document, presented by the Prime Minister to Parliament upon assuming office, outlines the broad Government priorities organised around four policy pillars: good governance, justice, economy and social well-being. The objective of the fourth pillar, social well-being, is to “develop a skilled, knowledgeable, healthy and wealthy citizen.” The social well-being pillar contains an array of policy measures designed to promote job growth, improve health outcomes and health care services, extending social security, protecting vulnerable people, promoting sports and leisure, improve education and to promote Rwandan cultural values in support of development.
- *Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy 2008-2012*.⁶³ The strategy provides a medium term framework for achieving the country’s long term development aspirations as embodied Vision 2020, the Government Programme and the Millennium Development Goals. The priorities of the Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS) are embodied in three flagship programmes: the *Sustainable Growth for Jobs and Export programme*, aimed at improving the climate for jobs growth; the *Vision 2020 Umurenge Programme (VUP)*, aimed at accelerating the rate of poverty reduction by promoting pro-poor components of the national growth agenda; and the *Governance programme*, aimed at promoting good governance. The EDPRS also prioritizes investments in human development through skill-based education and increased social protection for vulnerable children. The 2008-2012 EDPRS includes the reduction in child labour as an explicit concern and calls for the adoption of this national policy on child labour. Special attention is also given to the challenges and opportunities facing young people, in order to strengthen the youth’s participation in the social, economic and civic development of Rwanda.

125. Both the elimination of child labour and addressing youth employment concerns are multi-sectoral challenges which also relate to various sector-specific policy frameworks. These include the following:

⁶¹ Republic of Rwanda, *Rwanda Vision 2020*. Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, Kigali, July 2000.

⁶² Republic of Rwanda, *Government Programme 2010-2017*. Rwanda, October 2010.

⁶³ Republic of Rwanda, *Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy, 2008-2012*. Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, Kigali, September 2007.

- *Education Sector Strategic Plan 2010-2015*.⁶⁴ In addition to the continuing priority of effective nine-year basic education for all children, the plan reflects the new priority of making post-basic education more accessible and more relevant to national needs.⁶⁵ The Plan is directed towards improving education at all levels, and particularly towards improving skills development, to meet the demands of the labour market. It calls for increasing the coverage and the quality of nine-year basic education and strengthening post-basic education. In addition to consolidating the nine-year basic education programme, the Plan focuses more on the effectiveness of the bridge between basic education and the world of work.
- *National social protection strategy*.⁶⁶ Finalised by the Ministry of Local Government in January 2011, reflects the strong Government commitment to extending social protection in the country. The Strategy forms part of a 10-year effort to build a system that provides a social protection floor for the most vulnerable households and individuals, and that extends the participation of the informal sector in the contributory social security system. The social floor, in turn, is envisaged as comprising cash transfers (providing a minimum income and livelihood security) and access to core essential services (in particular health, education, shelter and water and sanitation). The focus of the Strategy during 2011-2016 will be to harmonize and coordinate different interventions to respond to the needs of the poor and vulnerable; build on and extend existing cash transfer programmes, extend access to public services to the poorest households; begin to extend contributory social security mechanisms; deliver complementary programmes to assist households to graduate from poverty; build leadership and capacity across government on social protection and strengthen the alignment of non-governmental actors with national priorities, and strengthen systems and structures for delivery of social protection.
- *Technical and vocational education and training (TVET) policy*.⁶⁷ The TVET policy is aimed at providing the economy with qualified and competitive workers as part of broader efforts towards sustainable growth and poverty reduction. The priority areas of intervention identified for the TVET policy are: development of an integrated TVET system; improvement of access to TVET programmes; improvement of quality of TVET programmes provision; provision of adequate, well trained TVET teachers, and ensuring sustainable financing of TVET programmes. The Policy is complemented by a Concept Paper on the Development and

⁶⁴ Republic of Rwanda, *Education Sector Strategic Plan 2010-2015*, Ministry of Education, Kigali, July 2010.

⁶⁵ The Government in this context also pledged in 2010 to extend free education to the first three years of the secondary cycle.

⁶⁶ Republic of Rwanda, *National Social Protection Strategy*. Ministry of Local Government (MINALOC), Kigali, January 2011.

⁶⁷ Republic of Rwanda, *Technical and vocational education and training (TVET) policy*. Ministry of Education, Kigali, April 2008.

Implementation of an Integrated Technical and Vocational Education Training (TVET) System⁶⁸ containing a more detailed set of measures for reforming the TVET system.

- *National Policy on orphans and other vulnerable children (2003)*⁶⁹. Groups vulnerable children into 15 categories including child labourers; provides for special attention, inter alia, in education, health care and survival; and lays emphasis on the fight against child labour and the rehabilitation of working children, and children affected by armed conflicts. The *Strategic plan for orphans and other vulnerable children (2007-2011)*⁷⁰ builds on the National Policy for OVCs, and is aimed at ensuring a protective environment for OVCs through enhanced policy, legislation, procedures and regulations, as well as at providing protection, care and support to OVCs by establishing and strengthening family and community based support structures. The Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion is currently upgrading the existing OVC policy into an integrated child policy, which overcomes categorizations of children and promotes a systemic approach to the protection and promotion of child rights.

⁶⁸ Republic of Rwanda, *Concept paper on the development and implementation of an integrated technical and vocational education training (TVET) system*. Kigali, 2008

⁶⁹ Republic of Rwanda, *National policy for orphans and other vulnerable children*. Ministry of Local Government, Information and Social Affairs, Kigali, 2003

⁷⁰ Republic of Rwanda, *Strategic plan for orphans and other vulnerable children 2007-2011*. Minister in the Prime Minister's Office in charge of Family and Gender Promotion, Kigali, September 2007.

10. RESPONDING TO CHILD LABOUR AND YOUTH EMPLOYMENT CONCERNS: A DISCUSSION OF POLICY OPTIONS

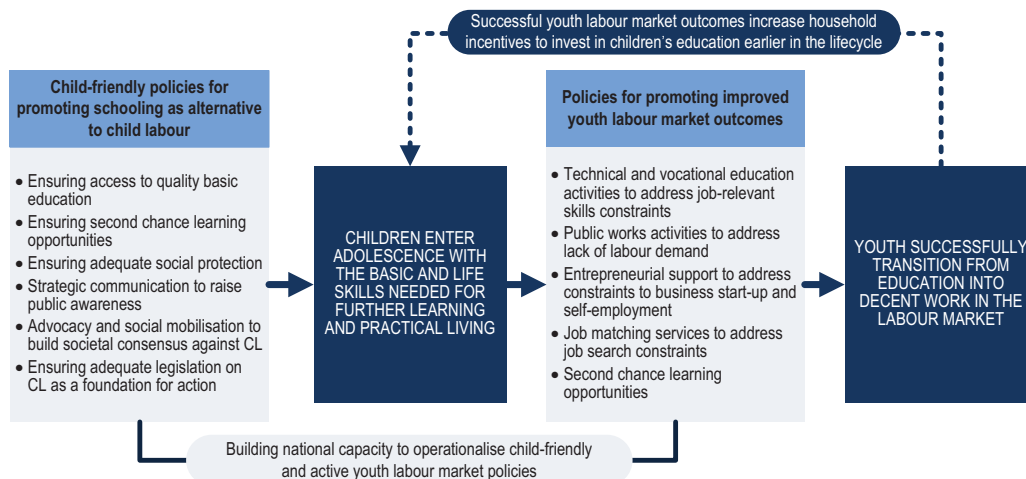
126. The Government of Rwanda has expressed the political will to combat child labour within the larger context of improving children's welfare and protection of children's rights. There have been significant initiatives to address child labour including demobilisation and rehabilitation of child soldiers, creation of the labour inspection units, and establishment of catch-up education centres for former child labourers. As noted above, the Government is currently drafting a National Policy for the Elimination of Child Labour⁷¹ to serve as an overarching framework for coordinating national efforts against child labour.

127. The Government commitment to addressing youth employment outcomes alongside child labour is reflected in the 2006 National Employment Policy. The policy affirms the human right to work in just and favourable conditions, and recommends enhanced youth employment opportunities, including vocational training and development of entrepreneurship, while also calling for the elimination of child labour. The Government of Rwanda has committed itself to become one of the lead countries as regards youth employment promotion in Africa within the framework of the Youth Employment Network or YEN. As also noted above, a Five-Year Action Plan for Youth Employment Promotion was released in 2007 to guide national efforts in this area.

128. This chapter presents policy priorities for combating child labour and promoting youth employment in Rwanda, drawing on the empirical evidence presented in the previous chapters and on lessons learnt from past policy efforts. As noted at the outset of the report, child labour and youth employment are closely linked, underscoring the importance of addressing the two issues hand in hand, following a lifecycle approach.

⁷¹ Republic of Rwanda, *National Policy For The Elimination Of Child Labour*. Draft, Ministry of Public Service and Labour, January 2008.

Figure 44. An integrated response to child labour and youth employment problems



129. Figure 44 illustrates key components of an integrated response to child labour and youth employment concerns. A set of “child-friendly” policies are needed to promote schooling as an alternative to child labour, and, following from this, to ensure that children enter adolescence with the basic and life skills needed for further learning and practical living. This foundation is in turn crucial to the success of policies for promoting improved youth employment outcomes, and to ensuring that youth successfully transition from education into decent work in the labour market. This causal chain can also work in the opposite direction: successful youth labour market outcomes can increase household incentives to invest in children’s education earlier in the lifecycle.

130. The specific set of policy priorities for responding to child labour and responding to youth labour market concerns are discussed in the first two sections of this chapter. It is important to note prior to this discussion that detailed policy frameworks for most of the priorities relating to child labour and youth employment concerns are already in place in Rwanda – the key challenge facing the country is one of *operationalising* these policies. In this context, building national capacity will be essential, as discussed in the third section of this chapter.

10.1 Responding to child labour

131. Child labour is a complex phenomenon requiring a policy response that is comprehensive cross-sectoral in nature. Evidence from Rwanda and elsewhere⁷² suggests five policy pillars are of particular importance as part of

⁷² For a complete discussion of evidence relating to policy responses to child labour, see: UCW Programme, *Child labour: trends, challenges and policy responses – Joining Forces Against Child Labour*. Inter-agency report for The Hague Global Child Labour Conference of 2010, May 2010.

an integrated response – basic education, second chance learning, social protection, strategic communication and social mobilisation/advocacy – building on the foundation provided by adequate child labour regulations (Figure 44).

132. More accessible and better quality schools are important because they affect the returns from schooling vis-à-vis child labour, making the former more attractive as an alternative to the latter. “Second chance” learning opportunities are needed to reach the large numbers of out-of-school children with limited or no education. Adequate social protection helps households avoid having to rely on their children’s work to make ends meet. Strategic communication is important because if households are insufficiently aware of the benefits of schooling (or of the costs of child labour), or if prevailing social norms favour child labour, they are less likely to choose the classroom over the workplace for their children. Advocacy and social mobilisation are needed in order to build broad-based consensus for action against child labour. Finally, strengthening child labour legislation is important as a foundation and guide for action.

Improving school access and quality

133. There is broad consensus that the single most effective way to stem the flow of school age children into work is to extend and improve schooling, so that families have the opportunity to invest in their children’s education and it is worthwhile for them to do so. School attendance needs to be made an attractive prospect for children and parents/guardians both by addressing the costs of school attendance and by ensuring that schooling is inclusive and relevant. Providing schooling as an alternative to child labour is important not only for the individual children concerned, but also for society as a whole, as children who grow up compromised educationally by child labour are in a poor position to contribute to the country’s growth as adults.

134. The empirical results presented in this report indicated that Rwandan working children are less likely to be attending school, and, if enrolled, are more likely to lag behind their non-working counterparts and to drop-out prematurely. These results underscore the need to address the school access and quality issues influencing parents’ decisions to enrol and keep their children in school. Actions should take place in concert with the on-going Government reform efforts. Most important in this context is mainstreaming child labour concerns into implementation of the 2010-2015 Education Sector Strategic Plan.⁷³ This policy document, outlining State measures to ensure free and compulsory education for all children, currently contains no explicit reference to child labour.

- *Early childhood Development (ECD)*. Evidence from a range of developing countries suggests that ECD programmes can be highly effective in addressing problems experienced later relative to the way in which children make use of their time. ECD programmes can promote

⁷³ Ministry of Education, *2010-2015 Education Sector Strategic Plan*, Kigali, July 2010.

learning readiness, increase school enrolment and school survival, and help children away from work in their early years. While some ECD programmes are running in Rwanda, they cover only a very small proportion of children. In addition to expanding service coverage, the government has an important role to play in laying the regulatory and administrative groundwork for a national ECD network. Particularly important in this context is ensuring that all pre-schools are registered with the government, and that there are a set of standards in place for pre-schools, including standards for teachers and teacher remuneration.

- *School quality.* There is a general need to improve school quality in order that schooling is seen by parents as a worthwhile alternative to child labour. Government reports indicate that even when schools are accessible, quality may be low.⁷⁴ Although measurement issues make the school quality-child labour link difficult to demonstrate empirically for Rwanda, research elsewhere suggests that quality considerations can be important in decisions concerning child labour.⁷⁵ Poor quality schools can lead children to drop-out and engage in child labour because children and their families perceive the value of education to be lower than the value of work. Measures addressing quality feature prominently in the Education Sector Strategic Plan 2010-2015 but now need to be operationalised across the education system. The promotion of quality education will entail the introduction of inclusive, child- and girl-friendly methods of learning that encourage questioning and children's participation rather than rote learning, and that are adaptive to children's different learning needs. It will also entail improved teacher training, in response to the large body of empirical evidence indicating that teacher education is positively associated with enrolment and negatively associated with child labour. Improved school quality will also mean introducing into the curricula issues of relevance to children's lives, including child labour and other social concerns, in an age-appropriate manner. Continued decentralisation of education planning and administration will help ensure that schools are more responsive to local needs.
- *School access.* Government reports indicate that schools are still too few and distant from children's homes, particularly in rural areas of North, East and West provinces,⁷⁶ meaning that the possibility of schooling as an alternative to work does not exist in these areas. Continued investment in expanding school infrastructure, both to provide school access in hitherto underserved communities and to reduce classroom overcrowding in existing schools, will therefore be critical to reaching Education For All and reducing child labour.

⁷⁴ See, for instance, Republic of Rwanda, *National Policy For The Elimination Of Child Labour*. Draft, Ministry of Public Service and Labour, January 2008.

⁷⁵ For a more complete discussion of this point, see, UCW Project, *Does school quality matter for working children? A summary of recent empirical evidence*. UCW Working Paper, Rome, April 2007.

⁷⁶ See, for instance, Republic of Rwanda, *National Policy For The Elimination Of Child Labour*. Draft, Ministry of Public Service and Labour, January 2008.

- *Offsetting the indirect costs of schooling.* Additional measures are needed to compensate for the indirect costs associated with children's school attendance in Rwanda. While schooling is ostensibly free in the country, parents can choose work over schooling for their children because they cannot afford to renounce their children's earnings or production, even in the presence of schools of good quality. The expansion of schooling feeding schemes is one important measure in this context. Scholarship and cash transfer schemes (conditional or not on children's enrolment and regular attendance in school), also offer particular potential in offsetting the opportunity costs of schooling. While some limited policy experimentation with CCT-like schemes (e.g., Community Development Support Project) has taken place in Rwanda, further development and scaling up of these schemes merit further investigation.
- *Extra-curricular activities.* In response to concerns that the increasing use of double shifting might facilitate child labour before or after school hours, pre- and after-school programmes and extra-curricular activities, which provide parents with alternatives to work for their children outside of official schooling hours, offer important potential.

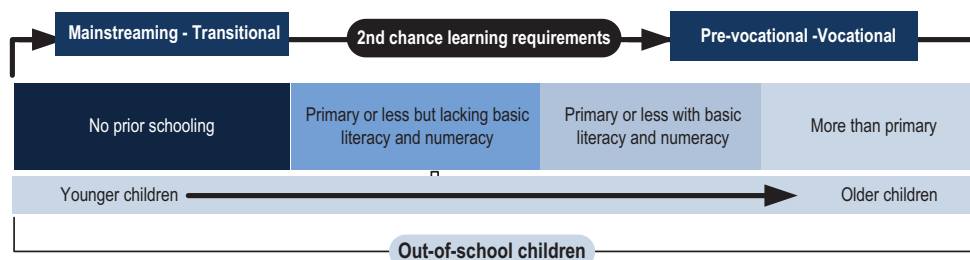
Panel 7. Improving school access and quality: summary of possible policy interventions		
Policy goal/targets	Possible policy measures	Rationale/relevance
Expanded access to early childhood development (ECD) opportunities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developing and extending network of ECD centres • Laying the regulatory and administrative groundwork for a national ECD network 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A lack of early childhood education opportunities affects children's preparedness for formal schooling
Increased school quality and relevance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction of inclusive, child- and girl-friendly, methods of learning • Improving pre- and in-service teacher training • Introducing into the curricula issues of relevance to children's lives, including child labour and other social concerns, in an age-appropriate manner • Continuing the decentralisation of education planning and administration to help ensure that schools are more responsive to local needs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School quality issues can affect the willingness of households to invest in their children's schooling as an alternative to child labour
Expanded school access for children from vulnerable households	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continuing investment in expanding school infrastructure, both to provide school access in hitherto underserved communities and to reduce classroom overcrowding in existing schools 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of schooling facilities is an obstacle to school attendance, particularly in the rural areas of North, East and West provinces
Expanding second chance learning opportunities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developing a national second chance learning strategy, bringing together and building on existing efforts in this area, and in particular on Rwanda's network of "catch-up" learning centres 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Second chance learning opportunities help compensate for the negative educational consequences of child labour
Offsetting the indirect costs of schooling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • expanding schooling feeding schemes • developing pilot scholarship and cash transfer schemes conditional on children's enrolment and regular attendance in school (CCTs), building on existing policy experimentation with CCT-like schemes (e.g., Community Development Support Project) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While schooling is ostensibly free in the country, parents can choose work over schooling for their children because they cannot afford to renounce their children's earnings or production, even in the presence of schools of good quality
Providing alternatives to child labour outside of school hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishing after-school programmes and extra-curricular activities, which provide parents with alternatives to work for their children outside of official schooling hours 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are concerns that the increasing use of double shifting means that the school day is too brief to constitute a barrier to child labour

Expanding second chance learning opportunities

135. Section 3.3 of this report highlighted the large numbers of out-of-school children in Rwanda, most with limited or no formal education. In all, some

185,000 Rwandan children aged 7-15 years were out of school in 2008, of which 147,000 (or 80 percent), suffered extreme education poverty (i.e., had less than two years of formal schooling). These children with little or no schooling will be in a weak position in the labour market as adults, at much greater risk of joining the ranks of the unemployed and the poor. If left alone, these children and youth are likely to be in need of other (more costly) remediation policies at a later stage of their life cycle.

Figure 45. Assessing second chance learning requirements for out-of-school children



136. The large number of out-of-school children in Rwanda underscores the need for a national second chance learning strategy, bringing together and building on existing efforts in this area, and in particular on Rwanda's network of "catch-up" learning centres. Second chance learning is an area that is *not* covered in the Education Sector Strategic Plan 2010-2015. Such a strategy would encompass mainstreaming and transitional (bridging) education as well as pre-vocational training, in accordance with age and prior schooling (Figure 45). It would be aimed at compensating for the negative educational consequences of child labour and at avoiding large numbers of persons entering the labour market upon reaching adulthood in a disadvantaged position, permanently harmed by early work experiences.

Panel 8. Second chance learning: summary of possible policy interventions

Policy goal/targets	Possible policy measures	Rationale/relevance
Expanding second chance learning opportunities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Developing a national second chance learning strategy, bringing together and building on existing efforts in this area, and in particular on Rwanda's network of "catch-up" learning centres 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Second chance learning opportunities help compensate for the negative educational consequences of child labour

Expanding social protection and basic services

137. The importance of social protection in reducing child labour is well-established. Social protection instruments serve to prevent vulnerable households from having to resort to child labour as a buffer against negative shocks. There is no single recipe for implementing social protection programmes to reduce household vulnerability and child labour. Unconditional and conditional cash transfers programmes, including various forms of child support grants, family allowances, needs-based social assistance and social pensions, are all relevant to ensuring household livelihoods and supplementing

the incomes of the poor. Public works schemes can serve both the primary goal of providing a source of employment to household breadwinners and the secondary goal of helping rehabilitate public infrastructure and expand basic services, both being potentially relevant in terms of reducing reliance on child labour. Micro-loan schemes can help ease household budget constraints and mitigate social risk.

138. The Government recognises that reducing household vulnerability by expanding social protection is a critical priority in the country, and is implementing programmes in many of the areas mentioned above.⁷⁷ Spending on social protection in the country has risen significantly in the 2005-2010 period. The array of social protection schemes that are already in place in Rwanda, however, are fragmented and often ineffectively coordinated and targeted. And, taken together, these schemes fail to cover a large portion of those in need. Government figures indicate that only 12 percent of vulnerable persons were covered by social safety nets in 2008. In response, the Government prioritised social protection in the 2008-2012 Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS) and finalised a National Social Protection Strategy in January 2011.⁷⁸ The Strategy is aimed at helping to effectively coordinate and rationalise existing efforts, and to significantly extend social protection coverage.

139. Experience from elsewhere – particularly Latin America – suggests that cash transfers schemes conditional on school attendance and removal from child labour represent a particularly promising route for protecting vulnerable households and for promoting schooling as an alternative to child labour. These demand incentives can provide poor families with additional resources, as well as compensating parents for the foregone economic product from their children's labour. They therefore offer a means of alleviating current income poverty *and* of addressing the under-investment in children's education that can underlie poverty. While some limited policy experimentation with CCT-like schemes (e.g., Community Development Support Project) has taken place in Rwanda, further development and scaling up of these schemes merit investigation.

140. The new National Social Protection Strategy proposes two main cash transfer programmes (neither, however, is conditional on school attendance). These are intended as the first steps in establishing a comprehensive social protection floor. The first will continue with the Vision 2020 Umurenge Programme (VUP) Direct Support programme, providing a small cash grant to very poor households with no adult labour capacity. The Direct Support programme will be extended to benefit approximately 345,000 people living in five percent of households across Rwanda. The second programme will extend the VUP Public Works Programme, with the aim of providing all eligible households with at least 100 days of “booster” employment after three years.

⁷⁷ For a review of current Government efforts relating to social protection, see: Republic of Rwanda, *National Social Protection Strategy*. Ministry of Local Government (MINALOC), January 2011.

⁷⁸ Republic of Rwanda, *National Social Protection Strategy*. Ministry of Local Government (MINALOC), January 2011.

The child labour implications of the programmes have not been evaluated; the issue of child labour impact is especially relevant for the public works programme, in light of the mixed evidence in this regard from similar programmes elsewhere.⁷⁹

141. Improving access to basic services is relevant to child labour because it can affect the value of children's time outside the classroom – where services such as electricity are lacking, there may be more need for children's help in tasks related to providing these services (e.g., fuelwood collection). Currently, only about 1.3 percent of households in rural Rwanda have access to electricity (UNDP/WHO 2009). This points to the importance of continued efforts to expand electricity as part of broader strategy against child labour. The Rwanda Vision 2020 document sets a national target of 30 percent electricity coverage by 2020, and a number of efforts are underway aimed at extending electricity to hitherto unserved areas. Labour intensive public works offer one means of improving electricity and other basic service infrastructure in rural areas (see above). Public works also offer an opportunity to provide initial labour market opportunities to young people, and, as discussed in section 10.2 of this chapter, are included in the Five-Year Action Plan for Youth Employment Promotion.

Panel 9. Expanding social protection and basic services: summary of possible policy interventions		
Policy goal/targets	Possible policy measures	Rationale/relevance
Expanded access to formal social protection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Implementing national social protection strategy designed to effectively coordinate and rationalise existing efforts, and to extend social protection coverage to the full vulnerable population Introducing pilot measures such as conditional cash transfers and assessing their potential for broader-scale replication 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social protection instruments serve to prevent vulnerable households from having to resort to child labour as a buffer against negative shocks
Expanded access to basic services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Continuing efforts to extend water and electricity networks to hitherto unserved communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improving access to basic services is relevant to child labour because it can affect the value of children's time outside the classroom

Strategic communication

142. Strategic communication is needed as part of efforts to build a broad consensus for change. There is a general lack of understanding in Rwanda about the difference between acceptable children's work and exploitative child labour. The consequences of child labour and the laws protecting children are poorly understood at a community level. There continues to be acceptance of work that prevents children from attending school, especially for work involving girls. This underscores need for expanded strategic communication

⁷⁹ Evidence from other countries suggests that in some circumstances the substitution effect of public works programmes (i.e., increase in the demand for labour leading household to substitute child time for adult time in other work activities) may be greater than income effects of public works programmes (i.e., increase in income making household less dependent on child labour), leading to a net increase in child labour. For a more complete discussion of this point, see UCW Programme, *Child labour: trends, challenges and policy responses – Joining Forces Against Child Labour*. Inter-agency report for The Hague Global Child Labour Conference of 2010, May 2010.

efforts on the negative effects of child labour and the benefits of schooling as part of an overall strategy against child labour.

143. Child labour is a clear example in which both social norms and economic considerations are important, and strategic communication efforts need to be designed with this in mind. Households require information concerning the costs or dangers of child labour and benefits of schooling in order to make informed decisions on their children's time allocation. But factors which influence decisions concerning children's schooling and child labour can extend well beyond economics or work conditions. Cultural attitudes and perceptions can also direct household decisions concerning children's schooling and child labour, and therefore should also be targeted in strategic communication efforts.

144. Baseline information on local knowledge and cultural attitudes towards child labour is needed to tailor communication messages, and to evaluate changes in awareness and attitudes following communication activities.

145. Communication efforts are needed at both national and local levels. A mix of conventional (e.g., radio, television and print media) as well as of non-conventional communication channels (e.g., religious leaders, school teachers, health care workers) is important in order to achieving maximum outreach. The rich and diverse Rwandan culture, expressed through music, a common language with rich vocabulary, and a host of traditional beliefs can be an especially powerful tool in raising awareness of child labour. Traditional music, for instance, is being used, with remarkable success, to diffuse the message on the dangers of HIV/AIDS among young people.⁸⁰ The Government has shown commitment to promote and integrate cultural values and beliefs that have a positive role in children's development and protection.

146. The urgent need to address unconditional worst forms of child labour should be a particular focus of communication efforts. Information on linkages between HIV/AIDS and child labour is particularly important in this context. Providing information on national child labour legislation, presented in terms that are understandable to the populations and communities concerned, is another communication priority. For girls in particular, there is also a need to educate families on what are acceptable domestic chores for children and what are not. While doing light chores around the house is important for the socialization of children, research shows that children are working very long hours in the home and have little time for rest, study or leisure.

Panel 10. Strategic communication : summary of possible policy interventions

Policy goal/targets	Possible policy measures	Rationale/relevance
Increasing awareness of the benefits of schooling, and the costs and risks associated with child labour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National-level communication campaigns, using modern and traditional communication channels • Local level communication campaigns, using modern and traditional communication channels 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Household decisions regarding schooling and child labour can be conditioned by inaccurate information, by a lack of information or by detrimental social norms

⁸⁰ For instance, while launching the UNICEF supported "UNITE FOR CHILDREN, UNITE AGAINST AIDS" programme, President Paul Kagame, quoted a traditional Rwandan song '*Impinja Ntizigapfe*' to emphasize that children should not die as a result of AIDS, and added that certain strengths inherent in Rwandan culture can help in the fight.

Advocacy and social mobilisation.

147. Achieving sustainable reduction in child labour requires social consensus well beyond the level of the household. Policy responses to child labour are also unlikely to be effective in the absence of the active participation of civil society and of social partners in implementing them, or of a high-level political commitment to ensure they are accorded priority in all the national development agenda. Similarly, laws to protect children from child labour are unlikely to be effective if they are not backed by broad social consensus.

148. Social mobilisation is critical to engaging a broad range of social actors in efforts against child labour. The revitalisation of the Rwandan traditional values of social cohesion, of working together as communities to address community issues, and of sharing (*Ubudehe, Umuganda, Umusanzu*), is particularly important in this context. Many communities have built homes, provided food, and raised funds for schools and supported health care for vulnerable people in the community, underscoring the potential of such an approach. Other social actors, including, for example, NGOs, faith-based organisations, teachers' organizations, the mass media, trade unions, workers' associations, employers' organizations, also have important roles to play in a broader societal effort against child labour. Rwanda's local government development committees and council structures can play key role in integrating and anchoring child labour activities within the districts and local communities.

149. Rwanda's successful initial experience in the formation of production cooperatives also holds potential as part of broader social mobilization efforts against child labour. The formation of cooperatives that consolidate scattered individual activities is strongly supported in the agricultural as well as in some non-agricultural sectors. Cooperatives, while not changing property rights, allow for joint operation and consolidation of activities plus joint support services (i.e. transport, etc.). They also permit more effective advocacy and monitoring efforts, already resulting in the substantial reduction of children working in tea plantation and the removal of children from work in mining.. Cooperatives allow for the introduction of an element of formality in highly informal sectors (for example, through compulsory health insurance schemes), therefore improving job quality. This is particularly relevant for young people who often rely on the informal sector to gain an initial foothold in the labour market.

150. A political commitment at all levels is needed to ensure that child labour reduction occupies a prominent place in the national development agenda and is accorded adequate budgetary resources. Other advocacy priorities in Rwanda include the finalisation of the National Policy for the Elimination of Child Labour, first drafted in 2008. Advocating for the effective "mainstreaming" of child labour concerns into broader national development plans, including education reform efforts, is also of critical importance.

Panel 11. Social mobilisation and advocacy : summary of possible policy interventions		
Policy goal/targets	Possible policy measures	Rationale/relevance
Mobilizing social actors in efforts against child labour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revitalisation of the Rwandan traditional values of social cohesion • Broad-based social mobilization, aimed at engaging a broad range of social actors (e.g., NGOs, faith-based organisations, teachers' organizations, the mass media, trade unions, workers' associations, employers' organizations) in efforts against child labour • Mobilising local government development committees and council structures to integrate and anchor child labour activities within the districts and local communities • Mobilising sector-specific production cooperatives as actors against child labour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social mobilisation is critical to engaging a broad range of social actors in efforts against child labour
Building political will for action against child labour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advocating for effective legislative, policy and programmatic responses to child labour, including finalization of the draft National Policy for the Elimination of Child Labour • Advocating for effective "mainstreaming" of child labour concerns into broader national development plans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A political commitment at all levels is needed to ensure that child labour reduction occupies a prominent place in the national development agenda and is accorded adequate budgetary resources

Strengthening child labour legislation as a foundation for action

151. Labour legislation consistent with international child labour standards is necessary both as a statement of national intent and as legal and regulatory framework for efforts against child labour. Rwanda made important progress in this regard with the passing of *Law No. 13/2009* regulating labour in Rwanda⁸¹. The law prohibits employment of a child in any company, even as apprentice, before the age of 16 years (article 4), and sets specific conditions for the employment of 16-17 year-olds (articles 5 and 6).⁸² A recent Ministerial Order (No. 06 of 13/07/2010) also sets out a list of worst forms of child labour, their nature, and categories of institutions that are not allowed to use them.

152. These legislative efforts need to be accompanied by the establishment of effective mechanisms for the monitoring and enforcement of laws. While article 7 of *Law No. 13/2009* explicitly acknowledges the role of labour inspectors in following up cases of child labour in the workplace, the government's actual capacity to monitor formal workplaces is limited, and the informal sector of the economy is largely outside formal inspection regimes.

153. The current capacity of the labour inspectorate needs to be strengthened, so that labour inspectors can advise stakeholders on the dangers of child labour, guide implementation of social and labour policies, and enforce labour

⁸¹ Specifically, child labour provisions are contained in Title I, Chapter 3, Section 1 (Child labour prohibition) and in Title III, Chapter 4, Section 1 (Prohibited child labour and its nature) of *Law 13/2009*.

⁸² These conditions concern (1) child's rest (the rest between two working periods for a child shall be of a minimum duration of twelve (12) consecutive hours) and prohibited work (the child shall be subject to the work which is proportionate to his/her capacity. The child cannot be employed in the nocturnal, laborious, unsanitary or dangerous services for his/her health as well as his/her education and morality).

legislation and workplace safety standards. But given the extent of child labour and resource constraints, it will likely continue to be difficult for the formal inspection system alone to be effective in protecting children from workplace violations. This points to an important potential role of community monitoring systems, whereby labour inspectors join hands with other organisations (e.g., employers' organisations, social workers, local community organisations) to form broad-based child labour monitoring systems at the local level.

154. Information on children's involvement in nationally-identified worst forms should also be collected as a component of national household surveys on child labour as well as through local monitoring. Local governments should be encouraged to adopt ordinances to protect children from exploitative labour in local contexts.

10.2 Responding to youth employment concerns

155. The results presented in Chapter 8 of this report highlighted the challenges faced by young people entering the labour market. They have high rates of underemployment and joblessness, and those finding jobs are most likely to be working in insecure, unskilled jobs in the informal sector offering little in the way of social security or benefits. Although recent trends have seen an increase in non-farm employment, activity is still concentrated in the agricultural sector where productivity and returns to employment remain low. Wage employment has increased, but mainly in the agriculture sector (most likely due to the increasing role of cooperatives), and wage employment still accounts for less than six percent of total youth employment. Occasional and family non-waged employment, by contrast, together account for two-thirds of youth employment.

156. These results point to the need for active labour market policies aimed at improving youth labour market outcomes, building on the knowledge foundation acquired during childhood through improved basic education and preventing child labour. Four policy pillars are particularly relevant in this context, two addressing supply-side constraints to employment arising from inadequate or mismatched job skills or inadequate labour market information, and two addressing demand-side constraints to employment arising from low labour demand and limited entrepreneurial opportunities. Active labour market policies are designed to improve labour market outcomes for young people within existing institutional and macro-economic constraints; the broader structural economic reforms needed to reduce youth unemployment in the long run are beyond the scope of this report.

157. As discussed below, current Government policy documents, including the Five-Year Action Plan for Youth Employment Promotion and the Technical and Vocational Education Training (TVET) Policy largely reflect these active labour market policy priorities. A wide range of active labour market *activities* are also on-going in Rwanda, as detailed in recent inventories of

youth employment programmes undertaken by USAID⁸³ and Youth Employment Systems.⁸⁴ The key challenge, therefore, is not the articulation of a policy framework for youth employment, but the *operationalisation* of the framework, effectively integrating, coordinating and extending current programming efforts.

Skills development

158. Improving youth skills and employability requires action on three levels: first, there is a need to strengthen the quality of basic education and its relevance vis-à-vis the needs of young people entering the labour market; second, to provide second chance learning opportunities to young persons who have been denied sufficient education, a group which includes persons forced out of school at an early age in order to work; and third, to extend the effectiveness and reach of technical and vocational education training programmes. Taken together, these measures help equip young persons with adequate skills and job experience to be successful in their working life either as employees or as self-employed workers. Improving basic education and second chance learning are taken up in section 10.1 of this report, as they fall within broader efforts towards promoting schooling as a alternative to child labour for younger children. Technical and vocational training is dealt with here.

159. Government planning documents highlight the need for vocational and technical education training (TVET) and the inadequacy of current TVET efforts in meeting this need. The Technical and Vocational Education Training (TVET) policy approved by Cabinet in 2008⁸⁵ states that “Rwanda suffers from serious deficiencies in terms of trained human capital and this is more so for the technical professions...” and, at the same time, that TVET efforts fall far short of demand and do not equip graduates with the skills needed in the labour market. The accompanying Concept Paper on the Development and Implementation of an Integrated Technical and Vocational Education Training (TVET) System⁸⁶ also stresses the low coverage and inadequacy of the current system. The Concept Paper indicates that the different tiers of the TVET system⁸⁷ are disjointed, that there is no complete progression path in the system, and that the quality of TVET delivery is limited by the lack of qualified technical trainers. The lack of relevance of the system is evidenced by the high unemployment rate of graduating students.

⁸³ USAID, *Rwanda Youth Employment Assessment Report*, Submitted by Education Development Center, Inc., January 2009.

⁸⁴ Youth Employment Systems, *Nationwide youth organization mapping and youth organization activities field survey 2009*, Compiled by: Katherine McAleer Claude Gilbert Kamba, Policy Research and Advocacy Program, and by Jean de Dieu Kabengera Communications and Outreach Program.

⁸⁵ Ministry of Education (April 2008). *Technical and vocational education and training (TVET) policy in Rwanda*.

⁸⁶ Government of Rwanda (2008). *Concept Paper on the Development and Implementation of an Integrated Technical and Vocational Education Training (TVET) System*.

⁸⁷ Comprising of vocational schools, technical secondary schools, and the recently introduced colleges of technology.

160. The TVET Policy document and the accompanying Concept Paper together provide a policy framework for addressing the challenges facing the TVET system. The TVET policy document outlines a set of general strategies for building a system able to “produce artisans and workers who possess not only up-to-date technical skills but also the skills and attributes of flexibility, problem-solving, teamwork, and continuous learning and improvement.” The Concept Paper contains a more detailed set of proposals for restructuring the Rwanda’s TVET efforts and for anchoring them within the broader education system.

161. In response to the broader debate concerning the role of the public sector in TVET efforts, both policy documents stress the over-riding importance of public-private partnership in human resource development efforts, and call for providing incentives to industries and other business that significantly participate in TVET development. They also emphasise the need for an effective labour market information system (LMIS) to ensure that TVET courses are in line with labour market needs. Particularly important in this context will be aligning training efforts with the needs of key growth industries in Rwanda (i.e., construction; services (tourism); agro-processing; and information and communication technology), to ensure youth benefit from the increasing opportunities these industries are offering.

162. The Concept Paper presents a re-organised TVET system that is integrated to ensure both vertical and horizontal mobility and strong private sector participation in TVET delivery. The newly reorganized Workforce Development Authority is charged with upgrading and modernizing the system of vocational schools (*Centres de Formation des Jeunes* or CFJs) and technical schools (*Ecoles Techniques Officielles* or ETOs) and establishing Integrated Polytechnic Regional Centres (IPRCs) in each region and in Kigali. The IPRCs would offer diploma, technical and vocational training and serving as a base for supervision, implementation and coordination of TVET activities in each respective region.

Panel 12. Skills development: summary of possible policy interventions

Policy goal/targets	Possible policy measures	Rationale/relevance
Addressing job-relevant skills constraints	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restructuring TVET system to ensure both vertical and horizontal mobility and strong private sector participation in TVET delivery • Development of a core curriculum for TVET that fosters a range of work readiness and employability skills that Rwandan employers seek • Expansion of current TVET activities with particular emphasis on skills relevant to key growth industries in Rwanda (i.e., construction; services (tourism); agro-processing; and information and communication technology) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Serious deficiencies in terms of trained human capital, particularly for the technical professions, constitute a major constraint to successful transitions to decent work for young people. Current TVET efforts are failing to adequately address these skill deficiencies

Job search support

163. A difficult transition to the labour market in Rwanda is partly the result of the lack of both labour market information and job search skills. At present, there is no formal mechanism in the country linking young job seekers with employers seeking workers.

164. The Five-Year Plan for Youth Employment Promotion in Rwanda in this context emphasises the need for an employment agency to act as an intermediary between employers and those in search for employment by profession/qualifications, categories of age and sex. This can help increase the quantity and quality of job matches, reduce the spells and duration of unemployment and generally increase the efficiency of the labour market.

165. Such an employment agency should be part of a broader package of employment services, guidance and career advice to help students, first job seekers and unemployed young people to make informed choices about their education and working lives, and thus increase the opportunity for a successful entry into the labour market. The aim of career guidance services should be to advise properly about the types of jobs available, skills needed, career paths, salary scales, and about the trends and opportunities of the labour market.

166. The Five-Year Plan also calls for development of an information system integrating the supply and demand for employment by qualifications offered and needed, and by the economic sector and district.

167. It will be important to ensure that at-risk youth are able to access these employment services programmes. This can be difficult because most at-risk youth live in either marginal urban or rural areas, while most employment services are offered in more central locations. One criticism of employment services programmes elsewhere has been that those who benefit from the programmes are typically more qualified and connected to begin with and therefore more likely to become employed. This points to the importance of targeting job search support to disadvantaged young people most in need.

Panel 13. Job search support: summary of possible policy interventions

Policy goal/targets	Possible policy measures	Rationale/relevance
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Providing job search support to address the lack of job search skills and resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of a network of employment agencies as part of a broader package of employment services, guidance and career advice targeting young people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A difficult transition to the labour market in Rwanda is partly the result of the lack of both labour market information and job search skills. At present, there is no formal mechanism in the country linking young job seekers with employers seeking workers

Labour-intensive public works programmes

168. The high levels of underemployment and joblessness among Rwanda youth also point to the need for demand-side measures aimed at improving employment opportunities for young people. Labour-intensive public works programmes targeting young persons represent one important policy option in this context.

169. The Five-Year Plan for Youth Employment Promotion in Rwanda proposes inclusion of a youth employment component within an existing broader donor-supported initiative for labour-intensive works begun but not

yet fully implemented (PDL-HIMO).⁸⁸ This would provide both qualified and unqualified young people with an entry point into the labour market within broader efforts to reduce poverty and develop rural services infrastructure. As lack of basic services access is also a factor contributing to child labour in Rwanda, improving rural service infrastructure would also benefit broader efforts against child labour.

170. Building on the experience from similar public works programmes targeting youth outside Rwanda, consideration should be given to adding mandatory technical, behavioural skills, financial literacy, or job search training to the public works initiatives as a means of increasing their post-programme employment of youth.

Panel 14. Labour-intensive public works programmes: summary of possible policy interventions		
Policy goal/targets	Possible policy measures	Rationale/relevance
Labour intensive public works to address labour demand constraints	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Integrating a youth employment component within broader initiatives for labour-intensive public works Development of complementary mandatory training component to increase post-programme employment of youth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Labour-intensive public works offer qualified and unqualified young people with an entry point into the labour market within broader efforts to reduce poverty and develop rural services infrastructure

Promoting youth entrepreneurship and self employment

171. Promoting youth entrepreneurship represents another important demand-side strategy for expanding youth employment opportunities and improving employment outcomes for the large proportion of Rwandan young people currently underemployed or in low productivity family work. Limited evidence from elsewhere shows that self-employment programmes can significantly increase the probability of young participants finding a job, at least in the short-term, but their cost effectiveness still needs to be tested.

172. Promoting youth self-employment is one of the principal strategic pillars of the Five-Year National Plan. The Plan proposes the creation of a special fund for the development of youth entrepreneurship and a range of support services for young entrepreneurs, including business incubator services, training on business start-up and development of business plans and micro-credit loans for start-up activities.

173. The Five-Year plan emphasises expanding and reinforcing the efforts of the various organisations already active in small enterprise development, including the IFAD-supported Project for the promotion of small and rural microenterprises (PPMER II)⁸⁹ and at least three projects providing micro-credit to youth: a new financial cooperative established specifically for youth (*Cooperative de la Jeunesse pour l'auto Emploi et le Developpment*); the savings-led savings and loan groups that CARE and CRS are promoting; and

⁸⁸ PDL-HIMO: *Program de développement local à haute intensité de main-d'oeuvre/Program for the development of high intensive labour*

⁸⁹ *Projet pour la promotion des petites et micro-entreprises rurales/ Project for the promotion of small and rural microenterprises*

Banque Populaire, a national bank that hosts special lines of credit or guarantee funds that back loans to high risk borrowers.

174. The Plan places particular emphasis on promoting agri-business enterprises aimed at improving returns to youth employment in the agricultural sector. Although non-farm employment is gaining in importance, the agriculture sector will continue to be the most important source of youth employment in the medium term.

175. The Concept Paper on the Development and Implementation of an Integrated Technical and Vocational Education Training (TVET) System also stresses the importance of youth entrepreneurship promotion. Business incubation and entrepreneurship development facilities are envisaged in each of the proposed Integrated Polytechnic Regional Centres (IPRCs), and graduates of TVET programmes will be encouraged to submit business plans to entrepreneurship specialists in the centres for vetting and advice in order to obtain approval for financial and/or other forms of support. The Concept Paper also envisages funding for approved business plans, or, in lieu of funding, tools and equipment needed to start the business.

Panel 15. Promoting youth entrepreneurship and self employment: summary of possible policy interventions		
Policy goal/targets	Possible policy measures	Rationale/relevance
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promoting youth entrepreneurship and self employment to address labour demand and firm start-up constraints 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of a special fund for the development of youth entrepreneurship • Development of support services for young entrepreneurs, including business incubator services, training on business start-up and development of business plans, expanding and reinforcing the efforts of the various organisations already active in small enterprise development • Provision of micro-credit loans and/or tools and equipment for start-up activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-employment programmes hold the potential to improve employment outcomes for the large proportion of Rwandan young people currently unemployed, underemployed or in low productivity family work

10.3 Building national capacity to address child labour and youth employment concerns

176. Strengthening institutional capacity at all levels of Government is needed for continued progress towards child labour reduction and youth employment goals. While Vision 2020, the Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy, the National Policy on Orphans and other Vulnerable Children, the Education Sector Strategic Plan, the National Social Protection Strategy and, above all, the draft National Policy for the Elimination of Child Labour and the Five-Year Action Plan for Youth Employment Promotion, provide solid bases for action, these policy frameworks are unlikely to be implemented effectively in the face of capacity constraints.

177. Institutions require strengthening in a number of areas, including using data for strategic planning, policy and programme design, programme monitoring and evaluation and the mainstreaming of child labour and youth employment concerns in broader development plans and programmes.

178. As child labour and youth employment are cross-sectoral issues, requiring close collaboration across a range of Government bodies, the clear delineation of roles and the strengthening of coordination and information-sharing is also

critical to the effective functioning of Government institutions and their social partners in efforts addressing child labour and youth employment concerns. Many local and national initiatives are already underway in the areas of child labour (such as UNICEF-funded ASOFERWA, HAGURUKA, KURET, Sharing Rwanda on child prostitution, ADPA on child domestic workers, ILO/IPEC, among others) and youth employment (see recent inventories of youth employment programmes undertaken by USAID⁹⁰ and Youth Employment Systems⁹¹). However, these efforts tend to function independently, without a larger coordination framework. Different projects have local impact, but there has been a lack of coordinated impact at a national level.

179. The social partners play a particularly important and supportive role in national policy formulation and sensitization processes with regard to child labour and youth employment. The intrinsic value of social dialogue in combating child labour and promoting the lawful employment of young persons above the legal working age has been well documented and needs no further emphasis. Both workers and employers organizations should be seen as key pillars of the national policy and implementation architecture for eliminating child labour and improving young peoples' chances for future decent employment.

180. The Child Labour Unit within the Ministry of Public Service and Labour was established in part to help take up these concerns in the area of child labour, but no similar body exists in the area of youth employment. The Child Labour Unit is intended as the lead body responsible for coordinating and guiding programmes and activities relating to child labour in Rwanda. It will be important looking forward, therefore, that the Unit is sufficiently resourced and staffed to fulfil its coordination role effectively. A National Advisory Committee (NAC) on Child Labour, with the Child Labour Unit serving as its Secretariat, has also been established as an additional step to ensure better coordination and information sharing among concerned ministries. With a multi-sectoral composition, the NAC determines priority areas, monitors and reviews policies/programs aimed at eliminating child labour.

181. A lack of statistical information on some of the worst forms of child labour other than hazardous work is another capacity constraint. There is also a general lack of information on the *impact* of current programmes targeting child labour and youth employment concerns, making it difficult to identify successful approaches for broad scale replication. Building effective impact evaluation components, therefore, should be an important priority in all new programming efforts.

182. A system for monitoring and benchmarking national progress in reducing child labour is another information-related need. Empirical evidence suggests

⁹⁰ USAID, *Rwanda Youth Employment Assessment Report*, Submitted by Education Development Center, Inc., January 2009.

⁹¹ Youth Employment Systems, *Nationwide youth organization mapping and youth organization activities field survey 2009*, Compiled by: Katherine McAleer Claude Gilbert Kamba, Policy Research and Advocacy Program, and by Jean de Dieu Kabengeru Communications and Outreach Program.

that exposure to social and economic shocks have an important bearing on child labour in Rwanda, and an effective monitoring system is critical to ensuring prompt responses to fluctuations in child labour stemming from shocks. Such monitoring systems could be built at the national level by integrating available information sources (including administrative ones and household survey programmes) and by training counterparts in the ministries of labour and/or in the statistical offices.

183. The draft National Policy on the Elimination of Child Labour also envisages the establishment of a grassroots-level, participatory monitoring and evaluation system to promote data collection, analysis, action-planning, and reporting across administrative levels and between sectors. Such a system will help ensure that community members actively participate with government structures and civil society organizations in situational analyses and action-oriented dialogue about the elimination of child labour.

Panel 16. Building national capacity: summary of possible policy interventions		
Policy goal/targets	Possible policy measures	Rationale/relevance
Building institutional capacity to act against child labour and youth employment concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training aimed at strengthening institutional capacity in areas such as strategic planning, policy and programme design, programme monitoring and evaluation, programme coordination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While national policy documents provide a solid base for action, these policy frameworks are unlikely to be implemented effectively in the face of capacity constraints
Improving coordination and information sharing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthening the capacity of the Child Labour Unit within the Ministry of Public Service in coordinating and guiding programmes and activities relating to child labour in Rwanda • Operationalising the National Advisory Committee (NAC) on Child Labour as an additional vehicle for coordination and information sharing among concerned ministries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As child labour and youth employment are cross-sectoral issues, requiring close collaboration across a range of Government bodies, the clear delineation of roles and the strengthening of coordination and information-sharing is critical to the effectiveness of Government institutions and their social partners
Improving child labour statistics and monitoring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Targeted research to fill key knowledge gaps, including relating to hazardous forms of work and so-called unconditional worst forms of child labour • Developing a system for monitoring and benchmarking national progress in reducing child labour • Establishing a grassroots-level, participatory monitoring and evaluation system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The identification, targeting and the evaluation of policy interventions are all hampered by gaps in data on child labour

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