

In 2013, Rwanda made a minimal advancement in efforts to eliminate the worst forms of child labor. The Government of Rwanda approved its National Policy for the Elimination of Child Labor, its 5-year Action Plan to Combat Child Labor, and its Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy, which includes child labor issues. The Government also participates in and implements several programs to combat the worst forms of child labor. However, children in Rwanda continue to engage in child labor in agriculture and in the worst forms of child labor in domestic service. In 2013, children were recruited, some of them forcibly, by the March 23 Movement (M23) for armed conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. M23 was an armed group based in the Democratic Republic of Congo that the Government of Rwanda supported, but that was disbanded in November 2013. Rwanda has received an assessment of minimal advancement, because the Government's support for M23 undermined other advancements made during the year to eliminate the worst forms of child labor.



I. PREVALENCE AND SECTORAL DISTRIBUTION OF CHILD LABOR

Children in Rwanda are engaged in child labor in agriculture and in the worst forms of child labor in domestic service. (1, 2) Table 1 provides key indicators on children's work and education in Rwanda.

Table 1. Statistics on Children's Work and Education

Children	Age	Percent
Working (% and population)	5-14 yrs.	16.1 (482,180)
Attending School (%)	5-14 yrs.	79.1
Combining Work and School (%)	7-14 yrs.	17.6
Primary Completion Rate (%)		57.7

Source for primary completion rate: Data from 2012, published by UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2014.(3)

Source for all other data: Understanding Children's Work Project's analysis of statistics from Demographic and Health Survey, 2010.(4)

Based on a review of available information, Table 2 provides an overview of children's work by sector and activity.

Table 2. Overview of Children's Work by Sector and Activity

Sector/Industry	Activity
Agriculture	Production of sugarcane,* bananas,* and tea (1, 5, 6)
	Planting and harvesting cabbage,* coffee,* manioc,* peas,* pineapple,* potatoes,* sweet potatoes,* corn,* beans,* sorghum,* pyrethrum,* and rice* (1, 6-9)
	Herding cattle* and caring for sheep,* goats,* pigs,* and chicken* (9, 10)
	Fishing,*† activities unknown (1)
Industry	Construction, activities unknown*† (11)
	Digging pit latrines* (12)
	Making bricks*† (12-15)
	Producing charcoal* (15)
	Mining† coltan* (13, 16, 17)

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Table 2. Overview of Children’s Work by Sector and Activity (cont)

Sector/Industry	Activity
Services	Domestic service† (1, 11)
	Collecting scrap metal† and vending (11, 18)
Categorical Worst Forms of Child Labor‡	Commercial sexual exploitation sometimes as a result of human trafficking (19-22)
	Agricultural labor and domestic service, sometimes as a result of human trafficking (20, 23)
	Recruitment, including by force, for armed conflict and support activities (8, 15, 20, 24-27)

* Evidence of this activity is limited and/or the extent of the problem is unknown.

† Determined by national law or regulation as hazardous and, as such, relevant to Article 3(d) of ILO C. 182.




‡ Child labor understood as the worst forms of child labor *per se* under Article 3(a) – (c) of ILO C. 182.

In 2013, the March 23 Movement (M23), which was supported by the Government of Rwanda, recruited—sometimes forcibly—children in Rwanda for armed conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.(11, 14, 15, 20, 28-32) The M23 armed group promised child recruits cash, education opportunities, and jobs with the Rwandan Defense Force before assembling them at transit points, where they were prevented from leaving. Children were then transported to the Democratic Republic of the Congo where they were brought by foot to military training camps.(31) Rwandan children associated with the M23 in the Democratic Republic of the Congo may have been forced to serve as combatants, porters, spies, body guards, domestic servants, and sex slaves.(8, 15, 31) In October, the M23 was defeated by the Congolese National Army and in November, the M23 disbanded. There have been no reports of child recruitment activities in Rwanda or Rwandan support to M23 since November 2013.(11, 33)

II. LEGAL FRAMEWORK ON THE WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOR

Rwanda has ratified all key international conventions concerning child labor (Table 3).

Table 3. Ratification of International Conventions on Child Labor

	Convention	Ratification
	ILO C. 138, Minimum Age	✓
	ILO C. 182, Worst Forms of Child Labor	✓
	UN CRC	✓
	UN CRC Optional Protocol on Armed Conflict	✓
	UN CRC Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography	✓
	Palermo Protocol on Trafficking in Persons	✓

The Government has established relevant laws and regulations related to child labor (Table 4).

Table 4. Laws and Regulations Related to Child Labor

Standard	Yes/No	Age	Related Legislation
Minimum Age for Work	Yes	16	Article 4 of the Labor Law (34)
Minimum Age for Hazardous Work	Yes	18	Article 4 of the Labor Law (34)
List of Hazardous Occupations Prohibited for Children	Yes		Articles 4-6 of Ministerial Order (2010-06); Kigali City Guidelines (2012-02); Mimuri sector child labor guidelines for sugar and rice production (35-37)
Prohibition of Forced Labor	Yes		Articles 8 and 72 of the Labor Law; Article 178 of the Organic Law Instituting the Penal Code; Article 51 of the Law Relating to the Rights and Protection of the Child (34, 38, 39)

Table 4. Laws and Regulations Related to Child Labor (cont)

Standard	Yes/No	Age	Related Legislation
Prohibition of Child Trafficking	Yes		Article 72 of the Labor Law; Article 28 of the Law on Prevention and Punishment of Gender-Based Violence; Articles 225, 251, 258-261 of the Organic Law Instituting the Penal Code; Article 51 of the Law Relating to the Rights and Protection of the Child (34, 38-40)
Prohibition of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children	Yes		Article 72 of the Labor Law; Articles 190, 211, 260 Organic Law Instituting the Penal Code; Article 51 of the Law Relating to the Rights and Protection of the Child (34, 38, 39)
Prohibition of Using Children in Illicit Activities	Yes		Article 72 of the Labor Law; Article 220 of the Organic Law Instituting the Penal Code; Article 51 of the Law Relating to the Rights and Protection of the Child (34, 38, 39)
Minimum Age for Compulsory Military Recruitment	N/A*		
Minimum Age for Voluntary Military Service	Yes	18	Presidential Order 155/01; Presidential Order 72/01; Article 50 of the Law Relating to the Rights and Protection of the Child (39, 41)
Compulsory Education Age	Yes	16	Article 47 of the Law Relating to the Rights and Protection of the Child (39)
Free Public Education	Yes		Article 47 of the Law Relating to the Rights and Protection of the Child; Twelve Years Basic Education (12YBE) policy (39, 42)

*No conscription or no standing military.

Rwandan law is not completely consistent with international standards regarding child labor. Children working in non-contractual employment do not have the same protections under child labor laws and regulations as children working in contractual employment.(34, 43) In addition, although education is free and compulsory, in practice, the costs of uniforms, school supplies, and unofficial school fees may preclude some families from sending their children to school.(11, 44, 45)

In 2012, the Kigali City Security Council's guidelines on child labor were approved. The guidelines prohibit the employment of children in Kigali City as domestic servants, street beggars, porters, bar attendants, hairdressers, and dancers in clubs. It also prohibits using children to make pornographic productions, to sell drugs, and to replace their parents in paid employment.(36) In addition, the guidelines require local authorities to raise awareness on child labor and calls for a census at the cell administrative level to estimate the prevalence of child domestic workers.(36)

III. ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS ON THE WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOR

The Government has established institutional mechanisms for the enforcement of laws and regulations on child labor, including its worst forms (Table 5).

Table 5. Agencies Responsible for Child Labor Law Enforcement

Organization/Agency	Role
Ministry of Public Service and Labor (MIFOTRA)	Enforce labor laws, including laws on child labor.(8, 46-48)
Rwandan National Police (RNP)	Enforce criminal laws related to the worst forms of child labor and operate a free hotline to report incidents of gender-based violence and child abuse, including child labor.(8, 49, 50)
Child Protection Unit	Investigate cases of child abuse, including the use of children in commercial sexual exploitation. Located within the Commission for Criminal Investigations of the RNP.(8, 51, 52)
Directorate for Anti-Gender Based Violence	Assist victims of the worst forms of child labor through anti-gender-based violence officers. Located within the RNP, at each of Rwanda's 75 police stations.(11)
Directorate General of Immigration and Emigration	Receive referrals for trafficking cases and employ an anti-trafficking specialist.(50) Verify that children transported across the border are traveling with the permission of their parents or guardians.(8, 53)

Law enforcement agencies in Rwanda took actions to combat child labor, including its worst forms.

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Labor Law Enforcement

In 2013, the Ministry of Public Service and Labor (MIFOTRA) employed 30 labor inspectors (one per district) who work with the Rwandan National Police (RNP), under supervision of the district authorities.(11, 46-48) At the national level, MIFOTRA employed two chief labor inspectors, who are supervised by the Directorate General in charge of labor.(11, 46) According to MIFOTRA, one labor inspector per district is not enough to conduct all of the necessary inspections.(54) Inspections may be conducted without prior notice, and labor inspectors may issue warnings, which must be corrected by the offender within 7 days. If the violation is not corrected within 7 days, the labor inspector may ask the authorities to temporarily close the institution under investigation.(46) During the year, the MIFOTRA provided labor inspectors with laptops and funds for Internet service. In addition, half of all labor inspectors received motorcycles and funds for fuel and maintenance.(11) Despite these improvements, the MIFOTRA reports that many labor inspectors still lack transportation to carry out inspections.(50, 54) MIFOTRA also requires an annual report on activities from its labor inspectors and audits the disbursement of labor inspection funds to ensure that it matches appropriations.(11)

The MIFOTRA reviews the performance of its labor inspectors every 6 months and provides them with training twice a year on identifying and investigating child labor violations.(11) During the year, labor inspectors held quarterly district trainings on child labor issues for employers and local authorities.(11, 54) The MIFOTRA's training budget for labor inspectors was \$285,000 in 2013.(11) Law No. 13/2009 permits labor inspectors to enter workplaces only during normal business hours, even though ILO Convention 81, which Rwanda has ratified, notes that inspectors should be able to enter workplaces at all times. This practice may exclude protection for children who work irregular hours.(55) Labor inspection reports do not contain information related to the worst forms of child labor.(56) Data regarding child labor inspections, prosecutions, citations, and penalties are not publicly available.(11, 54)

Labor law enforcement agencies at the district level also took actions to combat child labor during the reporting period. For example, the Rubavu district budgeted 200,000 Rwandan francs (\$294) from 2012 to 2013 to conduct child labor inspections, inspect occupational safety and health at workplaces, and raise awareness among employers of labor laws.(57) Personal performance contracts for district authorities also include targets for reducing child labor and increasing school enrollment.(11)

Criminal Law Enforcement

In 2013, the RNP referred some child domestic servants and children engaged in commercial sexual exploitation to the Isange Center within the Kacyiru Police Hospital for police assistance, legal aid, shelter, medical exams, and counseling. Meanwhile, the RNP opened smaller centers at hospitals in eight other districts.(11) Although the RNP operates a free hotline to report incidences of gender-based violence and child abuse, including child labor, it is unknown how many complaints were related to child labor.(8, 49, 50) Some Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion (MIGEPROF) and RNP employees do not always follow government-approved procedures for screening children and referring them to services, which may impact the quality and timeliness of services provided to them.(11, 53)

Trafficking cases are referred to the RNP and to the Directorate General of Immigration and Emigration.(50) The Directorate General of Immigration and Emigration retains an anti-trafficking specialist, and the RNP operates an anti-trafficking unit staffed with 15 full-time officers.(11, 58) However, RNP officials report that the unit lacks enough officers to address the problem.(8) In addition, evidence suggests that some RNP staff members are not sensitive to the needs of child trafficking victims, and that some children found engaged in commercial sexual exploitation and market vending were detained in transit centers for months.(11) Some officials also lack awareness and training about the laws on internal trafficking.(8, 58) During the reporting period, 17 individuals were investigated for trafficking related crimes, which resulted in 11 prosecutions. It is unknown whether these crimes involved the trafficking of children.(59) There were no convictions for trafficking in 2013.(59)

With support from Interpol, the RNP operates an office at the Kigali International Airport to combat trafficking in persons and plans to open 13 other offices at border crossings. During the reporting period, the RNP trained 112 police officers on transnational trafficking.(11, 59) Rwanda initiated 12 investigations of 19 individuals suspected to be involved in transnational trafficking in 2013, though it is unclear if any of the investigations involved children.(60) Within villages, citizens can report instances of child labor to the RNP or to a local volunteer officer in charge of social affairs. If the officer cannot resolve the problem, it may be referred to the village leader, who may contact the RNP.(50)

The Organic Law Instituting the Penal Code provides penalties for persons who recruit children for armed conflict or do not report such offenses committed against children to the authorities. However, research could not uncover whether investigations or arrests were made under these provisions.(38)

IV. COORDINATION OF GOVERNMENT EFFORTS ON THE WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOR

The Government has established mechanisms to coordinate its efforts to address child labor, including its worst forms (Table 6)

Table 6. Mechanisms to Coordinate Government Efforts on Child Labor

Coordinating Body	Role & Description
National Advisory Committee on Child Labor	Coordinate government efforts related to the worst forms of child labor, review child labor laws, advocate for the inclusion of child labor policies in national development plans, oversee the implementation of child labor interventions, and conduct field visits to assess the prevalence of child labor and to raise awareness of child labor. Meets quarterly and includes representatives from MIFOTRA, the Ministry of Youth, the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC), MIGEPROF, the Ministry of Local Government (MINILOC), the Ministry of Sports and Culture, RNP, the National Human Rights Commission, the Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission (RDRC), trade unions, the ILO, UNICEF, the Private Sector Federation, and Winrock International.(11, 54, 59)
National Commission for Children (NCC)	Monitor, promote, and advocate for children's rights; develop action plans to protect children from abuse and exploitation. Located under the MIGEPROF and supported by a board of directors and an advisory council of 14 institutions.(11, 61-63)
Inter-Ministerial Committee on Child Rights	Coordinate and assess the progress of the Integrated Child Rights Policy (ICRP) and Strategic Plan in Rwanda. Mandated to meet at least once a year. Includes members from MIGEPROF, the Ministry of Health, MINEDUC, MINILOC, the Ministry of Justice, and the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning.(8, 11, 41)
National Commission on Orphans and Vulnerable Children	Monitor and protect orphans and vulnerable children in Rwanda. Composed of the NCC, MIFOTRA, MIGEPROF, and UNICEF.(8, 53, 64)
Child Labor Committees	Monitor incidents of child labor nationwide, through 149 local committees.(11, 59) In the case of Gender-Based Violence Committees, operate at the district level. In the case of Child Protection Committees, identify and report cases of child rights violations at the district, sector, and cell levels.(65, 66)
Kigali City Council Task Force	Coordinate activities to combat child labor in the districts of Kicukiro, Gasabo, and Nyarugenge.(16, 66, 67)

In 2013, the National Commission for Children (NCC) employed 19 staff members and coordinated child protection activities on a daily basis. The NCC also continued to employ one child protection officer responsible for child labor issues.(11, 61, 63, 64) Between July 2012 and June 2013, the NCC received 246 complaints involving violations of children's rights, including child labor.(68) During the reporting period, the NCC sent psychologists and social workers to three of Rwanda's 30 districts to address child labor.(59) The NCC had a budget of \$2.4 million for 2014, which included a \$1.5 million earmark to districts to implement child protection programs.(59) However, the NCC lacks coordination structures at the district and sector levels to carry out its responsibilities.(69, 70)

V. GOVERNMENT POLICIES ON THE WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOR

The Government of Rwanda has established policies related to child labor, including its worst forms (Table 7).

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Table 7. Policies Related to Child Labor

Policy	Description
National Policy for the Elimination of Child Labor and 5-year Action Plan to Combat Child Labor†	Aims to prevent at-risk children from entering exploitative child labor; withdraws children engaged in exploitative labor through the provision of education; rehabilitates former child laborers through counseling, life skills training, and medical care; raises community awareness on child labor; and establishes monitoring and evaluation mechanisms on child labor. Government committed over \$4.2 million to implement activities listed in the Policy and Plan.(8, 71-74)
Integrated Child Rights Policy (ICRP) and Strategic Plan (2011– 2016)	Addresses all children's issues, including child labor. Guided by the principles that abuse, exploitation, and violence against children are intolerable and that the Government and caretakers are accountable for the well-being of children.(41, 75) In the case of the ICRP, prohibits child labor, and in the case of the Strategic Plan, provides \$9,000 to MIFOTRA to develop timebound programs to eliminate child labor.(41, 75)
National Policy against Gender-Based Violence (2011– 2016)	Acknowledges that orphans and vulnerable children, including child laborers, are at increased risk of gender-based violence and outlines measures to provide assistance to such groups. Implemented by the Gender-Based Violence Technical Working Committee under the MIGEPROF.(69, 76)
National Employment Policy (2007)	Includes a set of integrated strategies for employment promotion and generation. Provides for youth employment programs, which include child labor issues.(54, 77)
Vision 2020 (2000)*	Aims to transform agriculture into a productive, market-oriented, and high-value sector. Calls for the protection of children and provides educational opportunities to children who drop out of secondary school.(50, 78)
National Social Protection Strategy (2011)*	Defines social protection and outlines social development activities to assist poor households, such as providing vulnerable children with grants and free education.(79)
National Youth Policy (2005)*	Seeks to address concerns facing youth, including economic exploitation and education.(50, 80)
12YBE Policy*	Provides free education for 12 years and aims to improve access to education by hiring new teachers and building schools.(42)
Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (2013– 2018)†	Describes the social policies and programs necessary to promote growth and reduce poverty. Supports access to education and seeks to eliminate child labor.(81)
National TVET Policy (2008)*	Aims to establish a well-trained and adaptable workforce and provides educational alternatives to children who have dropped out of school.(82)
Girls' Education Strategic Plan (2009– 2013)	Aims to improve access and quality of girls' education to prevent girls from engaging in the worst forms of child labor.(83)

*The impact of this policy on child labor does not appear to have been studied.

† Policy was launched during the reporting period.

It is unclear how the Integrated Child Rights Policy (ICRP) and Strategic Plan will complement the National Policy for the Elimination of Child Labor and the 5-year Action Plan to Combat Child Labor. In addition, the lack of clear budget allocations may impede the implementation of the ICRP.(69)

VI. SOCIAL PROGRAMS TO ADDRESS THE WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOR

In 2013, the Government of Rwanda funded and participated in programs that include the goal of eliminating or preventing child labor, including its worst forms (Table 8).

Table 8. Social Programs to Address Child Labor

Program	Description
Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission (RDRC) Child Rehabilitation Program and Center	RDRC-operated center in the Musanze District of the Northern Province for former child combatants returning from the Democratic Republic of the Congo that raises awareness of child soldier issues and provides a 3-month course to former child soldiers, which includes counseling, education, recreational activities, and vocational training.(11, 15, 41, 58) In 2013, the RDRC assisted 38 former child combatants and reunited them with their families. The third stage of the RDRC Program is planned to help 3,300 child ex-combatants demobilize and reintegrate.(83)
Rwanda Education Alternatives for Children	\$4.5 million USDOL-funded, 4-year project implemented by Winrock International through March 2013 withdrew and prevented 8,575 children from exploitive child labor, primarily in the agricultural sector, by providing educational services, strengthening child labor and education policies, and ensuring the sustainability of these efforts.(10, 84) With support from MIFOTRA, created a Framework of Action to Combat Exploitative Child Labor in Rwanda, which includes strategies to combat child labor in Rwanda.(70, 84)

Table 8. Social Programs to Address Child Labor (cont)

Program	Description
Rwanda Education Alternatives for Children in Tea-Growing Areas†	\$5 million USDOL-funded, 4-year project implemented by Winrock International targets 4,090 children engaged in or at risk of entering exploitative child labor in Rwanda with a focus on the tea sector and 1,320 vulnerable households for sustainable livelihoods promotion. With support from MIFOTRA, aims to train labor inspectors on child labor issues and develop and eventually operate a mobile-phone child labor monitoring system.(85)
Global Action Program on Child Labor Issues	USDOL-funded project implemented by the ILO in approximately 40 countries to support the priorities of the Roadmap for Achieving the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor by 2016 established by the Hague Global Child Labor Conference in 2010. Aims to build the capacity of the national government and develop strategic policies to address the elimination of child labor in Rwanda.(86)
Child Labor Awareness Raising‡	MIFOTRA program to raise public awareness of the worst forms of child labor through radio shows, television announcements, and skits. Awareness-raising campaigns are also implemented to combat commercial sexual exploitation.(11)
Counter-Trafficking Program in Rwanda†	Government program, with support from the IOM, to raise awareness of human trafficking, train law enforcement officials and immigration officers to identify cases of human trafficking, and establish victim assistance and referral mechanisms.(87)
Eastern Africa Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization	Government program to combat human trafficking by collaborating with 11 East African countries to foster regional cooperation and build the capacity of East African law enforcement authorities.(88, 89)
Vision 2020 Umurenge Program*‡	Government cash and in-kind transfer program for child-headed households and street children.(8, 79, 90, 91)
Gitagata Center*‡	Government-operated center for former street children in the Bugesera District that provided education support, vocational training, and psychosocial counseling to 135 street children and reunited 69 of them with their families in 2013.(11, 72)
One Cup of Milk per Child Program *	EU-funded school feeding provides milk to children in nursery and primary schools. In 2013, 100 schools benefited from the program and 98,000 children received support.(64, 92, 93)

*The impact of this program on child labor does not appear to have been studied.

† Program was launched during the reporting period.

‡ Program is funded by the Government of Rwanda.

Rwanda has implemented programs to combat child labor in agriculture, but continues to lack adequate safeguards against exploitative child labor in other areas such as domestic service.(11) Rwanda also did not take the necessary steps to protect children from recruitment by armed groups in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.(8, 20, 24-27)

In 2012, MIGEPROF announced that it would begin phasing out Rwanda's orphanages and integrating children with families across the country. By the end of 2013, MIGEPROF closed four orphanages.(8, 11, 75, 94, 95) It is too early to determine the impact that the closing of childcare institutions will have on child labor. The Government aims to place all children in families and transform existing orphanages into institutions to support children and families in 2014.(96)

VII. SUGGESTED GOVERNMENT ACTIONS TO ELIMINATE THE WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOR

Based on the reporting above, suggested actions are identified that would advance the elimination of child labor, including its worst forms in Rwanda (Table 9).

Table 9. Suggested Government Actions to Eliminate Child Labor, Including its Worst Forms

Area	Suggested Action	Year(s) Suggested
Laws	Ensure that relevant child labor laws and regulations apply equally to children working in non-contractual and contractual employment.	2009 – 2013
	Revise Law No. 13/2009 to allow labor inspectors to enter workplaces outside of normal business hours.	2012 – 2013
Enforcement	Ensure that MIFOTRA and RNP have sufficient human and financial resources to enforce child labor laws.	2009 – 2013
	Make information publicly available on inspections, prosecutions, citations, and penalties related to child labor.	2009 – 2013

Table 9. Suggested Government Actions to Eliminate Child Labor, Including its Worst Forms (cont)

Area	Suggested Action	Year(s) Suggested
Enforcement	Disaggregate the number of complaints to the RNP hotline that relate to child labor.	2013
	Ensure that MIGEPROF and RNP provide training to staff on government-approved procedures for screening children and referring them to services.	2012 – 2013
	Increase training among enforcement officials on internal child trafficking and the rights of trafficking victims and children engaged in commercial sexual exploitation.	2009 – 2013
	Ensure that Rwandan government officials enforce the law on the recruitment of children for armed conflict.	2012 – 2013
Coordination	Create coordination structures for the NCC at the district and sector levels.	2013
Government Policies	Assess the impact that existing policies may have on addressing the worst forms of child labor.	2011 – 2013
	Allocate funds for the ICRP to ensure its implementation.	2013
Social Programs	Conduct research to determine the activities carried out by children working in construction and fishing to inform policies and programs.	2013
	Develop additional social protection programs to assist child domestic servants.	2009 – 2013
	Assess the impact that existing social programs may have on addressing child labor.	2009 – 2013
	Ensure that school costs, such as uniforms, school supplies, and unofficial school fees, do not diminish the impact of the 12-year education policy.	2010 – 2013

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