



Adolescent girl carrying her sibling on her back while selling charcoal in Gihembe refugee camp, Northern Province, Rwanda, 2018. © Simpunga Manzi Didier

Leave no one behind: shining a spotlight on adolescent Congolese refugees in Rwanda

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Introduction

While the Syrian refugee crisis has dominated international headlines for much of the last decade, the needs of other refugees around the world have been much less visible. This is arguably especially true in Rwanda, where refugees from the Congo are simultaneously highly vulnerable and almost completely invisible, particularly when set against the backdrop of the country's high poverty rates. If the world is to deliver on the Sustainable Development Goals, and its 'leave no one behind' agenda, it is necessary to shine a spotlight on the least visible refugee communities – including adolescent girls and boys living in refugee camps in Rwanda.

Context

Rwanda is a small landlocked country that borders Uganda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). The most densely populated country in Africa, about one-quarter of its citizens are adolescents between the ages of 10 and 19, and 40% live below the poverty line.¹

Adolescents in Rwanda face a wide variety of threats.² For example, although younger adolescents' access to primary school is good, older adolescents have only limited access to secondary school. Attendance rates are one-quarter for girls and just over 20% for boys.³ In addition, while child marriage is rare in Rwanda, girls are vulnerable to other forms of violence – including physical and sexual violence. Sexual violence is often perpetrated by older men ('sugar daddies') who exploit girls by promising them money or gifts in exchange for sex.⁴ By the age of 19, one-fifth of girls have started childbearing.⁵ In

Box 1: The UN Refugee Agency in Rwanda

UNHCR in Rwanda supports adolescent girls and boys to access their capabilities in education and learning, bodily integrity and psychosocial well-being. To achieve this, it partners with international non-profit and non-governmental organisations such as Plan International, World Vision, the American Refugee Committee, African Humanitarian Action and the Adventist Development and Relief Agency.

Underfunding has severely affected humanitarian operations in Rwanda. As of February 2019, UNHCR's 2019 appeal for US\$92.8 million is just 2% funded.⁶ As the number of refugees in Rwanda has continued to grow, the needs are increasing while global funding allocations are decreasing, hampering efforts for adequate protection. The Rwanda-UNHCR Livelihoods Strategy 2016–2020 focuses on graduating camp-based refugees out of assistance programmes such as food and cash-for-food, and increasing formal access to employment for refugees.

addition, Rwanda is one of the few countries in which rates of teenage pregnancy are increasing.

Rwanda has been hosting Congolese refugees since 1996.⁶ Many have been in the country for decades and others have arrived since 2011, when hostilities reoccurred in the eastern DRC. There are currently approximately 75,000 Congolese refugees in Rwanda. About half are under the age of 18. Although the Rwandan Ministry of Disaster Management and Refugees (MIDIMAR) (see Table 1 for relevant policy frameworks) and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) (see Box 1) invest in refugees' well-being, the population remains highly vulnerable and little is known about adolescent refugees' specific needs and outcomes. We know that adolescents, and especially adolescent girls, face a wide variety of age- and gender-specific risks, but national statistics are not disaggregated in a way that makes those needs visible.

The majority of Congolese refugees living in Rwanda live in refugee camps (see Box 2). Population density is high and households share communal washrooms. That said, camps have health centres and generally adequate WASH facilities. Some also have primary and/or secondary schools which are

attended by both refugee and Rwandan students; otherwise, refugee students attend school outside the camps.

Conceptual framework

GAGE is a unique longitudinal mixed methods research and impact evaluation study focused on exploring what works to support the development of adolescents' capabilities over the course of the second decade of life (10–19 years) as children transition from early adolescence through puberty and into early adulthood.

The far-reaching physical, cognitive, psycho-emotional, social and sexual transformations that take place during the adolescent years – and especially following the onset of puberty – are considered second only to those experienced in infancy and early childhood in terms of their scope and speed. Given these pivotal life changes – and with a global adolescent population of more than 1.2 billion, the overwhelming majority of whom reside in the Global South – it is increasingly recognised by the development community that adolescence offers a unique window to accelerate progress against the effects of poverty, inequality and discrimination. By investing in young people there is an

Table 1: Key government of Rwanda policy frameworks with provisions relevant to adolescent refugees

| Child protection | Education | Gender equality |
|---|--|---|
| The 2011 Integrated Child Rights Policy stipulated that every child in Rwanda has access to their rights, including rights related to family and/or alternative care, survival, health and standards of living, education, protection, justice and participation. | All children in Rwanda, including refugees, have a right to 12 years of free education. The Education Sector Strategic Plan (2013) highlights the need for the inclusion of vulnerable children either within the ordinary school system or in special facilities. | The 2010 National Gender Policy outlines strategies to ensure women and girls are aware of their rights. |
| The government of Rwanda (GoR) has established the National Commission for Children (NCC) as an independent organ under the Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion (MIGEPROF) with responsibility to promote and protect the rights of children in Rwanda. In the refugee camps, UNHCR shares responsibility with GoR to protect refugees against all forms of violence, including sexual and gender-based violence (UNHCR, 2003). | The 2008 Girls' Education Policy aims to 'guide and promote sustainable action aimed at the progressive elimination of gender disparities in education and training as well as in management structures'. | The Law on Prevention and Punishment of Gender-Based Violence was established in 2008. |
| Article 18 of the 2014 Law Relating to Refugees stipulates that 'any person having obtained refugee status in Rwanda shall enjoy the rights and liberties provided for by international instruments on refugees ratified by Rwanda'. These rights include the right to be protected against all forms of violence. | The GoR established the Technical and Vocational Education and Training Policy in 2015 with the aim of creating employment for youth. | The National Policy against GBV, of 2011 details a set of preventive and responsive strategies, which include punitive measures against perpetrators of GBV, psycho-social and health care services for victims and sensitisation campaigns to increase the gender responsiveness of public services geared towards victims of GBV. |
| Under ILO Conventions 138 and 182 on the minimum work age and the elimination of the worst forms of child labour, respectively, the GOR developed the 2012 National Policy to Eliminate Child Labour. | | |

Box 2: Profile of study camps

Gihembe refugee camp⁸

Gihembe refugee camp is located in Kageyo sector of Gicumbi district in Northern Province, 60km north of Kigali City.

This camp was established in December 1997 to host Congolese refugees fleeing political conflicts in the eastern DRC and initially hosted at Mudende camp in Rubavu district. Following attacks by armed groups at Mudende, the government of Rwanda and UNHCR decided to move refugees far from the border; they established Gihembe camp to accommodate survivors of the attacks, which had led to casualties among camp residents. As of December 2017, the total population of refugees in Gihembe camp was 12,473.

Of all refugees hosted by Rwanda, Gihembe refugees are those most commonly employed in non-farm wage work, with the highest average wage earnings per household, even though they also have low wage labour participation rates.⁹

Nyabiheke refugee camp¹⁰

Nyabiheke refugee camp is in Gatsibo district in Eastern Province, about two hours from Kigali. It was established in April 2005 when 4,500 Congolese fled fighting in North Kivu. The camp was created as a result of lack of space in Kiziba and Gihembe camps. Another outbreak of fighting in North Kivu in 2007 led to a second wave of 3,600 people escaping out of the DRC into Nyabiheke. As of December 2017, the camp's population was 14,493 inhabitants.

Many of the houses in Nyabiheke camp have kitchen gardens, as observed by the data collection team, with potential farm employment, depending on the season. The camp has businesses such as shops, and vegetable and charcoal are sold at stands inside the camp.

Kigeme refugee camp

Kigeme refugee camp is located in Nyamagabe district, in Southern Province. It was established in 2012 to host refugees fleeing fighting between DRC armed forces and M23 rebels. It originally hosted Burundian refugees until May 2009; in 2012, the government of Rwanda reopened and expanded it to host refugees who had been temporarily received in the Nkamira transit centre in Rubavu district.

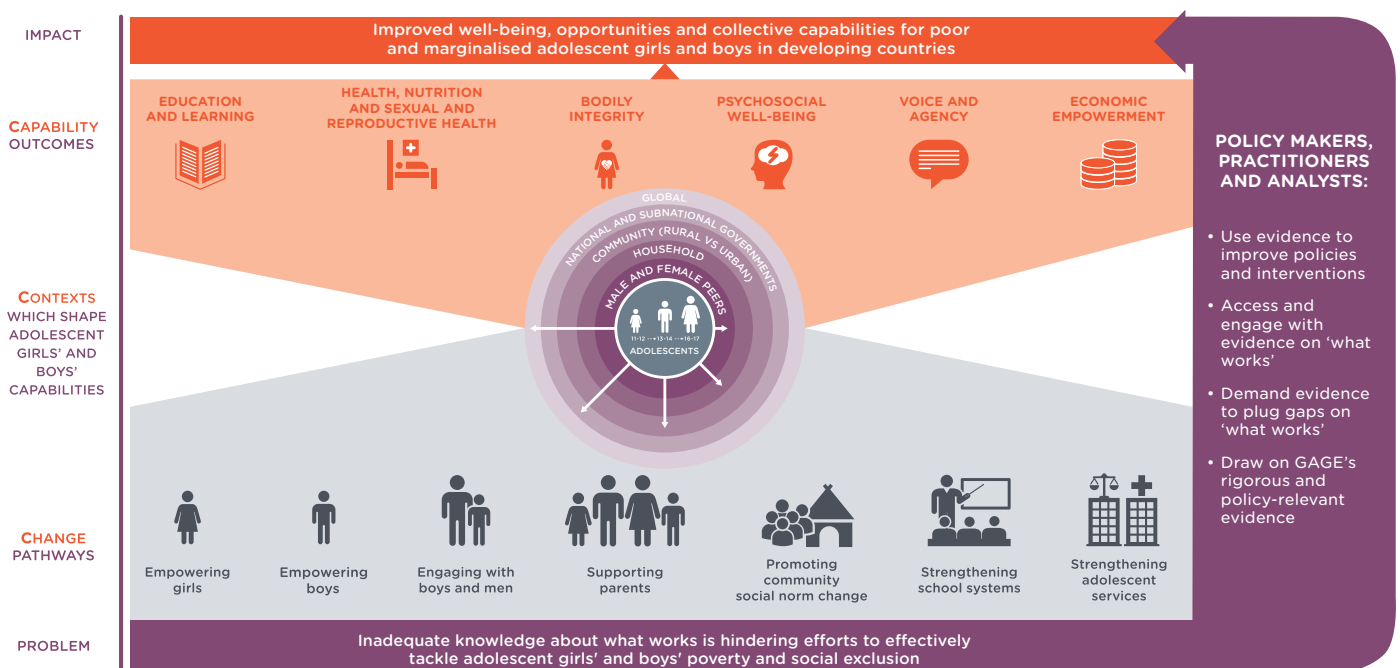
opportunity to reap a triple dividend for adolescents now, for their adult trajectories and for those of their children.

GAGE's starting point is that adolescent transitions shape both girls' and boys' lives, but often in highly gendered ways, due to the norms of their socio-cultural environments. These norms – especially around sexuality – start to become more rigidly enforced and more consequential in early adolescence, which forces girls' and boys' trajectories to

diverge as they approach adulthood. To fast track social change, understanding this divergence is key.

GAGE's conceptual framework (see Figure 1) takes a holistic approach that pays careful attention to the interconnectedness of what we call 'the 3 Cs': Capabilities, Change strategies and Contexts' in order to understand what works to support adolescent girls' development and empowerment – now and in the future.

Figure 1: GAGE conceptual framework



Source: GAGE Consortium, 2018

The capabilities approach has evolved as a broad normative framework exploring the kinds of assets (economic, human, political, emotional and social) that expand the capacity of individuals to achieve valued ways of ‘doing and being’. Importantly, the approach can encompass relevant investments in girls and boys with diverse trajectories, including the most marginalised and ‘hardest to reach’ such as those who are disabled or are already mothers.¹¹

Methods

In order to improve our understanding of adolescent refugees in Rwanda, GAGE undertook a desk-based review of relevant policy and legal documents as well as a qualitative research study with 20 key informants and dozens of adolescents (including both younger adolescents aged 10–12 as well as middle-adolescents aged 13–15) and their caregivers living in three refugee camps (see Tables 1 and 2). The camps in question were selected because they are the longest-standing camps, meaning that current adolescents were either born in Rwanda or came to the country when they were very young. Our study, which used a variety of interactive tools in both individual and group settings, focused on young people’s access to education and learning, and their bodily integrity and freedom from violence. Prior to data collection, which took place in 2018, the study received ethical approval from the Rwanda National Ethics Committee. In addition, MIDIMAR granted authorisation to access the refugee camps.

Findings: adolescent refugee capabilities

Our findings are framed around two key capability domains of the GAGE conceptual framework: education and learning, and bodily integrity and freedom from violence.

Education and learning

Education and learning as a capability domain focuses on the services and support adolescents have to acquire the cognitive skills and knowledge they need in order to engage with and make good decisions in a rapidly changing world. The government of Rwanda, in line with international norms, has granted all Congolese refugees access to 12 years of free education – which, as noted above, can sometimes be accessed directly in camps. Refugees are also provided with school materials such as uniforms, notebooks and pens by different non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

Educational aspirations

Our research found that most adolescent refugees are in school and that education is very important to them and their caregivers as it is seen as a pathway to a more secure future. Where possible, given poverty levels, parents often reward young people for their educational successes with candy, new clothes and visits to relatives outside of camps, and this further increases young people’s commitment to schooling. Adolescents also enjoy attending school because it provides them with an opportunity to spend time with their friends.

Many of the adolescents who participated in our study aspire to the highest levels of education. They have dreams

Table 2: Camps visited for the study

| No. | Camp | Year established | Location | | Population | | Source of income (other than food assistance) |
|-----|--------------------|------------------|-----------|----------|------------|-------|---|
| | | | District | Province | Female | Male | |
| 1 | Gihembe | 1997 | Gicumbi | Northern | 7,148 | 6,156 | Non-farm, wage work |
| 2 | Nyabiheke | 2005 | Gatsibo | Eastern | 7,959 | 6,595 | Small businesses in the camps |
| 3 | Kigeme (reopening) | 2012 | Nyamagabe | Southern | 11,179 | 9,139 | |

Table 3: Overview of interviews conducted

| Type of interaction | Group | Male | Female |
|---|----------------------------------|------|--------|
| In-depth interviews | 10–12 year olds | 31 | 36 |
| | Caregivers of 10–12 year olds | 31 | 37 |
| | 13–15 year olds | 32 | 33 |
| Focus group discussions (6–8 participants each) | Groups of adolescents aged 10–15 | 8 | 8 |
| | Groups of caregivers | 4 | 4 |
| Key informant interviews | Informants | 20 | |
| Life history interviews | Adolescent mothers | 12 | |

of becoming doctors, nurses and journalists. Parents support these dreams, as they represent a route out of poverty and camp life, but it is important to note that this is in a context where in practice only approximately one-third of children attend secondary school.

Sometimes when there are casual jobs in the camp, they select those who are able to write and read. For us who are not good at writing and reading, we go back home. These days, those who are not able to read and write won't have any job. So, I pray to God to grant me the capacity to pay school fees for my children so that they can have a bright future. (Mother of a female adolescent in Kigeme camp.)

Parental support for education

Adolescents depend on parental support for their educational success. They count on their parents to provide them with school materials and to also pay other incidental fees. Where their parents cannot do this due to household poverty, adolescents seek out paid employment¹² or rely on NGO support. This became more complicated in 2018, when World Vision – the NGO providing education-related services – took over responsibility for distributing school supplies in all refugee camps, but was forced, due to budget shortfalls, to cut back on the quantity of supplies students receive. Our research found that both adolescents and their parents are frustrated at the limited support currently available.

Girls in particular mentioned that they need more than monetary support from their parents to succeed in school. They also need time away from household work so that they can complete their homework. Boys agreed that girls are given too little time away from housework and that it is especially difficult for them to prepare for exams because of their workloads. Girls also reported that they are often made to miss school when someone in the household is ill, as they are required to provide care.

Violence at school

Adolescents reported significant teacher violence, with beatings meted out for being late, lacking school supplies, and not complying with school rules. Students and parents were in some cases supportive of corporal punishment. When students did wrong (e.g. misbehaved in the classroom), they tended to believe that violence was appropriate discipline. However, when students were beaten for reasons beyond their control, and especially when they were effectively beaten because they are poor (e.g. they lacked school supplies), adolescents and their parents agreed that beatings represented violence rather than discipline.

Violence at school is also perpetrated by other students. Girls and boys reported that older students beat younger

students, sometimes for poor school performance, sometimes in retribution for theft of school supplies and sometimes just to 'tease' them. Adolescents also reported that parents sometimes came to school to beat adolescents at school for misdeeds committed at home.

Plan International Rwanda has been working with schools and communities in order to reduce school and home violence, mobilising students and parents to report abuse. Some parents in our research felt that Plan is overreaching and interfering with their parenting. One father reported:

It's like Plan International Rwanda is now playing the role of parents in children's education. It is difficult for us to discipline our children these days as it is regarded as physical violence. Children don't obey us and when we try to discipline them they immediately report to Plan as they know that it is there to protect them from any kind of violence. (Father of an adolescent boy in Gihembe camp.)

Adolescent pregnancy

Although comprehensive sexuality education is provided in both primary and secondary schools, we found that adolescent refugees living in camps have very limited knowledge about sexual and reproductive health – in large part because sex is seen as accepted only within the confines of marriage. Unsurprisingly, adolescent pregnancy is not uncommon and is among the main reasons that girls leave school. Indeed, all 12 of the young mothers in our study had dropped out – primarily due to the fact that premarital pregnancy is deeply stigmatised and leaves girls, and their families, shamed and ostracised (see Box 3).

Where young mothers have support from their families, some aspire to eventually go back to school, sometimes when their children are weaned and other times when their children themselves start school. An adolescent mother from Kigeme camp explained:

I am not planning to go back to school. It is not in my plans. If I go back, who will I be leaving my child with? My mother cannot accept to care for him for me to go back to school. Maybe when he [the baby] grows up and starts going to school as well. Maybe then, we can go to school together but now, I have left school because I am raising him, when his time to start school comes, I will go back to school also. (Adolescent mother in Kigeme camp.)

Where, however, girls have been rejected by their families, or have no family members who are able to help with childcare, they see no hope of returning to school. They are focused instead on earning enough money to support themselves and their children (see Box 4). Those girls reported that they would like access to vocational training so that they can build more secure futures for themselves and their children.

Box 3: Too ashamed to go to school

Alice is a 14-year-old orphan being raised by her grandmother in Gihembe camp. At the time of the interview, she was six months pregnant with her first child.

Alice was attending secondary school, in Senior 1, when she became pregnant by her 19-year-old boyfriend. When she realised she was pregnant, she informed her boyfriend and then refused to go back to school because of shame. Her grandmother and other extended family members became suspicious of Alice's school dropout and, when the pregnancy started showing, asked who was responsible. Alice named her boyfriend and her family pursued him. The boyfriend was sent to prison. Alice is not aware of the details, but she knows her family and that of the boyfriend came to an agreement and the boyfriend was released from prison. He has disappeared and Alice does not know his whereabouts. Alice is very sad that she doesn't know where he is.

Alice does not plan to go back to school. She says that no-one would be available to look after her baby as her grandmother is very old.

Bodily integrity and freedom from violence

While bodily integrity and freedom from violence is more broadly framed in the majority of GAGE research, for the purposes of this briefing we focus on rape. In Rwanda, Article 190 of the Penal Code specifies that any sexual act with a child under the age of 18, regardless of form, is considered 'defilement'. Critically, no child under the age of 18 is considered mature enough to consent.

Rape is common

While Rwandan law is advanced in terms of protecting adolescents' bodily integrity, sexual abuse and rape are common in camps. Girls reported near constant fear of being raped, sometimes by strangers but more commonly

by neighbours and family friends. A girl from Gihembe camp explained:

One day, a neighbour of ours called me and bought me a sweet. He then took me to his room and started opening his belt, and then I got out and told my mom. I burst into tears and they put him in jail for what he wanted to do.
(Adolescent girl in Gihembe camp.)

Girls' fear of rape is exacerbated by the reality that they are often blamed for being raped. Adult respondents in our research reported that girls are blamed for being in the wrong place at the wrong time and for wearing the wrong clothes. They are also seen as promiscuous if they use smart phones. Mothers are blamed for not teaching their

Box 4: Parenting as a single adolescent mother

Solange is 18 years old. She lives alone with her two-year-old son in Nyabiheke camp. Solange is the only child of her mother and father, who separated when Solange was still very young. Her father remarried and had five other children and Solange does not recall ever seeing her mother.

Solange's stepmother treats her well but Solange does not get along with her father. Ever since she was a little girl, she has not received help from anyone. She carried sand for construction sites and used the money to buy her own clothes. Food is the only thing she got from her family.

Solange had always wanted to get married and, when she got pregnant, she was in a romantic relationship with her boyfriend, who was 23 years old. After telling her boyfriend about the pregnancy, he denied responsibility. Solange was in Senior 1.

When she realised she was pregnant and after her boyfriend had denied responsibility, Solange decided to drop out of school. She went to Kigali to engage in domestic work in order to prepare for the delivery. She worked for four months, for 10,000 RWF a month, and then came back to the camp. Solange did not tell her employer she was pregnant.

When she came back, her father found out she was pregnant and started mistreating her. For that reason, Solange requested her own dwelling and started living alone.

The day of the delivery, she was accompanied by another adolescent mother to the hospital. The family of the boyfriend visited Solange at the hospital and they accepted the baby. The boyfriend also, later on, ended up accepting that the baby was his. However, neither the boyfriend nor his family supported Solange in any way.

After she gave birth, Solange started a small business selling banana and avocado. One day, all her money was stolen. Solange no longer has any other source of income besides the food ration. When all the food is finished, she goes to spend the day in the family of the boyfriend and they feed the baby. She does not tell them she does not have food.

Solange is no longer romantically involved with the father of her son; having seen him involved romantically with other girls, she suspects him of having HIV.

Solange does not aspire to go back to school. Her primary priority is to get enough food and good clothes for herself and her baby. Solange also wants to get a chair, as she feels ashamed when people come to visit her and she has to let them sit on the mat that also serves as her bedding.

daughters how to behave. If girls become pregnant and expose their families to shame, parents and even siblings sometimes drive girls away. A young mother from Kigeme camp reported:

When I reached home after knowing that I was pregnant, my brother started chasing me out of the house. My mother told me to go back to the person who impregnated me... I couldn't stay at home and I couldn't even go back. (Adolescent mother in Kigeme camp.)

Respondents added that when girls are driven away from their homes because they are pregnant, they have few options, as rapists rarely acknowledge the children they have fathered. A minority of fathers and paternal grandparents accept the children after they are born.

Legal responses

Every camp has an office dedicated to providing medical and legal assistance to rape survivors. A key informant (KI) at the American Refugee Committee (ARC) reported that the ARC follows up on all cases and provides all the support needed. Plan International Rwanda also works on child protection in camps and provides services to girls who have been raped. However, KIs explained that rape is often not reported unless or until a girl becomes pregnant and begins to 'show'. Even then, they added, sometimes girls refuse to reveal the identity of their rapists and few families opt for prosecution.¹³ Most choose to settle amicably instead. A KI explained:

Rape cases exist but the reported ones are very few because of the silence and simplification culture in the camp. The refugees know there is a law in Rwanda that punishes those crimes and, instead of reporting, they reconcile. Their mind-set is that rape is common problem and no need to report... When a girl of 15–20 years gets pregnant, they think there is no problem. They take it as their culture accepts it. Also, when it happens and the father of the baby agrees to support the girl, they take it as a too simple problem to be reported. (Service provider in Nyabiheke camp.)

Looking to the future

Respondents in our research noted an increase in food insecurity – and household stress – due to the UNHCR's January 2018 budget cuts. Owing to funding shortfalls (of approximately 25%), households are now receiving lower value ration cards.¹⁴ As a result, food shortages are on the rise. Our research found that shortages are affecting girls and boys differently. Boys are more likely to engage in theft and drug use due to hunger. Girls are entering into domestic service in order to bolster family finances. Respondents noted that due to increased anxiety, families – including adolescents – have seen declines in overall happiness.

Adolescent boys and girls reported aspiring to marry in the future. However, their reasons for wanting to marry are different and reflect prevailing gender norms. Boys, by and large, want to marry in order to find someone to take care of household work. Girls want to marry in order to have children. Parents also want their adolescent children to marry in the future – in the case of girls, to make sure that they do not become pregnant outside of marriage.

The majority of adolescents hope to eventually move out of camps. Many referred to the UNHCR programme that relocates refugees to the United States, others mentioned moving to other parts of Rwanda or returning to the DRC. While several adolescents reported that they preferred the DRC over camp life in Rwanda, they also understand that it is simply not safe: 'Congo is better than this place but it is not safe. I would rather stay here.' (Adolescent girl in Kigeme camp.)

Parents also want their children to leave the camp environment. For girls, parents expressed concern that living in camps is increasing adolescent pregnancy. For boys, they were concerned about the increased odds of drug use. Some parents believed that their children longed to know their home country:

The thing that makes her sad is the fact that we are refugees and she wonders if she is going to know her motherland and whether she will recognise the place. That is one of the things that disappoint her. But we always tell them that a day will come when we are going to go back home. (Mother of an adolescent girl in Kigeme camp.)

Conclusions and recommendations

GAGE's early research with adolescent Congolese refugees living in Rwanda highlights their extreme vulnerability. Despite their high educational aspirations, many have their access to education restricted by poverty and experience violence at school. Young mothers have especially limited access to education. In addition, girls are highly vulnerable to rape and are further traumatised by their families and communities if they become pregnant as a result. Although adolescents aspire to more stable futures beyond the confines of refugee camps, stress levels are increasing as budget cuts force families further into poverty and increase food insecurity. To begin offsetting some of the threats facing these young people we suggest that local, national and international actors come together to focus on adolescents' age- and gender-related specific needs.

To support education and learning

- Economically empower households in refugee camps to be able to support adolescents to achieve their academic aspirations.
- Uphold efforts aimed at mobilising adolescent girls and boys to complete secondary school, including provision of cash transfers or educational stipends to facilitate parental support for education.
- Target parents and boys with messages that speak to the need for a more equitable distribution of household labour so that girls have time for their studies (and leisure).
- In line with national law, end all forms of violent discipline at school – beginning with violence meted out for poverty rather than misbehaviour.
- Strengthen comprehensive sexuality education by ensuring that it directly addresses the social norms that leave girls at risk of unplanned pregnancy, offers the practical advice that young people need in order to protect themselves and provides a clearly delineated pathway that adolescents can follow in order to access sexual and reproductive health care.

To support bodily integrity and freedom from violence

- Invest in programming that supports non-violent masculinities.
- Raise communities' and parents' awareness about appropriate responses to sexual violence, including the importance of not blaming the victim.
- Strengthen messaging and outreach efforts to ensure that rape is officially reported and prosecuted rather than being 'resolved' through traditional mechanisms.

- Step up the enforcement of laws punishing rape.
- Diversify messages and channels working to end violence in the household – including the violent discipline of children and violence between spouses. Ensure that some messages are shaped around the long-term consequences of violence on children.
- Invest in positive parenting classes for parents – including sessions aimed at helping them understand adolescent development and how to resolve common adolescent issues.

To better support adolescent mothers

- Ensure that pregnant girls have access to psychosocial support at school, to help reduce their risk of dropping out.
- Build bridges for young mothers to return to school, including school-based crèches and opportunities for vocational education.
- Provide young mothers a cash transfer or other form of social protection to ensure that they have adequate nutrition and a decent standard of living.
- Invest in messages that encourage parents and communities, including adolescents, to accept and support pregnant girls and young mothers rather than ostracise them.

Endnotes

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- 12 One in eight (12.4%) of children aged 10–15 years and more than half (51.4%) of those aged 16–17 are in employment (NISR, 2016: 56).
- 13 In part this is likely to be because of the way the law defines rape – as many girls are in perceived consensual, but illegal, relationships.
- 14 WFP – World Food Programme (2018) 'Food rations for Refugees in Rwanda are reduced amidst funding shortfalls'. 11 January. <https://www.wfp.org/news-release/food-rations-refugees-rwanda-are-reduced-amidst-funding-shortfalls>