CHAPTER 11

EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS AND RESPONSIBLE PEOPLE MANAGEMENT

Sixbert SANGWA

African Leadership University, Kigali, Rwanda | ssangwa@alueducation.com

PARENT BOOK

The Business Enterprise: Core Functions, Integrated Management, and Emerging Transformations
https://doi.org/10.65655/ocp.m30

VOLUME EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

Prof. Dr. Placide MUTABAZI
Open Christian Press, A publishing imprint of the Open Christian University and the Center for Faith and Work

CHAPTER IDENTIFIERS

10.65655/ocp.m30.c120

COPYRIGHT AND STATUS

© 2026 Sixbert SANGWA | CC BY 4.0

ABSTRACT

The employment relationship enables enterprises to coordinate productive work while allocating authority, livelihood risks, obligations and opportunities unequally. This chapter examines how organizations can pursue efficiency without sacrificing equity, employee voice, legal accountability or human dignity. A critical secondary-source synthesis integrates industrial-relations systems theory, pluralist and labour-process approaches, psychological-contract scholarship, organizational justice and the International Labour Organization's decent-work framework. Twelve connected sections examine employment contracts, international standards and Rwandan law, representation, workplace due process, remuneration, occupational safety and health, safeguarding, dispute resolution, informality, outsourced and platform work, responsible flexibility and multidimensional evaluation. Official Rwandan legislation and the 2024 Integrated Business Enterprise Survey are interpreted alongside the August 2026 Labour Force Survey, ILO supervisory observations, European platform-work law and international empirical studies. The chapter offers an original employment-relations accountability model, comparative employee-voice matrix, Rwanda legal-verification register, risk-and-fairness assessment, grievance decision protocol and worked safety and remuneration calculations. All constructed enterprise figures are expressly illustrative. Its central argument is that the quality of employment relations depends on the substantive alignment of enforceable protections, fair procedures, effective worker influence, feasible managerial coordination and accessible remedies. Legal conformity is indispensable but insufficient as evidence of decent work. The resulting synthesis is a testable analytical framework rather than a validated prediction of organizational outcomes.

Keywords: employment relations; industrial relations; decent work; employee voice; workplace justice; labour law; occupational safety and health; informal employment; platform work; Rwanda.

LEARNING OUTCOMES AND CONCEPTUAL ROADMAP

On completion, readers should be able to (LO1) distinguish employment relations from human-resource administration and organizational behaviour and critically evaluate rival explanatory traditions; (LO2) identify contractual obligations and verify jurisdiction-specific labour requirements against authoritative sources; (LO3) design meaningful individual and collective voice and procedurally fair grievance

arrangements; (LO4) assess remuneration, time, leave, safeguarding and occupational hazards using evidence and defensible calculations; (LO5) compare voluntary negotiation and formal dispute pathways while respecting legal rights; (LO6) evaluate informality, outsourcing, and algorithmically managed platform work in Rwanda and relevant international settings; (LO7) construct an auditable employment-relations dashboard that distinguishes risk exposure, compliance and lived experience; and (LO8) defend an integrated employment-relations intervention with an explicit theory of change, cost assumptions, ethical constraints and evaluation plan.

The chapter proceeds from the employment relationship and its theoretical interpretation (11.0–11.1) to legal standards (11.2), voice (11.3), justice (11.4), conditions (11.5), safety (11.6), safeguarding (11.7), dispute resolution (11.8), informality (11.9), nonstandard and digital work (11.10), wellbeing (11.11) and evaluation (11.12). A Rwandan grievance case, international comparison, synthesis, research agenda, educational apparatus and full references close the chapter. It extends the staffing architecture in Chapter 9 and the psychological analysis in Chapter 10 but reserves detailed skills development for Chapter 12 and explicitly biblical employment ethics for Chapter 34.

11.0 INTRODUCTION: WHO BEARS THE COST WHEN THE ORDER MUST SHIP?

Imagine a Kigali food-processing enterprise receiving an urgent order that requires packing on Saturday. The operations supervisor asks eight workers to work beyond their scheduled hours; the finance officer insists overtime expenditure is unaffordable; several employees need to arrange childcare; a machine guard has been removed to increase throughput; and one worker who raised the safety concern is subsequently excluded from a desirable shift. Management calls the dispute an attitude problem. Workers experience it as a problem of safety, pay and retaliation. The customer sees only the promised delivery date. This constructed scenario contains no claim about an identifiable company, but it makes the central intellectual problem unusually clear: the employment relationship is not a bilateral wage calculation isolated from production, commercial deadlines, family life and managerial power.

Employment relations concerns the institutions, norms, contracts, conflicts and processes through which employers, workers and their representatives establish, interpret, contest and revise the terms of work. Responsible people management is the exercise of authority over work and working conditions within a defensible framework of legal obligation, evidence, distributive fairness, participation, safety and remedy. Whereas human-resource management designs staffing and administrative systems (Chapter 9), and organizational behaviour explains individual and collective psychological mechanisms (Chapter 10), employment relations asks whose interests are represented, whose rules govern, how obligations are enforceable, and how conflicts can be resolved without treating managerial direction as self-justifying (Dunlop, 1958; Budd, 2004). This difference matters even in a two-person firm: the absence of an HR department does not eliminate differences in bargaining power, exposure or rights.

A contract creates a legitimate basis for coordinated production but does not make the employment relationship a fully specified commodity exchange. The employee undertakes to perform work within an evolving range of tasks, under organizational authority, while retaining the status of a person whose safety, privacy, association and lawful entitlements cannot be surrendered by managerial preference. The enterprise bears commercial risk, yet may also transfer substantial uncertainty to employees through variable hours, delayed pay, precarious contracting or outsourced arrangements. The appropriate normative question is not whether conflict can be eliminated. It is whether productive cooperation can be organized so that unavoidable conflicts are visible, fairly negotiated and constrained by credible institutions (Budd, 2004; Kelly, 1998).

11.0.1 Scholarly method, verification protocol and limitations

The method is a critical, purposive synthesis of published original scholarship, peer-reviewed empirical research, official international standards, primary Rwandan legal instruments, and statistical releases. Original theoretical works were selected for different accounts of authority, collective action, control, implicit obligations and fairness; contemporary studies were chosen to assess the conditions under which worker voice, nonstandard work or algorithmic control operate. Source checks on 29 October 2026 used targeted author–title and institution–instrument searches, including "industrial relations systems Dunlop", "employment efficiency equity voice Budd", "organizational justice Colquitt", "Rwanda Law 66/2018 027/2023", "ministerial order 01/MIFOTRA/23 02/MIFOTRA/23", "Rwanda labour force survey August 2026", "Rwanda IBES 2024", "EU Directive 2024/2831", and "ISO 45001:2018". The selection is transparent but not exhaustive: it is not a preregistered systematic review, formal meta-analysis, legal opinion, field audit or new employee survey. No unperformed screening counts or employer-specific causal effects are reported.

Evidence is stratified by the inference it can warrant. A declaration of the International Labour Organization (ILO) establishes an international normative framework, not by itself a domestic sanction; a ratified treaty and the national implementing law can generate different legal questions. Official law establishes text and jurisdiction-specific duties but its practical enforcement requires separate evidence. A national labour survey estimates a defined population, not the circumstances of a particular employer. A peer-reviewed study can substantiate an association or estimated causal effect under its design, not a universal employment formula. The calculations and enterprise grievance below are deliberately constructed and reproducible from disclosed inputs; they cannot establish prevalence or compliance in an identified workplace (ILO, 2022; NISR, 2026b). Because the subject is legally time-sensitive, the Rwanda checklist identifies the authority and effective-date question for every rule. Statutory interpretation, applicable exceptions and later amendments must be rechecked at the date of a real employment decision.

11.0.2 Historical development and the problem of managerial authority

Industrial employment has evolved from household and craft production through factories, bureaucratic personnel systems, organized collective bargaining and contemporary subcontracting, digital intermediation and platform allocation. These developments did not replace one another everywhere. Contemporary Rwandan labour markets encompass family enterprises, informal own-account activity, wage employment, public service, cooperative work and technology-mediated contracting simultaneously. Historical periodization is thus useful for identifying institutions and control mechanisms, but a linear account of inevitable progress from informal to factory to platform work would erase this coexistence (Dunlop, 1958; ILO, 1999; NISR, 2026a).

Dunlop's (1958) *industrial relations systems* framework treats managers, workers and public agencies as interacting actors who construct a body of workplace rules under technological, market and power conditions. Its contribution is to explain why wage bargains and grievances cannot be read independently of institutions. Its limitation is the relative ease with which a stable rule system may be mistaken for consent: rules can be imposed by unequal power, and excluded informal workers may not appear as effective actors. Fox's unitarist and pluralist distinction, in turn, clarifies why one managerial philosophy presumes a unified organizational interest while another recognizes legitimate, enduring differences between employer and worker interests. Unitarism helps illuminate coordination but becomes misleading when it classifies every grievance as disloyalty; pluralism makes negotiation intelligible without presuming that every bargain is equally fair.

Labour-process approaches ask how managerial control transforms the purchased capacity to work into actual effort. Braverman's (1974) account of deskilling and Edwards's (1979) analysis of contested control

direct attention to technology, supervision and structural power. They illuminate the incentives behind standardization and digital monitoring, but can understate worker professional autonomy, mutually beneficial innovation and heterogeneity across employers. Hirschman's (1970) distinction between exit and voice helps explain why resignation is not a sufficient market safeguard when alternative jobs are scarce, and why the existence of a grievance channel does not guarantee that speaking up is safe. No one school settles the institutional or moral question. Together, they show that employment systems must be analysed in terms of coordination, control, conflict, voice and rights.

11.0.3 Philosophical foundations: efficiency, equity, voice and dignity

Budd (2004) proposes efficiency, equity and voice as three irreducible objectives of employment institutions. Efficiency concerns productive coordination and the allocation of scarce resources; equity concerns fair treatment, economic security and defensible distributions; voice concerns workers' capacity to influence decisions affecting them. A firm may efficiently deliver orders by imposing unpredictable unpaid hours, while violating equity. It may provide wages and benefits yet exclude employees from serious safety decisions, thereby failing voice. It may establish participatory meetings while operating at an economically unsustainable cost. These dimensions can reinforce each other, but their tensions cannot be resolved by assuming that a high score on one compensates automatically for the others.

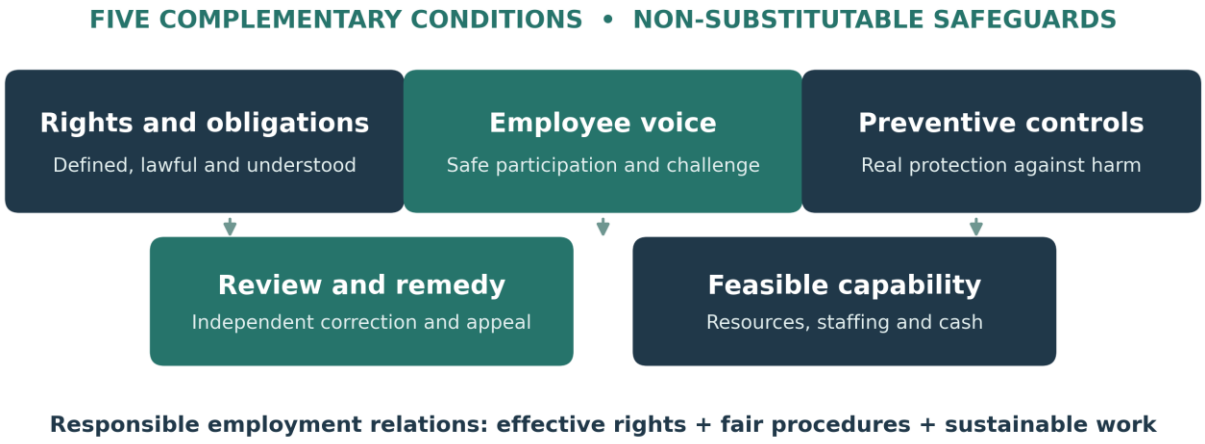
Psychological-contract theory complements rather than replaces labour law. Rousseau (1989) defined psychological contracts in relation to individuals' beliefs about reciprocal obligations. Employees may believe that sustained service warrants predictable schedules, professional respect or a fair opportunity to respond to allegations even where no explicit provision specifies every expectation. A perceived breach can explain deteriorating trust, yet it does not prove a legal violation: investigators must distinguish written promises, legally implied terms, established policy, informal assurances and individual interpretations. Organizational justice research similarly differentiates distributive, procedural, interpersonal and informational fairness. A meta-analysis drawing on 183 studies reported that these dimensions contribute distinct explanatory information concerning organizational attitudes and behaviours, subject to the measurement and design constraints of the included studies (Colquitt et al., 2001). The moral claim that workers deserve dignity is not established by the correlation; the research explains why perceived fairness may matter for organizational conduct.

The chapter therefore advances a bounded analytical synthesis: responsible employment relations require simultaneous attention to authorized obligations, meaningful contestability, substantive protection, economic feasibility and evidence of correction. These are different dimensions rather than interchangeable indicators. A successful complaint process must not merely close cases; it must protect complainants, correct substantiated wrongs and reveal systematic failures. A wage policy cannot be called fair merely because the same percentage increase reaches everyone, if the underlying distribution contains unjustified differences. A worker-protection rule cannot be judged effective solely by having been announced. The following sections translate this synthesis into verifiable practices while preserving uncertainty about causal impact.

An important philosophical distinction is between interests that can be negotiated and protections that constrain the negotiation itself. Wages above a lawful floor, shift preferences and some forms of flexibility may admit justified compromise; a right not to be subjected to forced labour or a preventable grave hazard cannot legitimately be exchanged for an aggregate performance gain. The point is not to assume that every employment conflict has an obvious solution. It is to distinguish an instrumental question about productive efficiency, a distributive question about who bears costs, a procedural question about whose knowledge and objections count, and a deontic question about duties that ought not to be suspended. A credible

decision must answer all four without presenting commercial success as a substitute for legal authority or ethical justification (Budd, 2004; ILO, 2022).

Figure 11.1. ***Analytical conditions for accountable employment relations***



Note. Original unvalidated conceptual synthesis drawing on Budd (2004), Colquitt et al. (2001) and ISO (2018); relationships are proposed, not estimated.

11.1 EMPLOYMENT RELATIONSHIPS AND THE EMPLOYMENT CONTRACT

11.1.1 Legal status, mutual commitments and incomplete contracting

An employment contract establishes the agreed exchange of work for remuneration and specifies the parties, duties, place or modality of work, time arrangements and other terms to the extent required by applicable law. Unlike a single sale of a finished product, employment usually involves continuing service under organizational direction. Future tasks, operational interruptions, risks and changes cannot be fully anticipated; contractual incompleteness is therefore an ordinary characteristic rather than evidence of negligent drafting. Clear written terms mitigate disputes, but lawful interpretation still depends on the relevant statutes, valid policies, collective agreements and actual working practices (Dunlop, 1958; Rousseau, 1989).

This distinction is consequential for a supervisor who asks a delivery worker to undertake work beyond the originally described role. A broad flexibility clause may facilitate reasonable reallocation without authorizing unsafe, discriminatory or unlawful demands. A reasonable managerial instruction must operate within the employment relationship's legal boundaries. Likewise, purported consent to a hazardous task may not relieve an employer of safety duties. The written contract should therefore be understood as part of a nested employment regime, not as a device that transforms institutional protections into waivable commercial terms. In Rwanda, Ministerial Order No. 007/19.20 of 17 March 2020 specifies core elements of written contracts, including a language the parties understand (Republic of Rwanda, 2020c).

11.1.2 Asymmetric information, bargaining power and changing terms

Employers generally control hiring criteria, customer commitments, work allocation and payroll information, while employees possess private information about effort, health, availability and workplace failures. These asymmetries are not absolute, and scarcity of specialist skills can increase worker bargaining power. Nevertheless, a worker dependent on current wages may be poorly placed to contest an

unlawful clause or retaliatory shift change. Contractual freedom is meaningful only when the conditions of choice, information and enforceability are assessed rather than presumed (Hirschman, 1970; Budd, 2004).

Change management must identify the basis for amending a contract, the worker's opportunity to understand and respond, any required consultation, notice or consent, and the treatment of accrued entitlements. An employer should not rely on a general policy signed years earlier to justify substantial unilateral changes to pay or location. Operationally, the enterprise needs a controlled terms register that records the version of each agreement, lawful authority for a change, its effective date, employee notification and relevant approval. This is an information-control responsibility shared by line management, HR and finance, not a mere filing exercise.

A useful contractual audit separates the formal rule from the practice that employees actually encounter. The formal contract may promise a five-day schedule while digital records show recurring evening instructions; payroll may describe an allowance as discretionary although management has communicated it as dependable remuneration. Neither the employee's interpretation nor the employer's label alone decides the legal question. The analyst should reconstruct the documentary chronology, verify the authorizing provision, establish who had power to change it, and compare treatment across similarly situated workers. This procedure turns contractual incompleteness from a justification for unlimited discretion into a reason for disciplined clarification, consultation and review (Rousseau, 1989; Republic of Rwanda, 2018).

11.1.3 Formal, informal and dependent work

Legal form and lived work arrangement must be distinguished. A person receiving regular instructions, earning most income from one client and subject to penalties for refusing tasks may experience material dependence even when the written document describes independent contracting. Conversely, genuine independent professionals can negotiate scope and prices without becoming employees. Classification is jurisdiction-specific; facts about supervision, economic exposure, integration and contractual terms should be gathered before legal conclusions are reached (De Stefano, 2016; Kellogg et al., 2020).

Informal work is not synonymous with unlawful or exploitative work, but absence of written records, accessible protection and social insurance can increase vulnerability. Informality may reflect the cost and complexity of registration, low enterprise productivity, thin markets or household production, not merely deliberate avoidance of obligations. A rigorous response separates workers' welfare needs from the business-formalization process and asks whether reforms make compliance financially and administratively attainable (ILO, 1999, 2015; NISR, 2026a).

11.2 INTERNATIONAL LABOUR PRINCIPLES AND LOCAL LAW

11.2.1 International standards and the hierarchy of legal authority

International labour norms arise through the ILO's tripartite process, where governments, employers and workers participate in standard-setting. Conventions are treaties capable of creating obligations for ratifying states, while Recommendations usually provide nonbinding guidance. The 1998 Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, amended in 2022, recognizes five categories: freedom of association and effective collective bargaining; elimination of forced labour; effective abolition of child labour; elimination of employment discrimination; and a safe and healthy working environment. The fifth category was formally added in June 2022, with Conventions Nos. 155 and 187 designated fundamental (ILO, 2022). These principles provide an important framework but do not mean that every clause of every convention is directly enforceable against a Rwandan private employer without attention to ratification, incorporation and applicable domestic provisions.

A practical legal hierarchy begins by identifying the jurisdiction, work status, employer type and contract; reading the current constitution, statutes and amendments; confirming ministerial and other implementing instruments; and examining collective agreements, valid policies and official interpretive guidance. International declarations, professional standards and comparative employment practices then inform judgment without being misrepresented as identical to domestic legal duties. Managers should identify both minimum duties and voluntarily adopted protections, because a firm may make an enforceable promise above the baseline. Legal compliance is the floor of responsible management, not a sufficient account of fairness or employee influence.

11.2.2 Rwanda: governing instruments and an official-source verification discipline

Rwanda's central private-sector framework is Law No. 66/2018 of 30 August 2018 regulating labour, as amended by Law No. 027/2023 of 18 May 2023 (Republic of Rwanda, 2018, 2023a). The 2018 text addresses fundamental rights, contracts, conditions and remuneration, safety, worker and employer organizations, collective agreements, disputes and labour institutions. Its scope and public-service exceptions require care. The 2023 amendment altered provisions on protection of pregnant employees, working hours, weekly rest, leave categories and parental leave; it should not be reduced to a marginal footnote to the original law. Ministerial Order No. 01/MIFOTRA/23 of 13 June 2023 supplies detailed working-time provisions, and No. 02/MIFOTRA/23 of 1 August 2023 covers occupational safety and health, worker and employer organizations, child and foreign employment and leave (Republic of Rwanda, 2023b, 2023c).

The Ministry of Public Service and Labour (MIFOTRA) and the labour inspectorate are central to employment oversight; the Ministry of Justice's Official Gazette and the official laws portal provide primary legal texts. Rwanda Social Security Board (RSSB) administers specified social-security schemes, while Rwanda Revenue Authority handles payroll tax-related administration. Responsible compliance requires checking whether a quoted rate or procedure belongs to the right scheme and date. For instance, the RSSB public notice of 10 January 2025 recorded a pension-contribution change effective January 2025; a website's later rate summary may reflect additional changes or inconsistent publication, so payroll decisions should be reconciled to current authoritative instruments rather than copied from an old textbook or a search result (RSSB, 2025).

A particularly material provision is the 2020 order on employees' representatives. Article 2 requires an enterprise with at least ten employees to organize representative elections; Article 3 specifies three representatives and three substitutes for enterprises with 50–99 employees, alongside the stated rules for branches and representation. Article 36 protects representatives against dismissal for carrying out their duties. These requirements cannot be replaced with an employer-appointed consultation group. For the 60-employee teaching enterprise examined later, a verification exercise must therefore check whether the relevant election and substitute arrangements exist, whether the electors and candidates met the applicable requirements, and whether any adverse action against a representative was connected to the exercise of the role (Republic of Rwanda, 2020b, arts. 2–3, 36).

Table 11.1. ***Rwanda employment policy: official-source verification register***

Domain	Primary instrument and current question	Responsible authority	Employer evidence / recheck trigger
Employment terms	Law 66/2018; Order 007/19.20 (2020): written terms, language and changes	MIFOTRA / labour inspectorate	Signed understandable contract; version and change register; check amendments

Domain	Primary instrument and current question	Responsible authority	Employer evidence / recheck trigger
Representation	Law 66/2018; Order 003/19.20 (2020); Order 02/MIFOTRA/23	MIFOTRA / inspectorate	Election or representation evidence; consultation records; verify scope
Hours, rest and overtime	Law 027/2023; Order 01/MIFOTRA/23 (13 June 2023), arts. 10–18	MIFOTRA / inspectorate	Rosters, actual hours, signed overtime record, rest and compensatory leave
Pay and minimum-wage question	Law 66/2018, arts. 67–71; article 68 anticipates ministerial wage order	MIFOTRA / Official Gazette	Payslips, equal-value review, deductions; verify any issued wage order
Family-related leave	Law 027/2023; Order 02/MIFOTRA/23; Law 049/2024	MIFOTRA / RSSB	Leave record, pay, reimbursement eligibility and claim evidence
OSH and child work	Law 66/2018; Order 02/MIFOTRA/23 of 1 August 2023	MIFOTRA / inspectorate	Risk register, committee applicability, hazard controls and age checks
Labour disputes	Law 66/2018, arts. 102–103; Order 001/19.20 (2020)	Labour inspectorate / courts	Case file, conciliation referral, documented reason and remedy
Social protection	Applicable RSSB legislation and administrative notices, including January 2025 pension change	RSSB / RRA	Contribution bases, filings, payments; recheck rate and effective date

Note. Primary instruments: Republic of Rwanda (2018, 2020a–c, 2023a–c, 2024); RSSB (2025). This is a verification instrument, not a substitute for a consolidated legal opinion. Check the Official Gazette and applicable category on the decision date.

11.2.3 Regulatory implementation, uncertainty and compliance beyond the checklist

The 2023 working-time ministerial order establishes a 40-hour private-sector working week and governs rest, overtime recording and compensation; it is misleading to apply the pre-amendment 45-hour norm without reviewing the later rule (Republic of Rwanda, 2023b, arts. 10–18). The 2023 leave order specifies maternity and paternity arrangements, while the 2024 amendment to maternity-benefits legislation changes the funding and reimbursement context (Republic of Rwanda, 2023c; Republic of Rwanda, 2024). Employment-policy documents should distinguish leave entitlement, payment responsibility, insurance reimbursement and eligibility because these are not necessarily the same question.

The ILO's supervisory comments on Rwanda's 2023 occupational safety and health order illustrate the distinction between promulgation and regulatory completeness. The Committee discussed the scope and administration of occupational safety and health protection, including questions about coverage and the effectiveness of national arrangements (ILO Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, 2024). This is a documented supervisory question, not a finding that every workplace violates the convention. It underscores the need for legal-source currency, occupational expertise and regulator clarification when authoritative texts leave questions about application. No employer should infer that a change of ministerial order eliminates underlying duties to prevent injury.

Legal conformity should be assessed across three distinct stages: validity of the rule, organizational implementation and effective remedy. An employer may possess current policies and still fail to transmit them into payroll, rosters, machine maintenance and conflict-resolution decisions. Conversely, an employee may report a serious violation for which statutory protections exist but accessible evidence and enforcement mechanisms are weak. This separation is especially necessary when comparing countries: rankings of formal legislation do not directly measure actual exposure or justice. An auditable compliance record should therefore link the operative instrument and article to a named decision owner, a sample of contemporaneous records, worker-accessible explanations and an escalation route (Republic of Rwanda, 2018; ILO, 2022).

11.3 EMPLOYEE VOICE AND REPRESENTATION

11.3.1 Individual voice, collective rights and the credibility of consultation

Employee voice includes communication of concerns, proposals and objections and participation in the making or revision of decisions that affect working life. It can occur through supervisors, suggestion systems, confidential complaints, representative councils, trade unions or collective bargaining. These mechanisms differ in function. A suggestion box may capture process-improvement ideas but cannot substitute for an independent procedure to contest unpaid wages; an employee survey may identify dissatisfaction but cannot substitute for collective negotiation where law and legitimate representation provide it. Effective voice entails accessibility, information, freedom from reprisal, a consequential response and evidence that the concern influenced an appropriate decision (Freeman & Medoff, 1984; Morrison, 2014).

Freedom of association and collective bargaining have an independent rights basis within the ILO's fundamental principles. Their value must not depend entirely on whether a particular study observes higher productivity. They can also be instrumentally useful by pooling information, reducing individual exposure and providing predictable rules for resolving recurring conflicts. However, union representation is not intrinsically flawless: representation can be uneven, internal leadership can become unaccountable and negotiated arrangements can privilege established members over temporary workers. A responsible employer should neither suppress independent organization nor assume that formal consultation with a single intermediary exhausts the interests of every affected worker (ILO, 2022; Budd, 2004).

11.3.2 Collective bargaining, negotiation power and representation dilemmas

Collective bargaining concerns negotiated terms, often including remuneration, work schedules, grievance procedures and changes affecting groups of employees. Rwanda also issued Ministerial Order No. 003/19.20 of 17 March 2020 concerning employees' representatives; representative eligibility, election and function must be verified against its terms and later applicable provisions (Republic of Rwanda, 2020b). Its quality depends on representative authority, sufficient information, a good-faith process and credible recourse when agreement fails. Freeman and Medoff (1984) advanced an influential argument that unions can function as collective voice institutions rather than solely as wage-raising monopolies. Their conclusions should be situated in historical labour-market structures; employment systems, bargaining laws, employer competition and informal work differ substantially across countries. The economic effect of a negotiated agreement cannot be inferred from union status alone without accounting for selection and industry conditions.

A management team facing a collective request for predictable rosters should present scheduling demand, service-level constraints and feasible alternatives rather than simply invoking commercial necessity. Worker representatives should be able to evaluate the evidence and discuss coverage, shift rotation, overtime consent, childcare pressures and agreed exception rules. A negotiated 24-hour notice period may be operationally useful in one business but unsafe as a universal benchmark: the applicable law and sector-specific continuity requirements must govern. Where a representative forum exists, management must also ensure that vulnerable workers, probationary personnel, contracted cleaners and workers with disabilities are not invisible to the assessment.

11.3.3 Silence, retaliation and voice mechanisms

Morrison's (2014) review shows why silence should not be interpreted as the absence of information or complaint. Workers may withhold concerns because they anticipate punishment, regard managers as unreceptive, have previously received no response, or judge the personal cost of disclosure excessive.

Detert and Burris (2007) found in a restaurant-chain study that manager openness was associated with improvement-oriented upward voice, with perceptions of psychological safety implicated in the relationship. The finding is context-specific and does not demonstrate that an imported "open-door policy" is a sufficient remedy for legal insecurity or an entrenched culture of retaliation.

Table 11.2. ***Mechanisms of employee voice: strengths, limits and audit evidence***

Mechanism	What it can accomplish	Failure risk	Evidence of effectiveness
Direct supervisor contact	Rapid resolution of routine issues	Supervisor is implicated or retaliates	Response quality; independent escalation route
Protected grievance channel	Documented rights-based challenge	Breach of confidentiality; cosmetic closure	Appeal, substantiation, remedy, non-retaliation
Elected staff representation	Continuing two-way consultation	Unclear mandate; excluded groups	Election legitimacy; meeting decisions and follow-up
Trade union / bargaining	Collective negotiating capacity	Uneven coverage; representative capture	Genuine bargaining and enforceable outcomes
OSH worker committee	Specific hazard knowledge and corrective control	Employer dominance or poor resources	Hazards raised, controls verified, worker participation
Digital or anonymous reporting	Reduces some disclosure barriers	Digital exclusion; unverifiable claims	Accessibility, protection, independent triage

Note. Original comparison informed by Freeman and Medoff (1984), Morrison (2014), Budd (2004), and Republic of Rwanda (2023c). Mechanisms complement rather than substitute for legal rights.

An auditable voice system should record the channel used, date, issue type, accessibility requirement, immediate protection, response authority, action, appeal option and follow-up. Confidentiality should be promised only to the extent it can realistically be preserved during investigation. Anonymous input can reduce personal risk but complicate fact-finding and corrective communication. The most important institutional safeguard is a separation between raising an allegation and adverse personnel action, with independently reviewable reasons where subsequent staffing decisions affect a complainant. In a small firm without an independent HR officer, a competent external mediator or designated board-level contact may provide a safer escalation route than the proprietor who is the subject of the allegation.

The effect of expanding employee voice is also difficult to infer from complaint volume. Consider two otherwise similar branches: one records twenty concerns after introducing a protected channel, while the other records only three. The difference may reflect worse conduct in the first branch, but it may equally reflect greater trust, clearer reporting categories or a different workforce denominator. A defensible evaluation would examine changes in independently observed hazards, case severity, awareness of the channel, retaliation, response quality and opportunities to appeal. It would also ask whether workers with less secure contracts are underrepresented among complainants. The analytic question is not whether voice generates more favourable statistics, but whether it improves the discovery and correction of consequential workplace problems (Morrison, 2014).

11.4 WORKPLACE JUSTICE AND DUE PROCESS

11.4.1 Four dimensions of justice and their competing criteria

Distributive justice asks whether wages, opportunities, workloads and sanctions are allocated according to defensible criteria. Equity, equality, need and statutory entitlement can yield different conclusions. Equal bonuses may appear equitable by one criterion but ignore unequal exposure to hazardous duties;

performance-based pay may recognize effort while penalizing workers assigned difficult territories. Procedural justice concerns the consistency, neutrality, information quality and correctability of the decision process. Interpersonal justice concerns dignity and respectful treatment; informational justice concerns truthful and adequate explanation. Empirical organizational-justice research shows why collapsing these dimensions into a single satisfaction score conceals meaningful distinctions (Colquitt et al., 2001).

Procedural fairness cannot substitute for substantive justice. A consistently administered policy that imposes unlawful deductions is still wrong. Conversely, a substantively justified decision may be experienced as abusive where it is announced humiliatingly or without an opportunity to correct factual mistakes. Ethics and compliance therefore ask both whether a result is acceptable and whether the decision route respects the affected person. The greater the stakes for livelihood, safety, reputation or professional qualification, the more important it is to record reasons and ensure a meaningful appeal.

11.4.2 Investigation, evidence and proportionate disciplinary action

Disciplinary action should distinguish a genuine rule, an observed event, causal responsibility, mitigating context and the appropriate consequence. An evidence-based process begins with a sufficiently specific allegation; secures records without altering them; separates witness statements from inferences; checks whether comparator workers were treated similarly; offers the employee a genuine opportunity to respond; identifies a decision maker free of material conflict; states a reasoned outcome; and permits an appropriate appeal or independent review. The United Kingdom's Acas Code of Practice (2015) offers a useful comparative sequence of prompt inquiry, notice, hearing, accompaniment where applicable, outcome and appeal. It is a UK instrument, not automatically a binding Rwandan procedure, and exclusions and national legal differences must be preserved.

Disciplinary records are not neutral simply because they are written. CCTV, biometric logs and digital productivity scores may omit context, suffer identity errors or embed unfair target allocation. Workers and witnesses can err or have incentives to misrepresent events; managers can also selectively frame a charge after an earlier disagreement. A credible investigator distinguishes corroborated facts, contested claims, technical uncertainty and legally relevant standards. Proportionality asks whether a warning, training, procedural correction, redeployment or stronger response fits the seriousness of proven conduct, foreseeable harm, prior treatment and employer obligations. Not all misconduct deserves retraining, and a serious safety violation may require urgent protective action before final disciplinary findings are reached.

Due process has an epistemic value in addition to its moral value. A worker's opportunity to answer a specific allegation may reveal a missing shift instruction, a faulty machine counter or inconsistent application of a rule that the decision maker would otherwise overlook. Neutrality cannot be established merely by appointing someone outside the line-management team: the investigator needs authority to obtain exculpatory information, must be insulated from performance incentives linked to the allegation, and should document reasons why alternative explanations were accepted or rejected. These safeguards do not guarantee a factually correct decision, but they make errors more detectable and subsequent correction more feasible (Colquitt et al., 2001; Acas, 2015).

11.4.3 Termination, redundancy and protection from arbitrary power

Employment separation may follow resignation, expiry of a qualifying term, retirement, misconduct, incapacity, restructuring or economic necessity. These categories have different legal conditions and evidentiary implications. An employer cannot relabel retaliation as redundancy merely because a budget reduction is plausible; selection rules, decision chronology, documented alternatives and consistent treatment matter. Nor does a dismissal become lawful simply because an employee receives a final

payment. Entitlements, notice, process and statutory remedy must be verified under the governing law and the worker's particular agreement (Republic of Rwanda, 2018, 2023a).

Responsible redundancy analysis begins before names are chosen. Management should establish the business need, assess less harmful alternatives, explain selection criteria, verify protected interests, consult where required, calculate lawful payments, and document both the decision and available review. Finance can quantify cash impact, but it cannot alone determine fairness or legal validity; operations must assess retained capacity, and HR must prevent discriminatory or inconsistent criteria. In enterprises where workers have few viable outside options, the social consequences of job loss heighten the importance of truthful communication, lawful compensation and reasonable transition support without making continued employment economically obligatory in all circumstances.

11.5 WORKING CONDITIONS AND REMUNERATION

11.5.1 Wages, pay equity and the meaning of economic fairness

Remuneration performs several functions: compensating work, supporting livelihoods, reflecting job requirements, incentivizing specified behaviour and allocating enterprise surplus. These purposes may conflict. Piece-rate systems can reward measurable output yet encourage speed at the expense of safety or quality; a fixed salary can secure predictability while obscuring excessive unpaid hours; performance pay can create apparent precision while rewards are driven by customer allocation or manager discretion. A defensible pay system identifies the wage basis, comparable work, authorized deductions, payroll records, review procedures and opportunities to correct underpayment (Budd, 2004; Republic of Rwanda, 2018). Article 68 of the 2018 law provides for a ministerially determined minimum wage. Historical references to RWF 100 per day should not be assumed to be an operative 2026 statutory floor; the applicable ministerial instrument must be identified in the Official Gazette before a legal minimum is asserted. The absence of a newly verified rate does not remove an employer’s duties concerning agreed pay, equal treatment or lawful deductions.

Equal treatment does not necessarily require identical payment for different work, but unequal rates require job-relevant, legally admissible and consistently applied reasons. Gender pay-gap figures deserve careful interpretation: an unadjusted difference describes an average in a specified population, whereas a role-adjusted model can conceal structural segregation if job allocation itself is discriminatory. Pay fairness therefore involves testing both equal remuneration for comparable value and the pathways through which workers reach particular jobs, grades and bonuses. Disclosure should protect individual privacy while permitting meaningful employee challenge and independent audit where justified.

For analytical auditing, remuneration can be decomposed into base salary, overtime or time-off treatment, allowances, variable rewards, authorized deductions and employer-financed benefits. The analyst should first test whether payroll components agree with written terms and actual hours; next, whether workers doing work of equal value are assessed under a defensible job-evaluation framework; and finally, whether the distribution of grades, assignments and promotion opportunities systematically channels groups into lower-paid positions. A regression-adjusted pay gap may be informative when the covariates and comparator groups are justified, but it is not a moral certificate: controlling for a discriminatory job assignment can remove precisely the inequality the analysis should reveal. The cost of correction belongs in financial planning, while the legitimacy of the allocation requires legal and ethical scrutiny (Budd, 2004; Colquitt et al., 2001).

11.5.2 Hours, rest, leave and a Rwandan working-time illustration

Under Rwanda's Ministerial Order No. 01/MIFOTRA/23 of 13 June 2023, normal working time in the private sector is 40 hours weekly. Article 12 provides a daily one-hour break and not less than 24 hours of weekly rest; the order also regulates the recording and treatment of overtime (Republic of Rwanda, 2023b). These provisions are relevant to scheduling, but an actual business must additionally check the applicable employment arrangement, authorized exceptions, contract terms and any newer instrument. The 2018 law's older working-time text should not be quoted without the 2023 amendment and implementing order. A shift planner should measure both the hours appearing on a roster and actual time worked, including tasks executed through messages or records outside a stated shift.

Consider an expressly hypothetical employee whose stated monthly gross pay is RWF 400,000 and who works four authorized overtime hours in a particular week. For teaching only, assume a normal 40-hour week, a transparent 52/12-weeks-per-month conversion and no special contractual premium. Normal monthly hours are 40 × 52/12 = 173.33; the illustrative hourly rate is 400,000/173.33 = approximately RWF 2,307.69. Four hours at that base rate represent approximately RWF 9,230.77 if the applicable arrangement requires monetary payment at the ordinary hourly rate. This is *not* an assertion that cash must always be paid: the governing 2023 order allows compensation by time off under specified conditions, and actual computation may depend on contract definitions and regulatory detail. The case illustrates why payroll must record the legal basis, authorized hours, timing of compensatory leave and any residual payable amount.

11.5.3 Leave, social protection and financial sustainability

Leave recognizes that employment is sustained by people with health, caregiving and family responsibilities, rather than by permanently available labour units. Rwanda's 2023 amendment and Ministerial Order No. 02/MIFOTRA/23 contain revised parental-leave arrangements, including fourteen weeks of maternity leave and seven days of paternity leave; entitlement to additional leave in specified complications requires consulting the primary instrument rather than relying on an undifferentiated “parental leave” label (Republic of Rwanda, 2023a, 2023c; ILO, n.d.). The 2024 maternity-benefits amendment addresses scheme administration and benefits, so employer cash-flow procedures should distinguish employee payment from possible social-insurance reimbursement (Republic of Rwanda, 2024).

Social protection is an intertemporal employment institution. Employees may receive a wage today but require pension, occupational-injury, healthcare or family-related protection under applicable schemes. Employers must budget both gross remuneration and statutory contributions, verify the contribution base and check which institution receives which declaration. The apparently low cost of a worker hired without records can be an accounting illusion if it excludes statutory arrears, injury exposure, unprovided benefits and litigation risks. However, the cost of extending social insurance can be material for microenterprises; policy design needs administratively feasible compliance and staged productivity improvements, not only larger penalties. A responsible payroll model treats benefit rights as financial liabilities and verifies rates at the payment date rather than copying historical percentages from precedent documents (RSSB, 2025; ILO, 1999).

From a control standpoint, a payroll reconciliation should match the employment register, hours and leave data, gross earnings, legally authorized deductions, scheme-specific contribution bases, filed declarations, and evidence of remittance. Reconciliation failures need not signify intentional evasion; they may arise from delayed onboarding, classification errors or fragmented information systems. Nonetheless, the employee rather than the bookkeeping system experiences the loss of credited coverage. The responsible design assigns ownership to finance and HR, a reviewable exception log to internal assurance, and a correction pathway that protects workers from bearing the cost of management's recording failures. The

same controls become important when outsourced providers submit only aggregate invoices and do not document the coverage of the people performing the work (RSSB, 2025; Republic of Rwanda, 2018).

11.6 OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH

11.6.1 From reactive injury management to prevention systems

Occupational safety and health (OSH) concerns the prevention of workplace injury and illness through systematic identification and control of hazards. Common physical exposures include unguarded machinery, vehicles, falls, electrical energy, heat, chemicals, dust and poor ergonomics; psychosocial hazards include unreasonable work intensity, violence, intimidation and highly unpredictable scheduling. Hazard is a potential source of harm, while risk incorporates the likelihood and severity of harmful outcomes under specified exposure and controls. A low recorded injury count is not evidence of a safe workplace if serious risks remain uncontrolled or employees expect punishment for reporting near misses (ISO, 2018; WHO, 2022).

The ILO's 2022 recognition of safety and health as a fundamental principle reinforces that prevention is not merely a cost-minimization technique. ISO 45001:2018 provides a management-system architecture involving leadership commitment, worker participation, risk assessment, operational controls, evaluation and improvement. ISO confirmed the 2018 edition in 2024 and identifies Amendment 1:2024 concerning climate-action considerations; however, ISO certification is neither a universal legal obligation nor conclusive evidence that every site is safe (ISO, 2018). A highly standardized certified system can still fail where contractors are excluded from reporting, preventive maintenance is deferred or production incentives discourage shutdowns.

11.6.2 Hazard identification, control hierarchy and safety leadership

A defensible OSH process maps tasks and exposure groups, identifies credible failure scenarios, estimates risk using a documented method, determines controls and assigns dates and accountable owners. The widely used NIOSH hierarchy places elimination and substitution above engineering controls, administrative procedures and personal protective equipment (National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health [NIOSH], 2024). Its logic is that removing a hazard or physically separating persons from it is generally more reliable than assuming perfect continuing compliance with instructions. This priority is contextual rather than mathematical: a technically feasible machine guard may need engineering validation, and a new chemical substitute may introduce different risks. Controls should be assessed for actual effectiveness, accessibility and unintended consequences, including impacts on subcontracted cleaners or inexperienced night-shift workers.

Worker participation is especially important because front-line personnel observe exceptional conditions that procedures may omit. Their expertise must be treated as evidence to test rather than as either infallible testimony or nuisance resistance. Supervisors should protect the reporting of defects, preserve incident evidence, assess serious near misses, train for task-specific hazards and distinguish justified temporary shutdown from negligent work refusal. Rwanda's 2023 OSH ministerial order establishes employer and worker duties and committee arrangements, but enterprise-specific implementation must also read the exact workplace classification and sector obligations (Republic of Rwanda, 2023c; ILO Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, 2024).

11.6.3 Risk matrices, leading indicators and reproducible safety economics

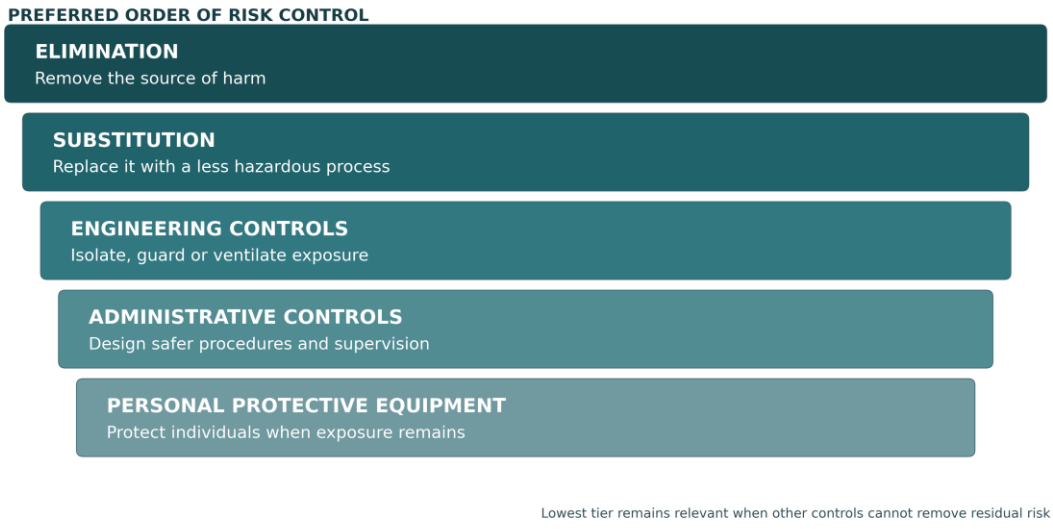
A simple ordinal risk screen may classify likelihood on a scale of 1–5 and plausible consequence on a scale of 1–5, producing $R = L \times S$. The number is a *ranking aid*, not a probability, expected monetary loss or

scientific measurement: multiplication of ordinal categories assumes structure that the scores do not possess. For a hypothetical unguarded cutting machine, an initial likelihood rating of 4 and severity of 5 produces a screen score of 20. A validated guard and interlock may reduce assessed likelihood to 1, yielding a residual screen of 5, but the severity remains potentially catastrophic and the rating requires competent examination of exposure and control reliability. Risks with catastrophic potential must not be accepted automatically because their products fall below a generic green threshold.

A separate financial illustration compares a proposed RWF 2,400,000 guarding and training package with an assumed reduction in annual probability of a serious equipment-related loss from 8% to 2% and a conditional financial consequence of RWF 12,000,000. Expected annual direct financial loss would change from 0.08 × 12,000,000 = RWF 960,000 to 0.02 × 12,000,000 = RWF 240,000, an expected reduction of RWF 720,000 per year. Ignoring discounting and recurring costs, the nominal payback period on this *constructed* financial component is 2,400,000/720,000 = 3.33 years. This calculation is not a threshold for whether workers deserve protection: an employer must comply with applicable safety duties even if monetized expected savings fall short. It also omits death or disability valuation, uncertainty in probability estimates, business interruption, reputational harm and worker suffering. The ethical and legal case for hazard control is not reducible to a spreadsheet.

Sensitivity analysis exposes the conditional nature of the financial estimate. If the intervention reduces the assumed annual loss probability from 8% to only 4%, expected financial loss falls by RWF 480,000 rather than RWF 720,000 and the same undiscouted nominal payback extends to five years. If the probability falls to 1%, the expected annual financial saving rises to RWF 840,000 and nominal payback contracts to approximately 2.86 years. These scenarios are not competing empirical predictions; they are calculations derived from declared assumptions that a competent safety assessment would have to investigate. None permits the employer to postpone a legally necessary guard pending a favourable investment return.

Figure 11.2. ***The hierarchy of preventive workplace controls***



Note. Original redrawing and practical interpretation of the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (2024) hierarchy. The figure presents a typical priority order, not a substitute for task-specific risk assessment.

11.6.4 Incident metrics and the danger of underreporting

Lost-time injury frequency, near-miss reports, completion of corrective actions and exposure checks provide different kinds of information. A conventional frequency metric is LTIFR = (number of lost-time injuries × 1,000,000)/hours worked, where the denominator includes the relevant workforce and contractors according to an explicitly stated protocol. If a hypothetical factory reports two lost-time

injuries over 400,000 worked hours, its illustrative rate is 5 per million hours. A rate based on only the payroll workforce is not directly comparable to one that includes contractors, and low numerators produce volatile estimates. Definitions and reporting incentives matter as much as arithmetic.

A rise in near-miss reports after introducing confidential reporting can signal either deteriorating conditions or improving willingness to disclose; the indicator must be interpreted with risk inspections and actual exposure controls. Conversely, an apparently perfect safety record during a period of underreporting cannot be celebrated. Leading indicators should record whether serious risks were identified promptly, worker consultation occurred, control verification was completed and exceptions were resolved. Retaliation protections belong within OSH because evidence quality itself depends on employees being able to report hazards without fear.

Climate-related working conditions create a further boundary to conventional factory-centred hazard lists. Outdoor transport, processing premises without adequate ventilation and climate-exposed agriculture may face heat stress, extreme rainfall, flooding or disrupted access to safe water. The 2024 amendment to ISO 45001 requires organizations using that standard to consider whether climate change is relevant to the management-system context; it does not create a universal quantitative heat limit or replace locally applicable safety law (ISO, 2024). Practical risk assessment should map actual exposure, work intensity, rest opportunities, ventilation, emergency arrangements and the effects of climate events on contracted and temporary workers. These measures connect employment protection to the wider enterprise questions of resilience and sustainability addressed in Chapters 31 and 32.

11.7 EMPLOYER DUTIES AND SAFEGUARDING

11.7.1 Harassment, discrimination and protection from foreseeable harm

Safeguarding extends beyond physical injury to foreseeable harassment, exploitation, discrimination, retaliation, coercion and the misuse of authority. Rwanda's 2018 Labour Law contains specific protections relating to sexual harassment, discrimination, forced labour and freedom of association, while the 2023 arrangements reinforce particular protections around maternity and work conditions (Republic of Rwanda, 2018, 2023a). The presence of a prohibition is not proof of enforceable workplace safety. Organizations must define prohibited conduct in accessible terms, communicate boundaries, protect evidence and provide routes to timely remedy without exposing complainants to predictable retaliation.

A complaint may involve an immediate safety question, a disputed account of intent or an allegation with possible criminal implications. Employer investigation should not prejudge guilt, displace authorized public agencies or pressure employees into private settlement where fundamental rights are at stake. Protecting a complainant can require temporary separation, reporting-line adjustments or preservation of schedules, but those measures must not punish the complainant indirectly. Safeguards should protect both a credible investigation and the dignity and procedural rights of the person accused. Confidentiality and privacy are legitimate only when they do not operate as a pretext for suppressing evidence or shielding a powerful individual from accountability.

11.7.2 Vulnerable employment and intersectional exposure

Vulnerability is often situational rather than a permanent property of a demographic group. A young trainee may depend on a supervisor for an employment reference; a migrant employee may misunderstand contract terms; a domestic or casual worker may operate outside routine personnel systems; a worker with a disability may require accessible emergency procedures; and a caregiver may have limited ability to accept surprise night work. Such risks can accumulate, but employers should not infer personal incapacity

from group identity. The appropriate method is to identify specific barriers and adapt information, work processes and remedy without stereotyping (ILO, 2022; WHO, 2022).

Child labour and forced labour require particular vigilance where enterprises use outsourced production, seasonal supply chains or household-linked work. The legal minimum age and hazardous-work restrictions must be checked against the current Rwandan law and implementing orders, including exceptions and safeguards for permitted light apprenticeship work. In an observation under Convention No. 138, the ILO supervisory Committee specifically questioned whether six hours of daily work could qualify as light work for persons aged 13–15 under Article 39 of the 2023 ministerial order. The Committee requested further restrictions compatible with education and rest. This is a documented supervisory assessment, not an assertion that every lawful form of apprenticeship is prohibited (ILO Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, 2025). An enterprise should not assume that outsourcing transfers moral responsibility for foreseeable harm. Supplier assurance requires credible age and identity procedures, wage and time records, freedom of movement, and grievance access proportionate to actual risk. Monitoring only a lead supplier's written code can create false confidence if subcontractors and recruitment agents remain invisible.

11.7.3 Confidential information, data privacy and complaint records

Employment administration generates unusually sensitive data: salaries, medical accommodation requests, allegations, contact details, location histories and performance records. Managers should limit collection to a legitimate purpose, define role-based access, preserve retention and deletion rules, and ensure that an employee can contest materially incorrect information. Rwanda's data-protection framework and the enterprise-level controls introduced in Chapter 3 are relevant, but processing employee data does not eliminate the separate employment obligation to treat people fairly. Recording an allegation is not equivalent to verifying it, and indiscriminate distribution of investigation notes can cause serious reputational harm (Republic of Rwanda, 2018; WHO, 2022).

A basic safeguarding protocol identifies the protected interest, reporting channel, first-response officer, evidence custodian, conflict-check, interim protection, investigation deadline, authorized decision maker, appeal process and external escalation. One person may hold several functions in a small enterprise, but conflicts should be mitigated through an external independent reviewer when necessary. The instrument's effectiveness should be tested through worker comprehension, response timeliness, substantiated correction and absence of subsequent adverse treatment, not merely through training attendance or signed declarations.

A risk-and-fairness assessment should separate the severity of possible harm from the quality of the procedure used to identify and remedy it. A severe hazard with weak evidence of engineering control demands urgent professional verification even if no complaint has yet been submitted. A substantiated wage discrepancy requires correction even where the line manager reports good morale. Conversely, an allegation that remains contested should trigger proportionate protection and neutral investigation without being silently entered as an established finding. Table 11.6 translates these principles into an auditable workplace instrument that can be adapted for firms of different sizes without converting its categories into an unvalidated composite score.

Table 11.6. Workplace risk and fairness assessment: evidence, decisions and remedies

Assessment domain	Evidence to examine	Decision and protection test	Accountability / verification
Working time and pay	Roster, actual hours, contract, payslips	Check lawful hours, rest, earned pay and any protected refusal	HR + finance; independently reconcile exceptions

Assessment domain	Evidence to examine	Decision and protection test	Accountability / verification
Physical and psychosocial safety	Task observation, guard inspection, reports, exposure	Remove critical hazards; assess workload and retaliation	Operations + competent OSH reviewer; verify controls
Representation and voice	Election record, consultation, access to complaints	Test access, independence and protection of representatives	Management + elected representatives; review outcomes
Procedural fairness	Allegation chronology, comparator files, response record	Preserve impartial hearing, explanation, correction and appeal	Independent decision owner; audit case quality
Contracted and platform labour	Contracts, control mechanisms, supplier records	Identify who controls conditions and who can remedy harm	Procurement + operations + legal adviser
Inclusion and safeguarding	Accessible channels, restricted records, protective actions	Protect vulnerable persons without presumptive guilt or stereotypes	Safeguarding lead; confidential follow-up

Note. Original decision-support instrument. Domains require local statutory interpretation and independent evidence; categories are not a numerical compliance score. Informed by Budd (2004), Colquitt et al. (2001), Republic of Rwanda (2018, 2020b, 2023b, 2023c), and ISO (2018, 2024).

11.8 CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND DISPUTE RESOLUTION

11.8.1 Distinguishing disagreement, grievance and rights violation

Workplace conflict may concern interests, interpretations, relationships, procedures or established rights. An interest dispute asks what arrangement should govern future matters such as shift allocation or a negotiated allowance. A rights dispute concerns what an existing contract, statute or binding agreement already requires. An interpersonal disagreement may be resolved through facilitated conversation; a substantiated harassment allegation may require protective measures, investigation and external referral. Conflating these categories is dangerous: a mediator should not invite parties to compromise away a nonwaivable safety entitlement, and an employer should not issue a disciplinary warning merely because a worker invoked a complaint procedure (Budd, 2004; Republic of Rwanda, 2018).

The first response is triage. Establish the allegation, immediate exposure, identity of affected parties, applicable right, urgency, evidence at risk and whether the respondent has influence over the investigator. Then select a proportionate route: a supervisor correction for an obvious payroll error; documented internal review for a contested appraisal; independent investigation for retaliation; or statutory labour-inspector and judicial recourse where prescribed. De-escalation is not a substitute for accountability. A resolved dispute should have a documented remedy, not just a signed undertaking to remain silent.

11.8.2 Negotiation, conciliation, mediation and arbitration

Negotiation involves direct bargaining between the parties or their representatives. Conciliation and mediation introduce a neutral facilitator, although precise institutional roles differ by law. Arbitration involves a third party authorized to decide a dispute with whatever binding effect the governing framework recognizes. Litigation entrusts adjudication to the competent courts. Choosing between them requires attention to jurisdiction, enforceability, costs, confidentiality, imbalance of power, available appeal and the nature of the asserted right. A manager who uses mediation to discourage an employee from accessing a legally designated inspector risks both procedural and substantive injustice.

Rwanda's Labour Law provides for labour-dispute settlement, including an amicable-stage role for labour inspectors and, where the prescribed stages do not resolve the matter, access to competent courts subject to the applicable rules (Republic of Rwanda, 2018, arts. 102–103). Ministerial Order No. 001/19.20 of 17

March 2020 details the organisation and powers of labour inspection, including procedures for receiving labour disputes and summoning parties; its interaction with later instruments must be checked against official law in any real claim (Republic of Rwanda, 2020a). Human-resource staff should not improvise statutory filing periods or procedural deadlines. Their practical duty is to preserve records, explain available options and refer matters requiring legal adjudication to competent professionals.

11.8.3 A procedurally fair grievance resolution protocol

An effective grievance pathway contains seven analytically distinct stages: intake and protection; classification of rights and interests; evidence preservation and jurisdiction check; neutral investigation; reasoned decision and remedy; appeal or external referral; and subsequent verification that corrective action worked. At intake, an employee should receive an understandable summary of next steps and foreseeable limits on confidentiality. During investigation, the respondent needs the allegation in sufficient detail to reply, while the complainant needs safe participation. The decision should identify which matters were substantiated, which remain uncertain and why the chosen remedy is proportionate. The appeal reviewer must have genuine authority to correct errors, not merely repeat the first decision.

Table 11.3. ***Grievance-resolution decision protocol and auditable record***

Stage	Required action	Safeguard and documentary evidence
1. Intake	Receive allegation; assess immediate vulnerability	Time-stamped intake; safe acknowledgement; accessible channel
2. Triage	Classify rights, interests, safety and urgency	Rights checklist; emergency protection and referral decision
3. Preserve	Secure schedules, messages, witnesses, data	Restricted evidence log; audit trail; conflict screen
4. Investigate	Hear parties separately; test rival explanations	Neutral investigator, precise allegations, response opportunity
5. Decide	State supported facts; determine proportionate remedy	Written reasons, legal review, protection against retaliation
6. Appeal / refer	Provide independent challenge or statutory route	Review authority; referral to inspector/court as applicable
7. Verify	Check remedial completion and recurrence	Worker-informed follow-up; protected reporting; audit closure

Note. Original practice instrument informed by Acas (2015) and Rwanda Labour Law and labour-inspection provisions (Republic of Rwanda, 2018, 2020a). International procedural analogies are not asserted to be Rwanda law.

A process score can be misleading when the issues are heterogeneous. Closing an uncomplicated payroll correction in two days and taking thirty days to investigate an occupational assault are not comparable observations of efficiency. Measurement should distinguish case category, substantiation, severity, rights invoked, external referral, retaliation allegations and recurring root causes. Protecting procedural rights sometimes requires deliberate additional time, while prolonged delay can itself damage justice. The goal is timely, reasoned and reviewable resolution, not unconditional speed.

The credibility of remedy depends on jurisdiction and implementation capacity. An internal procedure can correct an administrative error more quickly than litigation, but it cannot extinguish an employee's access to an external forum where domestic law provides it. Mediation may be appropriate for future collaboration after factual matters are resolved, yet compelling a subordinate to negotiate privately with an accused supervisor can reproduce the original imbalance. The suitable route therefore depends on the nature of the right, immediate danger, evidentiary needs, parties' genuine ability to participate, and the enforceability of the resulting decision. An organization should measure whether the remedy was carried out and sustained, not merely whether a form was signed (Budd, 2004; Republic of Rwanda, 2018).

11.9 INFORMAL WORK AND ENTERPRISE TRANSITIONS

11.9.1 The formalization problem as an institutional and economic question

The informal economy includes activities and jobs that are insufficiently covered by formal arrangements in law or practice, but definitions differ across establishment, employment and enterprise surveys. Rwanda's Integrated Business Enterprise Survey for reference year 2024 estimated 278,060 nonagricultural business enterprises within its coverage and reported an informal share of at least 87% (NISR, 2026a). This is not equivalent to saying that 87% of all workers nationally are informally employed. Enterprise counts, employee counts and employment-status measures are different denominators. The survey's formal-enterprise concept involves registration and regular accounts, so its measure is useful for analysing business structure, not a substitute for an employment-law coverage audit.

Informality is analytically ambiguous. Some enterprises evade obligations despite having capacity; others operate with intermittent income, insufficient capital or administrative constraints that make full compliance difficult. Formalization can improve access to contracts, finance, worker protection and records, but registration fees, accounting requirements and social contributions can be burdensome where productivity is low. Treating a microenterprise's registration status as proof of moral character is no more defensible than treating its informal status as evidence that workers have no rights. Public policy must examine the feasibility of compliance, gradual transitions and the social costs of enforcement that removes precarious livelihoods without viable alternatives (ILO, 1999, 2015; NISR, 2026a).

11.9.2 Responsible pathways from informal to more protected work

A socially responsible transition begins by identifying the actual work relationship, hazardous exposures, gross and net earnings, vulnerability to income interruption and possible legal duties already applicable. Immediate priorities include eliminating serious hazards, prohibiting coercive practices, documenting agreed rates and paying reliably. The enterprise can then strengthen identity and transaction records, separate business and household accounts, obtain appropriate registration, formalize contracts and insurance, and adopt proportionate reporting. Such sequencing must not be presented as permission to postpone binding rights; it is an operational pathway for making required standards sustainable where real barriers exist.

Collective institutions can help bridge scale constraints. Cooperatives, employer associations, shared payroll services and group-based safety training can reduce unit costs, although cooperative governance itself must be examined for member exclusion or exploitation of hired labour. Digital registration and mobile payments may improve traceability while introducing fees, data risks and dependencies. The relevant evidence question is whether a reform changes actual worker coverage, income reliability and injury exposure, not merely the number of new registrations. Rigorous evaluation would compare comparable enterprises over time and account for selection: more capable firms may formalize first and subsequently appear more productive for reasons unrelated to registration.

11.9.3 Rwanda's labour-market structure and distributional implications

The NISR Labour Force Survey for August 2026 estimated a labour-force participation rate of 63.9%, an employment-to-population ratio of 54.0% and unemployment of 15.6% among the relevant working-age and labour-force populations (NISR, 2026b). It also reported a female unemployment rate of 18.3% against 13.3% for males, and a labour underutilization rate of 61.8%. The indicators demonstrate important differences in labour-market access, but do not directly establish discrimination by any particular business. They do establish why exit from an abusive workplace cannot be assumed costless and why representative and legal protection has policy significance.

Employment relations policy must attend to economic diversity. An urban professional firm may have clear payroll systems and specialized compliance staff, while a rural seasonal enterprise may rely on family labour, fluctuating demand and shared transport. Applying the same substantive commitment to dignity and safety need not require identical administrative machinery. The correct distinction is between non-negotiable protective outcomes and proportionate institutional means for attaining them. Without this distinction, stringent administrative reforms can inadvertently exclude precisely those enterprises and workers most in need of greater protection.

The labour-force indicators also reveal why the employment relationship cannot be analysed through unemployment alone. The reported 61.8% labour-underutilization rate in August 2026 includes forms of unmet labour supply beyond unemployment, and its denominator differs from the unemployment rate. A manager who interprets high underutilization as a licence to reduce labour standards confuses an aggregate description with an entitlement to impose weaker terms on a particular person. A policymaker who assumes every informal worker can immediately move into secure full-time wage employment makes the opposite mistake. Both analyses need to account for enterprise productivity, sectoral demand, social protection portability and differential effects on women and young people (NISR, 2026b; ILO, 2015).

11.10 OUTSOURCING, GIG WORK AND PLATFORM LABOUR

11.10.1 Labour contracting, fragmented responsibility and the employment boundary

Outsourcing permits a firm to obtain services from an external provider, but it can also fragment accountability for wages, training, equipment, injury reporting and grievance response. Such fragmentation is a recognized dimension of precarious employment rather than a simple indicator of worker preference (Kalleberg, 2009). A buyer may require a contractor to provide safe transport while setting delivery deadlines that make speeding commercially rational. The buyer's legal responsibilities depend on jurisdiction and facts, yet responsible procurement cannot ignore foreseeable harm produced by its own specifications. A service contract should identify accountable parties for supervision, insurance, incident investigation, data handling and worker access to remedy. This responsibility to identify, prevent and remediate business-related human-rights harm is consistent with the United Nations (2011) Guiding Principles, which are an authoritative international framework rather than a substitute for binding domestic law. Commercial penalties should not quietly induce dangerous working time or uncompensated overtime (De Stefano, 2016; ILO, 2022).

Labour classification needs factual analysis, not vocabulary. A contractor may genuinely control price, method and clients; another may be formally independent but effectively unable to negotiate or refuse algorithmically allocated tasks. Economic dependence is relevant to risk and regulation even when it is not conclusive of legal employee status. Businesses should distinguish tax classification, employment status, social-insurance coverage and human-rights responsibilities. Treating all non-payroll workers as beyond enterprise concern permits accounting boundaries to replace analysis of who controls exposure and who can correct harm.

11.10.2 Algorithmic management and new forms of contested control

Digital platforms coordinate access to work through automated matching, pricing, ratings, sanctions and visibility. Kellogg et al. (2020) identify recurrent mechanisms of algorithmic control involving recommendation, restriction, recording, rating, replacement and reward. These mechanisms can lower search and coordination costs while making consequential decisions opaque, continuously monitored and difficult to challenge. A delivery worker can be classified as self-employed and yet depend on a platform

score that is calculated from variables the worker cannot inspect. Workers may experience genuine schedule flexibility alongside instability, unpaid waiting time and customer-driven penalties.

Wood et al. (2019), studying remote gig work across Southeast Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, combined 107 interviews with a cross-regional survey of 679 workers and documented both autonomy and pressures associated with algorithmic control. These findings are valuable because they include African participants, but the particular sample is neither a random survey of all African gig workers nor a causal estimate for Rwanda. They support questions that employers and researchers should ask: can workers contest an inaccurate rating, identify the human decision maker, know the basis of payment, refuse unsafe tasks and exercise collective voice? Evidence that a platform creates new income opportunities does not by itself establish adequate conditions.

11.10.3 International regulatory comparison: the European Platform Work Directive

Directive (EU) 2024/2831, adopted in October 2024, seeks to improve platform-work conditions and addresses correct status determination and algorithmic management. Its framework directs attention to the facts of performance and the evidence of direction and control, rather than treating contract labels as decisive (European Parliament & Council, 2024). It is an EU legal instrument with national implementation obligations and timelines, not Rwandan law. Its transferability depends on judicial capacity, social-security institutions, platform composition, documentation and worker organizing conditions. Importing its vocabulary without suitable enforcement mechanisms could create formal sophistication without meaningful protection.

The Directive's implementation timetable is itself consequential. Under Article 29, Member States have until 2 December 2026 to bring the necessary provisions into national law. As of the chapter's 29 October 2026 evidence cut-off, the Directive is adopted, but its national transposition deadline is still ahead. Consequently, it is methodologically imprecise to describe all its platform-status and algorithmic-management provisions as already operating identically across the European Union. The comparative insight lies in the design of a rebuttable status presumption, decision transparency and human review, not in assuming completed implementation or importing its legal effect into Rwanda (European Parliament & Council of the European Union, 2024, art. 29).

Table 11.4. ***Platform work: analytically comparable issues but distinct legal jurisdictions***

Decision issue	Rwanda employer / contractor inquiry	EU Directive 2024/2831 perspective
Work status	Evaluate actual control, integration and applicable national definitions	Examine factual direction and control; national law guides status presumption
Automated decisions	Identify algorithm owner, appeal authority and affected data	Addresses transparency and human oversight of automated systems
Conditions of work	Record earnings, waiting time, safety equipment and coverage	Framework seeks improved platform working conditions
Representation	Protect voice; verify lawful worker organization arrangements	Collective rights and consultation relevant to platform systems
Legal portability	Domestic law and enforcement govern Rwandan disputes	EU directive binds its addressees through national implementation, not Rwanda

Note. Original comparative analytical table. European Parliament and Council of the European Union (2024); Kellogg et al. (2020); Wood et al. (2019). No claim of direct EU-law application to Rwanda.

For a Rwandan platform or outsourcing buyer, an immediate practical assessment would document who sets prices and hours; who holds safety and customer data; whether an appeal mechanism exists; who

bears transport, connectivity and insurance costs; whether ratings contain known systematic error; and how affected workers can secure an understandable explanation. Such questions are valuable even before classification is judicially settled. An international comparator can challenge local assumptions without supplying a ready-made legal conclusion.

11.11 EMPLOYEE WELLBEING AND RESPONSIBLE FLEXIBILITY

11.11.1 Healthy work as an organizational design responsibility

Wellbeing involves physical and psychological conditions that enable people to work without avoidable harm and to maintain meaningful roles beyond employment. It is affected by task intensity, certainty of income, supervisor conduct, occupational hazards, autonomy and access to support. The World Health Organization (2022) identifies organizational interventions, manager training, worker training and support for people with mental-health conditions as relevant areas of action; its estimates of substantial lost productivity from depression and anxiety are global, not attributable to any particular enterprise. The essential management implication is to assess exposure and design before interpreting absence or distress solely as an individual resilience problem.

Worker assistance programmes can be beneficial but may become cosmetic if the enterprise leaves exploitative schedules or harassment uncorrected. An effective wellbeing response first establishes workload, credible staffing, protected breaks, access to equipment and respectful supervision, then considers reasonable supports and confidential referral. The economic case should incorporate service reliability, attendance and turnover without implying that only productivity-enhancing care is morally warranted. In a resource-constrained SME, low-cost changes to shift notice, safer equipment and supervisor communication may be more feasible and effective than importing a complex corporate wellness package without proper assessment.

11.11.2 Flexibility, care duties, disability and the digital boundary

Flexible work is not one homogeneous benefit. It may involve employees choosing where or when to work, employers varying schedules according to demand, task-based independent contracting or negotiated accommodation for caregiving or disability. These arrangements redistribute control differently. A shift worker informed at short notice that work is cancelled absorbs income and planning risk, while a professional allowed to adjust hours within an agreed workload may gain agency. Responsible flexibility therefore specifies whose flexibility is increased, the foreseeability of change, compensation for cancelled or extra work, service obligations, data security and the right to disconnect or defer nonurgent communications where contract or applicable law permits.

Caregiving and disability inclusion are functional design matters. A flexible roster can enable retention but fail if essential activities always occur during inaccessible hours; remote working can widen access but create digital exclusion or unrecorded work. Appropriate accommodation should be assessed individually under applicable law and job requirements, with confidentiality and documented reasoning. Neither medical diagnoses nor family circumstances should become routine grounds for stereotyping or unreviewable exclusion from opportunities. Practical responsibility requires a reviewable process for requesting, evaluating and revising arrangements rather than an informal privilege distributed through managerial favour.

11.11.3 Wellbeing evaluation without intrusive surveillance

A useful wellbeing dashboard monitors controllable work conditions: excessive hours, predictable-roster compliance, hazard-control closure, access to annual leave, complaint retaliation and sustained work

overload. Anonymous surveys can provide complementary evidence, but a high average score can conceal the experiences of workers who are least willing or able to participate. Collecting highly sensitive health information without legitimate necessity may undermine trust and create further harm. Measures should be minimally intrusive and evaluated by both worker-informed interpretation and objective exposure checks (WHO, 2022; Morrison, 2014).

Wellbeing evaluation also requires temporal care. A short-term fall in output following a reduction in unsafe overtime can coexist with stronger long-term retention, fewer injuries and improved legal reliability. Conversely, high satisfaction during an unsustainable compensation programme does not resolve the enterprise's liquidity risk. The relevant decision combines worker health and dignity with financial and operational feasibility, without allowing either to erase the other. This prepares the multidimensional assessment developed in Section 11.12.

A stronger evaluation would examine more than a short post-intervention mean. It would predefine the relevant work groups, track the distribution of unscheduled hours and severe incidents, document missing observations and measure whether the workers most exposed can safely report their experience. Comparison periods need to account for seasonality and workload. Where an intervention is introduced in stages for operational reasons, differences between early- and later-adopting teams might provide useful diagnostic evidence, but staggered adoption is not automatically randomized and may be confounded by manager competence or branch risk. Wellbeing should be evaluated as a lived and observable condition, not inferred from digital activity traces or a single satisfaction score (WHO, 2022; Morrison, 2014).

11.12 EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS EVALUATION

11.12.1 What a defensible system should measure

Employment-relations quality is not captured by one index. A robust evaluation distinguishes rights and compliance, substantive outcomes, procedural reliability, worker voice, risk control and business sustainability. Compliance indicators establish whether legally required actions and documents exist; outcome measures examine injuries, earned pay, turnover and timely remedy; process measures examine independence, accessibility and quality of decisions; voice measures test whether workers can influence matters without retaliation. All require defined units, periods and data provenance. The inclusion of contract employees, interns, casual personnel or outsourced workers must be stated rather than silently changed between reporting periods (Budd, 2004; ISO, 2018).

Table 11.5. ***Employment-relations dashboard: distinguish indicators from inferences***

Indicator	Explicit definition / formula	Interpretive safeguard
Contract documentation	Workers with current understandable terms / eligible workers × 100	Do not infer consent or lawful conditions from signature alone
Pay timeliness	Workers fully paid by agreed due date / eligible workers × 100	Check contractor coverage and undisclosed cash deductions
Voluntary turnover	Voluntary separations / average workforce × 100 per year	Low turnover can reflect lack of alternative employment
Complaint resolution	Substantively resolved cases / eligible opened cases × 100	Separate severity, appeals, recurrence and retaliation
Voice accessibility	Workers able to use protected channel / eligible group	Avoid treating low case volume as proof of safety

Indicator	Explicit definition / formula	Interpretive safeguard
LTIFR	Lost-time injuries × 1,000,000 / worked hours	Fix injury definition, hours coverage and underreporting
Hazard correction	Verified controls completed / due controls × 100	Audit actual control performance, not just paper closure
Roster predictability	Shifts communicated within agreed notice / total shifts	Include changed shifts and differential exposure by role
Fair-process quality	Audited cases meeting procedural standards / sampled cases	Use independent samples and capture substantive fairness
Social insurance coverage	Covered workers / legally eligible workforce	Check registration, actual remittance, exclusions, date

Note. Author's original measurement instrument developed from Budd (2004), Colquitt et al. (2001), Morrison (2014), ISO (2018), WHO (2022). Formulas are descriptive, not validated causal or moral indexes.

Managers should resist attractive but ambiguous metrics. A fall in grievances may indicate better management or fear of reporting; a rise may indicate worsening conduct or a successful safe channel. Low turnover can represent commitment or lack of external opportunities. A high percentage of cases "closed within target" can conceal severe unresolved harm where deadlines are met through forced withdrawal. Evaluating employment relations requires triangulation and adversarial checking: employees or independent assurance professionals should be able to question source records, classifications and exceptions. Board and senior management oversight must test evidence rather than merely accept the HR dashboard (Colquitt et al., 2001; Morrison, 2014).

11.12.2 Worked evaluation: complaint resolution, turnover and coverage

Take a constructed 12-month enterprise with 60 average employees, 9 voluntary employee separations, 18 formally registered grievances, 12 completed resolutions and 3 substantiated retaliation concerns. The illustrative voluntary turnover rate is (9/60) × 100 = 15%. The raw grievance resolution proportion is (12/18) × 100 = 66.7%; it is not a measure of grievance quality and ignores how long the six remaining matters have been open. Retaliation concerns comprise 3/18 = 16.7% of registered matters *if* the categories share this denominator, but this should not be represented as the prevalence of retaliation among employees or as a causal estimate. A separate review would test the seriousness of each allegation, whether it was substantiated and what action prevented recurrence.

Suppose payroll audits reveal that 48 of 60 workers received a documented explanation of their payslip components. This produces an illustrative coverage of 80%. The other 20% require follow-up, but the rate does not prove underpayment: communication and accurate pay are different constructs. If contractor workers are omitted, the apparent coverage may be misleading. The organization should predefine eligibility and sampling, document missing data, make protected corrections and repeat checks using consistent periods. It should not invent precision by combining these heterogeneous measures into an unvalidated composite score.

11.12.3 Evaluation design, attribution and thresholds

Before introducing a revised grievance process, the enterprise should register its practical theory of change: accessible reporting leads to more complete information; trained neutral investigation improves procedural consistency; enforceable remedies reduce recurrence; protected voice can reveal earlier hazards; and better coordination may support service reliability. Every arrow is a proposition. Evaluation must specify a comparison, a time horizon, baseline measures, implementation fidelity and plausible confounders such as staffing changes or market demand. An interrupted time series with sufficient

observations may be informative where randomization is infeasible, but causal claims still require careful control of concurrent changes. A small enterprise may be better served by consistent descriptive audit and reasoned case review than by an underpowered regression presented as proof.

Decision thresholds should reflect the construct. Zero tolerance of unguarded critical hazards or retaliation is a protective rule, not a forecast of zero events. A target of closing 90% of routine wage queries within ten working days may be an operational aspiration, but it must not encourage closing complex cases without remedy. Thresholds should be reviewed after feedback from workers and independent authorities. Employment relations ultimately involves rights and lived conditions that cannot be traded away by a favorable financial aggregate. Measurement should facilitate correction, not confer moral legitimacy on whatever happens to be countable.

Data governance is part of the measurement design. An audit-ready dashboard should identify each measure's owner, numerator, denominator, inclusion rules, reporting lag, source system, legal basis for processing personal information and quality checks. Where employees have different contract statuses, measures should either cover them consistently or report clearly separated populations. Disaggregation can reveal meaningful inequalities, but very small cells can also identify complainants or expose sensitive medical or disciplinary information. Reporting should therefore use the least detailed information necessary for the decision while preserving a secure evidentiary route for authorized review (ISO, 2018; WHO, 2022).

11.13 RWANDA-BASED GRIEVANCE CASE AND INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON

11.13.1 Kigali Harvest Services: an explicitly constructed teaching case

Kigali Harvest Services is a fictitious medium-sized processor and distributor serving institutional customers. For this case, assume 60 directly employed workers, approximately 18 regularly deployed contractor staff, one processing line, rotating day schedules and a newly acquired urgent order. The employer requests a Saturday packing shift to protect a major customer's deadline. Six direct employees report being told that refusal would affect renewal of their contracts. A line operator says a machine guard was removed. The shift supervisor argues that a written policy permits flexibility; finance says the order has a positive contribution margin; and a worker representative asks for an independent review. All organizational facts and numbers in this case are invented solely for structured reasoning, and no real-world complaint is alleged.

The employment-relations diagnosis must separate four questions. First, the roster and overtime obligations require checking actual hours, relevant contracts and Ministerial Order No. 01/MIFOTRA/23. Second, the alleged removal of a guard creates an immediate safety issue under the broader OSH framework regardless of the eventual wage dispute. Third, alleged threats linked to contract renewal may constitute a retaliation or coercion concern that requires fact-finding rather than automatic dismissal as a misunderstanding. Fourth, the company's subcontracted staff must not be ignored where they face the same equipment or scheduling pressures. The customer's commercial demand and finance's margin estimate are relevant to feasible remedies, but neither determines the legality of hours or acceptability of risk (Republic of Rwanda, 2018, 2023b, 2023c).

An appropriate interim response is to stop the machine pending competent guard verification, secure schedules and communications without unnecessarily publishing personal information, appoint an investigator without a conflict, explain rights and external referral options, and communicate a non-retaliation instruction supported by monitoring. Management then compares lawful alternatives: reallocation within ordinary hours, a negotiated voluntary shift with legally compliant rest and time

treatment, outsourcing to an adequately assured provider, delayed customer delivery, or declining the order. Each option has a contribution and liquidity implication, but options that rely on an unsafe machine or prohibited coercion are excluded before commercial optimization.

11.13.2 Grievance decision memorandum and worked choice

Assume, strictly for instruction, that the urgent order generates RWF 3,600,000 of incremental revenue, RWF 2,350,000 of materials and other variable costs, and RWF 360,000 of direct incremental labour and compliant scheduling cost if safe production is arranged. Its contribution before any additional guarding or customer penalty is RWF 890,000. If safe production requires RWF 450,000 of short-term equipment safeguarding and quality validation, the constructed net incremental contribution becomes RWF 440,000. If postponement instead triggers a RWF 300,000 documented contractual concession and yields no incremental contribution that week, postponement may be less attractive financially; however, the safeguarding must be technically sufficient and the working arrangement lawful before the RWF 440,000 alternative is considered feasible.

The one-order financial comparison deliberately treats the RWF 450,000 guarding and validation expenditure as fully attributable to the immediate decision, a conservative assumption for that transaction. If the guard is a durable improvement used for subsequent production, managerial accounting would distinguish the initial cash outlay from its expense recognition and allocate future economic benefits across appropriate periods. That alternative treatment could increase the order's contribution estimate but would not change the prerequisite that the machine must be safe before work resumes. Likewise, the RWF 360,000 labour assumption must be reconciled to actual hours, contractual rates, mandatory rest and any compensatory time. A positive arithmetic contribution cannot repair an unlawful shift or a defective hazard control.

The memorandum should state findings and uncertain matters separately. Written evidence may confirm that additional hours were requested and the guard was missing; whether a manager threatened renewals may require corroboration and a fair response. Corrective actions could include guard reinstatement, lawful shift review, payment or time-off correction, documented supervision, protection of the complainant and independent verification after thirty days. The remedy is not a trade: workers do not forfeit grievance rights in exchange for a successful order. Management should report to the designated governing body on corrective closure, not employee identities beyond what oversight lawfully requires. Educators can test whether students reject an economically attractive but rights-incompatible alternative.

11.13.3 Comparative institutional analysis: Rwanda, the United Kingdom and the European Union

The same grievance would take different procedural forms across jurisdictions. Rwanda's Labour Law and implementing orders determine substantive national obligations and labour-inspector routes. In the United Kingdom, the Acas disciplinary and grievance Code provides procedural guidance with relevance to tribunal assessment, but its precise scope and remedies are UK-specific (Acas, 2015). In EU platform work, Directive 2024/2831 focuses on status determination and algorithmic decision conditions, which are relevant by analogy if the customer order is fulfilled through a labour platform, but do not automatically classify Rwandan contractor workers as employees (European Parliament & Council, 2024). The shared analytical test concerns identifiable rights, independent information and remedy; the legal answer must be jurisdictionally specific.

A comparative transfer should be evaluated against enterprise size, state inspection capacity, employment composition, documentation, literacy, bargaining coverage, financing and access to courts. Copying a large multinational's whistleblowing portal into a microenterprise may fail because management receives every alert, while a simple independent telephone route might be effective. Conversely, a face-to-face resolution

system can fail when the accused supervisor controls wages. Appropriate institutional design is contingent, but that does not make substantive rights optional. Comparative scholarship is most useful when it identifies the mechanism that makes a protection effective rather than assuming that the appearance of a foreign procedure establishes equivalence.

11.14 INTEGRATIVE THEORETICAL SYNTHESIS AND RESEARCH AGENDA

11.14.1 An employment-relations accountability framework

Figure 11.1 offers an original synthesis organized around five distinct conditions: rights and duties are specified; worker influence can reveal and contest problems; preventive controls reduce harm; decisions and remedies receive independent scrutiny; and the enterprise possesses sufficient operational and financial capability to maintain the arrangement. The model proposes that failure in one condition undermines the effectiveness of the others. A clear right without a credible enforcement route may offer weak practical protection; a participatory process without safety controls may legitimize exposure; and generous promises without budgeted payroll financing may collapse into wage arrears. These are mechanisms for investigation, not validated coefficients or a proven universal causal sequence.

The enterprise-system perspective clarifies dependencies. Operations and procurement set workload, machine safety and delivery deadlines, thereby shaping fatigue and accident exposure. Finance determines the feasibility of pay, insurance, staffing buffers and timely settlements, while accounting provides payroll and grievance-record assurance. Marketing and sales shape customer promises that may create excessive work pressure; governance determines who can investigate senior managers and who receives credible evidence. Information systems and AI alter monitoring, classification and access to appeal. These interfaces mean that employment relations cannot be delegated to an HR specialist and declared complete. Accountability follows the decision chain through which actual risk is created and distributed (Budd, 2004; Kellogg et al., 2020; ISO, 2018).

11.14.2 Rival explanations and empirical tests

Industrial-relations systems theory predicts that rule clarity and effective actor engagement influence dispute patterns. Labour-process theory predicts conflict where control technologies intensify supervision or separate workers from decision authority. Psychological-contract theory predicts that perceived unfulfilled reciprocal obligations alter trust and responses even absent a legal breach. Organizational-justice theory predicts that decision processes and interpersonal treatment help explain attitudes beyond the distribution of outcomes. A decent-work perspective evaluates whether rights, protection and dialogue are substantively secured regardless of immediate productivity gain. Rival predictions should be specified rather than declaring all theories simultaneously correct.

A credible comparative research programme could investigate whether firms with independent grievance oversight show fewer substantiated repeated violations, controlling for size, sector and prior reporting culture. It could test whether safety-reporting increases following anti-retaliation reform while independently observed hazards decline; whether platforms' human-review mechanisms change wrongful deactivation rates; or whether payroll digitization improves timely payment among small firms. Each proposition requires definitions, comparable time periods, pre-specified outcomes, valid comparison groups and ethical safeguards. Observational associations remain vulnerable to reverse causality: firms that already value fairness may be more likely to adopt the studied mechanisms.

The proposed framework makes several discriminable claims. A stronger independent reporting route should, under otherwise comparable exposure, increase detection of previously hidden problems before it necessarily reduces reported grievances; effective engineering controls should reduce verified hazardous

exposure even when reported near misses initially increase; and meaningful worker representation should improve the information available to managers where representatives are protected and have access to relevant records. Each expectation could fail because of resource constraints, inconsistent enforcement, managerial capture or selection into adoption. Researchers would need to define outcomes before examining results, identify a plausible comparison and distinguish treatment take-up from mere policy announcement. The framework is therefore a research programme open to falsification, not a conclusion that a five-part diagram has demonstrated causality.

11.14.3 Institutional and epistemic limits

The chapter does not supply a universal employment-relations index, a country-wide inspection audit or a complete consolidated legal code. It offers a reasoned theory and decision instruments for assessing specified contexts. The Rwanda enterprise statistic is a survey-frame estimate, the labour-force statistic is an individual-level national estimate, the international platform findings concern particular research participants, and the case is fictional. Moving from one to another requires explicit theoretical and empirical bridges. The most consequential missing evidence concerns employer-level implementation and employee experience, particularly among informal and outsourced workers who often do not appear in official firm-level HR records.

Future research should therefore prioritize accessible longitudinal workforce data, regulatory case documentation, collective-representation coverage, safe worker-voice measurement and comparative studies that account for firm size and institutional capability. Research ought to include the possibility that an intervention raises reported grievances in the short term precisely because it reduces silence. It should also identify indirect effects: a stricter labour rule may improve conditions among compliant employers but alter employment composition or outsourcing incentives. These effects can be investigated without making worker dignity contingent upon a favourable estimate of aggregate profit.

11.15 CHAPTER SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSION

Employment relations is the organized governance of work under conditions of incomplete contracting, economic interdependence and unequal authority. The field cannot be reduced to a human-resource policy manual or a binary comparison of compliant and noncompliant enterprises. It asks how rights, working conditions, institutional rules, representation, conflict, safety and economic capability form an employment system in practice. Industrial-relations, labour-process, psychological-contract and justice perspectives each explain part of that system; the ILO's decent-work framework adds an explicit normative and institutional benchmark, while Rwanda's changing legal instruments identify concrete jurisdictional duties.

Seven conclusions follow. Effective contracts require accurate terms and lawful change processes. International labour principles acquire practical force through jurisdiction-specific legal and institutional arrangements. Voice must be meaningful and protected, not merely available in principle. Fair procedures and substantive rights must operate together. Occupational safety requires verified prevention rather than attractive injury statistics. Informal and platform work expose the inadequacy of assuming that payroll boundaries coincide with responsibility. Finally, performance evidence must integrate legal conformity, worker outcomes, accessible remedy and commercial sustainability without allowing one to cancel the others. These lessons prepare Chapter 12's treatment of the capability and learning systems through which fair employment can remain adaptive under technological and economic change.

11.16 KEY TERMINOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS

Collective bargaining. Negotiation between authorized worker and employer representatives concerning terms, conditions or relations of work under applicable rules.

Decent work. The ILO's integrated agenda of employment opportunity, rights at work, social protection and social dialogue.

Distributive justice. The fairness of the allocation of rewards, burdens and opportunities under defensible criteria.

Employee voice. The ability to raise concerns, supply information and influence work-related decisions individually or collectively.

Employment relation. The continuing legal, economic, institutional and social relationship through which work is organized and compensated.

Grievance. A worker-raised concern or allegation requiring organizational response and possibly statutory remedy.

Industrial relations. The study of workplace rules and interactions among workers, employers, representatives and public institutions.

Informal employment. Work insufficiently covered by formal legal or administrative arrangements, subject to the definition used in the relevant measurement system.

Occupational safety and health. Systematic prevention of work-related injury and illness through hazard identification, controls, participation and review.

Procedural justice. Fairness of methods for making, explaining, reviewing and correcting decisions.

Psychological contract. An individual's belief about reciprocal obligations within an employment relationship, which is distinguishable from enforceable contractual terms.

Retaliation. Adverse action taken in response to protected reporting, participation or assertion of rights, as defined by relevant law and organizational rules.

11.17 LEARNING ASSESSMENT AND PRACTICAL APPLICATION

11.17.1 Foundational conceptual questions

Students should first explain why the employment contract cannot be reduced to a spot-market purchase of labour and then compare pluralist industrial relations, labour-process analysis and psychological-contract theory against the same workplace decision (LO1–LO2). They should next distinguish an ILO fundamental principle, a ratified convention, a Rwandan statute, a ministerial order, a collective agreement and an ISO standard, making clear why their authority and enforcement differ (LO2). A further conceptual inquiry asks why an increase in formal complaints might indicate improved worker voice rather than deteriorating conduct, and what independent evidence would distinguish these rival interpretations (LO3–LO4).

11.17.2 Applied quantitative and diagnostic exercises

For the quantitative exercise, recalculate the illustrative hourly rate in Section 11.5 using a hypothetical 36-hour contractual week, state the denominator and explain why contract terms and the legally applicable rule must be examined before any payment conclusion (LO4, LO7). Recalculate the expected annual

equipment-loss saving in Section 11.6 if the post-control probability is 4% rather than 2%; determine the corresponding undiscounted nominal payback, and explain why an employer's safety duty is not conditional on the estimated financial return (LO4, LO7). Finally, adapt the grievance protocol in Table 11.3 to a complaint against the managing director of a ten-person enterprise without an HR officer; provide an independent review route and preserve external legal remedies (LO3, LO5).

11.17.3 Advanced evaluative and capstone assignments

The first advanced assignment requires students to construct a Rwanda employment-policy register from operative official sources, recording each instrument, date, scope, article, authority, uncertainty and last verification for contracts, hours, leave, safety, representation, insurance and dispute resolution (LO2, LO4, LO6). In the capstone assignment, an independent advisory panel should produce a 1,500-word memorandum for Kigali Harvest Services explaining the rights issues, immediate safeguards, alternative causal accounts, investigation procedure, worker representation, financial calculations, remedy, functional responsibilities and evaluation plan; at least one commercially attractive but rights-incompatible option must be excluded and justified (LO1, LO3, LO5, LO7–LO8). For the comparative assignment, students should examine a publicly documented Rwandan delivery platform, if suitable records are available, against Directive (EU) 2024/2831, clearly identifying the evidence needed to assess working status and the fairness of automated deactivation while acknowledging the different jurisdictions (LO6–LO8).

11.17.4 Educator guidance and assessment criteria

Evaluation should reward correct statutory identification, contextual reasoning, independent evidence, protection from harm and carefully defined calculations, rather than the mere reproduction of a managerial checklist. For the case memorandum, an analytic rubric can allocate 20% to rights and institutional analysis, 20% to evidence and procedural fairness, 20% to verified preventive controls, 20% to feasible alternatives and calculated consequences, 10% to evaluation quality and 10% to scholarly communication. For the modified 36-hour calculation, monthly normal hours are 156 and the constructed hourly base rate is approximately RWF 2,564.10, before any legally required treatment of extra work. For the 4% residual-loss scenario, annual financial savings are RWF 480,000 and undiscounted nominal payback is five years. These computations are model checks, not judicial wage calculations or quantified valuations of employee life and wellbeing. A strong model answer must eliminate unsafe alternatives, protect fair investigation and worker voice, and only then compare legally feasible commercial options.

11.18 SELECTED FURTHER READING

Readers seeking a comprehensive intellectual framework should begin with Budd (2004), supplemented by Dunlop (1958), Freeman and Medoff (1984) and Kelly (1998) for industrial-relations institutions and collective power. Colquitt et al. (2001) and Morrison (2014) provide critical syntheses of workplace justice and voice. The ILO's current Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work documentation, the operative Rwandan legal instruments, ISO 45001:2018 and WHO (2022) are indispensable for applied legal, safety and wellbeing discussions. De Stefano (2016), Kellogg et al. (2020), Wood et al. (2019) and Directive (EU) 2024/2831 introduce contemporary nonstandard work without presuming that international findings are automatically transportable to Rwanda.

REFERENCES

Acas. (2015). *Code of practice on disciplinary and grievance procedures*. https://www.acas.org.uk/acas-code-of-practice-on-disciplinary-and-grievance-procedures/html

Braverman, H. (1974). *Labor and monopoly capital: The degradation of work in the twentieth century*. Monthly Review Press.

Budd, J. W. (2004). *Employment with a human face: Balancing efficiency, equity, and voice*. Cornell University Press. https://cornellpress.cornell.edu/book/9780801442087/

Colquitt, J. A., Conlon, D. E., Wesson, M. J., Porter, C. O. L. H., & Ng, K. Y. (2001). Justice at the millennium: A meta-analytic review of 25 years of organizational justice research. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 86*(3), 425–445. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.86.3.425

De Stefano, V. (2016). *The rise of the "just-in-time workforce": On-demand work, crowdwork and labour protection in the "gig-economy"* (Conditions of Work and Employment Series No. 71). International Labour Office. https://www.ilo.org/publications/rise-just-time-workforce-demand-work-crowdwork-and-labour-protection-gig

Detert, J. R., & Burris, E. R. (2007). Leadership behavior and employee voice: Is the door really open? *Academy of Management Journal, 50*(4), 869–884. https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2007.26279183

Dunlop, J. T. (1958). *Industrial relations systems*. Henry Holt. https://irs.princeton.edu/industrial-relations-systems

Edwards, R. (1979). *Contested terrain: The transformation of the workplace in the twentieth century*. Basic Books.

European Parliament & Council of the European Union. (2024). *Directive (EU) 2024/2831 of 23 October 2024 on improving working conditions in platform work*. Official Journal of the European Union. https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/dir/2024/2831/oj/eng

Freeman, R. B., & Medoff, J. L. (1984). *What do unions do?* Basic Books. https://irs.princeton.edu/what-do-unions-do

Hirschman, A. O. (1970). *Exit, voice, and loyalty: Responses to decline in firms, organizations, and states*. Harvard University Press. https://books.google.com/books?id=xAa3AAAAIAAJ

ILO Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. (2024). Direct request: Rwanda, Occupational Safety and Health Convention, 1981 (No. 155), and Promotional Framework for Occupational Safety and Health Convention, 2006 (No. 187) (adopted 2023; published 2024). https://normlex.ilo.org/dyn/nrmlx_en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:13101:0::NO::P13101_COMMENT_ID:4308325

ILO Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations. (2025). Observation: Rwanda, Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) (adopted 2024; published 2025). https://normlex.ilo.org/dyn/nrmlx_en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:13100:0::NO::P13100_COMMENT_ID,P13100_COUNTRY_ID:4408222,103460

International Labour Organization. (1999). *Decent work: Report of the Director-General, International Labour Conference, 87th Session*. https://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/relm/ilc/ilc87/rep-i.htm

International Labour Organization. (2015). *Transition from the informal to the formal economy recommendation, 2015 (No. 204)*. https://normlex.ilo.org/dyn/nrmlx_en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:R204

International Labour Organization. (2022). *ILO declaration on fundamental principles and rights at work and its follow-up* (as amended in 2022). https://www.ilo.org/topics-and-sectors/fundamental-principles-and-rights-work

International Labour Organization. (n.d.). *Rwanda country profile: ILO Global Care Policy Portal*. Retrieved October 29, 2026, from https://webapps.ilo.org/globalcare/country/RWA

International Organization for Standardization. (2018). *ISO 45001:2018: Occupational health and safety management systems–Requirements with guidance for use*. https://www.iso.org/standard/63787.html

International Organization for Standardization. (2024). ISO 45001:2018/Amd 1:2024: Occupational health and safety management systems—Requirements with guidance for use—Amendment 1: Climate action changes. https://www.iso.org/standard/88428.html

Kalleberg, A. L. (2009). Precarious work, insecure workers: Employment relations in transition. *American Sociological Review, 74*(1), 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240907400101

Kellogg, K. C., Valentine, M. A., & Christin, A. (2020). Algorithms at work: The new contested terrain of control. *Academy of Management Annals, 14*(1), 366–410. https://doi.org/10.5465/annals.2018.0174

Kelly, J. (1998). *Rethinking industrial relations: Mobilisation, collectivism and long waves*. Routledge. https://www.routledge.com/Rethinking-Industrial-Relations-Mobilisation-Collectivism-and-Long-Wa/Kelly/p/book/9780415186728

Morrison, E. W. (2014). Employee voice and silence. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior, 1*, 173–197. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-orgpsych-031413-091328

National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health. (2024). *Hierarchy of controls*. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. https://www.cdc.gov/niosh/hierarchy-of-controls/about/index.html

National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda. (2026a). *Integrated Business Enterprise Survey (2024)*. https://www.statistics.gov.rw/statistical-publications/business-establishment-finance-trade/business-establishment-finance-trade/integrated-business-enterprise-survey-2024

National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda. (2026b). *Labour Force Survey–2026 (Q3): August 2026*. https://statistics.gov.rw/data-sources/surveys/Labour-Force-Survey/labour-force-survey-2026/labour-force-survey-2026-q3

Republic of Rwanda. (2018). *Law No. 66/2018 of 30 August 2018 regulating labour in Rwanda*. Official Gazette, Special Issue of 6 September 2018. https://www.amategeko.gov.rw/view/toc/doc/4554/4725

Republic of Rwanda. (2020a). *Ministerial Order No. 001/19.20 of 17 March 2020 relating to labour inspection*. Official Gazette, Special Issue of 19 March 2020. https://rwandalii.org/akn/rw/act/mo/minister-of-public-service-and-labour/2020/1/eng@2020-03-19

Republic of Rwanda. (2020b). *Ministerial Order No. 003/19.20 of 17 March 2020 relating to employees' representatives*. Official Gazette, Special Issue of 19 March 2020. https://rwandalii.org/akn/rw/act/mo/2020/19/eng@2020-03-19

Republic of Rwanda. (2020c). *Ministerial Order No. 007/19.20 of 17 March 2020 determining core elements of a written employment contract*. Official Gazette, Special Issue of 19 March 2020. https://rwandalii.org/akn/rw/act/mo/2020/7-mo19/eng@2020-03-19

Republic of Rwanda. (2023a). *Law No. 027/2023 of 18 May 2023 amending Law No. 66/2018 regulating labour in Rwanda*. Official Gazette, Special Issue of 30 May 2023. https://www.minijust.gov.rw/fileadmin/user_upload/Minijust/Publications/Laws/Labour_law_2023.pdf

Republic of Rwanda. (2023b). *Ministerial Order No. 01/MIFOTRA/23 of 13 June 2023 on working hours and public servants governed by employment contracts*. Official Gazette, Special Issue of 13 June 2023. https://www.mifotra.gov.rw/fileadmin/user_upload/Mifotra/Publication/6.MINISTERIAL_ORDERS/Ministerial_Order_on_employment_contracts_in_P._Service_and_working_hours_in_P_P_sectors_2023.pdf

Republic of Rwanda. (2023c). *Ministerial Order No. 02/MIFOTRA/23 of 1 August 2023 on occupational health and safety, employees' and employers' organisations, child employment, employment of a foreigner and leave*. Official Gazette, Special Issue of 2 August 2023. https://www.amategeko.gov.rw/view/toc/doc/4259/4430

Republic of Rwanda. (2024). *Law No. 049/2024 of 4 June 2024 amending Law No. 003/2016 establishing and governing the maternity leave benefits scheme*. Official Gazette, Special Issue of 11 June 2024. https://www.minijust.gov.rw/official-gazette

Rousseau, D. M. (1989). Psychological and implied contracts in organizations. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal, 2*, 121–139. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01384942

Rwanda Social Security Board. (2025, January 10). *Notice to the public: Updated contribution rate for the mandatory pension scheme*. https://www.rssb.rw/uploads/merged_1_adba12649b.pdf

United Nations. (2011). *Guiding principles on business and human rights: Implementing the United Nations "Protect, Respect and Remedy" framework*. https://doi.org/10.18356/9ceabfd3-en

Wood, A. J., Graham, M., Lehdonvirta, V., & Hjorth, I. (2019). Good gig, bad gig: Autonomy and algorithmic control in the global gig economy. *Work, Employment and Society, 33*(1), 56–75. https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017018785616

World Health Organization. (2022). *WHO guidelines on mental health at work*. https://www.who.int/publications-detail-redirect/9789240053052