Youth employment in conflict and fragile settings

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Young women and men living in fragile contexts experience several labour market barriers that inhibit their ability to engage in productive activities and earn an income.

An estimated 600 million¹⁵¹ young women and men live in contexts characterized by prolonged conflicts or fragility, largely contributing to the estimated 64 million young people unemployed globally and the more than 145 million youths who are working yet living in poverty in emerging and developing countries.¹⁵² The anticipated increase of 41.8 million young people aged 15–24 in the global labour force by 2030, mostly driven by demographic pressures in Africa, threatens to worsen the situation if nothing is done to reverse current trends (ILO 2017a).

Fragile environments are generally characterized by absent or extremely weak institutions and by the poor and weak delivery of state functions (security, welfare, justice, representation), which feed chronic or recurrent vulnerability and instability. This translates into the extent to which labour market participants are no longer able to provide and/or access decent job opportunities. Fragility therefore entails severe implications, from causing or aggravating decent work deficits, unemployment and migration to halting or even reversing years of socio-economic development gains. Additionally, mass movements of refugees and migrants, lack of employment opportunities and low-quality jobs can also become triggers of socio-economic vulnerability and political instability.

Through analysis of the situational and contextual elements that may generate or intensify fragility, the International Labour Organization (ILO) identified exogenous and endogenous factors (Jütersonke et al. 2015). Exogenous factors are predominantly

beyond the control of a particular State and include (but are not limited to) catastrophic events, external military threats, global trade, financial shocks and flows of refugees or migrant workers. Endogenous factors stem primarily from specific conditions within a particular State (related to its territory, population and institutions), such as (but not only) weak democratic governance and dysfunctional public institutions, socio-political crisis, high levels of violence, demographic pressures, socio-economic inequalities and marginalization (figure 1). These factors affect employment and decent work at various levels of intensity. Mapping them and understanding how they interlink with one another in creating a "negative multiplier effect" helps determine root causes of fragility and then design responses that have the greatest chances of countering them.

The different impacts of fragility are disproportionately felt by the most vulnerable members of society, particularly youth. Young women and men living in fragile contexts experience several labour market barriers that inhibit their ability to engage in productive activities and earn an income: low levels of education, illiteracy, physical and psychological scars, early family responsibilities, crippling social norms and customs, scarcity of educational and vocational training, skills mismatches, failure of policies, security concerns, limited representation and participation in decision-making and policy formulation and limited employment prospects (ILO 2016a).

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¹⁵¹ See www.un.org/youthenvoy/workplan/.

Fragile setting concepts

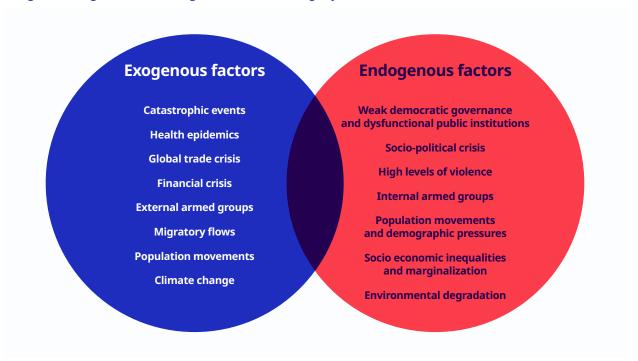
Conflict: A prolonged struggle between two or more parties, including international armed conflict (opposing two or more States) and non-international armed conflict (between government forces and non-government armed groups or between such groups) as well as other situations of violence that destabilize a society or economy (ILO, *Employment and Decent Work in Situations of Fragility, Conflict and Disaster – Guide* (2016).

Fragility: The combination of exposure to risk and insufficient coping capacity of a State, system and/or communities to manage, absorb or mitigate those risks. Fragility can lead to negative outcomes, including violence, the breakdown of institutions, displacement, humanitarian crises or other emergencies (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *States of Fragility 2016: Understanding Violence* (2016).

Resilience: The ability of a system, community or society exposed to hazards to resist, absorb, accommodate, adapt to, transform and recover from the effects of a hazard in a timely and efficient manner, including through the preservation and restoration of essential basic structures and functions through risk management (United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction, *Report of the Open-ended Intergovernmental Expert Working Group on Indicators and Terminology Relating to Disaster Risk Reduction* (2016).

Sustaining peace: A process for managing conflict risk, creating peace in the long term and providing the basic opportunity for economic development (United Nations, *The Challenge of Sustaining Peace* (2015); United Nations, *Peacebuilding and the United Nations* (2007).

► Figure 1. Exogenous and endogenous factors of fragility



Fragility therefore impacts employment outcomes for young people in terms of both availability and quality of jobs and aggravating pre-existing youth employment obstacles. As a consequence, the youth experience labour market inequalities

as well as longer and more uncertain transitions from school to work, remaining neither in employment nor education or training for long periods. Oftentimes they are pushed to engage in jobs that are informal, unstable, underpaid or even illicit, high

risk and harmful (ILO 2016a). This jeopardizes the prospects of young generations, trapping them in a vicious cycle of conflict, disaster and poverty and laying the foundation for further social instability.

Under such adverse conditions, young people can become prone to migrate across borders in search of a better livelihood, which can possibly lead them to being recruited by an armed group, becoming a refugee and/or becoming at risk of trafficking or exploitation. For countries of origin, the youth exodus can exacerbate economic stagnation and fragility through the loss of human capital; in receiving countries, where local labour markets must absorb large influxes of jobseekers, both young refugees and migrants may experience exclusion from employment and decent work and a lack of political voice and protection of their labour and human rights.

Fragility also presents countries affected by or prone to conflict with opportunities for social, economic and political improvements. Societies in post-crisis environments are often more receptive to change. Effective and sustainable responses, including for crisis prevention and recovery, require the adoption of people-centred solutions to reduce vulnerability, strengthen coping mechanisms, foster good governance and rebuild trust and confidence. Decent and stable jobs offer crisis-affected people not only income but freedom, security, dignity, self-esteem, hope and a stake in the reconciliation and reconstruction of their society (ILO 2016a). In this context, supporting the socio-economic integration or reintegration of young women and men increases their ownership of local recovery processes and allows them to become participants in the rebuilding of their community.

Initiatives that facilitate young people's entry into labour markets and access to livelihoods and income while enabling exercise of their rights can help them to overcome their vulnerabilities and ultimately contribute to the development of their country: Improving the employability of youth through the development of their vocational skills and entrepreneurship capacities improves opportunities for employment, including self-employment;

and facilitating access to markets and financial capital sustains the development of micro, small and medium-sized enterprises that constitute the backbone of developing economies. Thus, by empowering young women and men and harnessing their potential as agents of positive change, the promotion of employment and decent work for youth in fragile situations helps pave a way towards more peaceful and resilient societies.¹⁵³

Engaging youth for peace and resilience

- Youth should actively be engaged in shaping lasting peace and contributing to justice and reconciliation, [...] a large youth population presents a unique demographic dividend that can contribute to lasting peace and economic prosperity."
 - From the preamble to the United Nations Security Council Resolution 2250¹⁵⁴

Youth are a highly heterogeneous group characterized by diverse profiles, backgrounds, experiences, challenges and needs. In fragile settings, they can be among the ex-combatants, persons with disabilities, indigenous and tribal peoples, single heads of household, forcibly displaced persons (refugees or internally displaced persons), migrants or among the returnees in the aftermath of conflicts and disasters. Because of the hardships they experience, they are often perceived as an at-risk group. Male youth in particular are often stigmatized because they are perceived as the principal drivers of political as well as criminal violence (Urdal 2012). This view, however, fails to acknowledge the youth demographic dividend prevalent in many developing countries and its potential contribution to development that forms the basis for social cohesion.¹⁵⁵ It

¹⁵³ See www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_577071/lang--en/index.htm.

¹⁵⁴ See www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/2250 (2015).

¹⁵⁵ It has been construed that when young people reach working age in countries with youth bulges, the countries' dependency ratios decline (the ratio of the non-working-age population to the working-age population is an indicator of the size of potential productive resources in an economy relative to non-productive resources (see ILO 2017, 12). If the proportion of working-age youth can be employed in productive activities and decent work, the aggregate level of income per capita should rise, translating the youth bulge into a youth demographic dividend. However, if a large cohort of young people cannot find employment and earn satisfactory income, the youth bulge will become a demographic bomb because a large mass of frustrated youth will likely become a source of social and political instability. See https://blogs.worldbank.org/developmenttalk/youth-bulge-a-demographic-dividend-or-a-demographic-bomb-in-developing-countries.

also underestimates the cost of neglecting youth employment, which can entail adverse implications particularly for countries already prone to conflicts, based on the possible association between the inability to secure decent work and youth frustration, which could become a source of social and political unrest (Brück et al. 2017 and 2016; Idris 2016; Mallett and Slater 2016; Blattman and Ralston 2015; World Bank 2011).

The groundbreaking United Nations Security Council Resolution 2250 (2015) on Youth, Peace and Security rejects this negative view and, conversely, recognizes the pivotal role of young women and men in preventing conflict and sustaining peace. The resolution emphasizes the importance of creating policies aimed at social and economic development, local growth, youth employment and vocational training, both to prevent conflict and to foster the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants. The ongoing implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security, which reaffirms the importance of women's equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, follows along the same lines by advancing the inclusion of women in conflict prevention and resolution, peace negotiations, peacebuilding, peacekeeping, humanitarian response and in post-conflict reconstruction (United Nations 2000).

A positive outlook towards youth also responds to the call of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development for "leaving no one behind" and "reaching the furthest behind first" by acknowledging that fragility, vulnerability, inequality and a lack of decent work opportunities remain the greatest impediments to achieving the 17 Sustainable Development Goals. Investing in youth employment in fragile situations boosts the labour market outcomes of some of the most vulnerable people, including young women and young persons with disabilities, who are most at risk of being excluded from development gains. Considering youth as part of the solution to respond to current crises, mitigate future conflicts and enhance community resilience is particularly relevant to the objectives of (i) ending poverty in all its forms everywhere (Goal 1); (ii) promoting sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all (Goal 8); (iii) reducing inequality within and among countries (Goal 10); (iv) taking urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts (Goal 13); and (v) promoting peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, providing access to justice for all and building effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels (Goal 16). Actions that promote employment and decent work for youth in contexts of fragility leverage the interconnected nature of the goals and contribute to realizing the transformative potential of the 2030 Agenda (ILO 2016a).

ILO policy frameworks, partnerships, instruments and approaches for promoting youth employment in conflict and fragile settings

Working in partnership with countries experiencing fragility and assisting them in developing coherent and coordinated interventions to promote employment and decent work for peace has been a priority of the ILO since its creation in 1919 as part of the Versailles Peace Treaty that ended World War I. The very foundation of the ILO reflects the belief that "universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice" and that the persistence of "conditions of labour involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled" calls for an urgent improvement of those conditions. ¹⁵⁶

Building on decades of work on the crucial link between employment and peacebuilding, the ILO and the United Nations Development Programme led the response of 20 agencies, funds and programmes to the United Nations Policy for Post-Conflict Employment Creation, Income Generation and Reintegration. The policy recognizes the vital role of employment to ensure stability, reintegration, socio-economic growth and sustainable peace.¹⁵⁷ Approved in 2008 by the United Nations Secretary-General, the policy speaks to the needs

¹⁵⁶ Preamble of the ILO Constitution (1919), https://www.ilo.ch/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:62:0::NO:62:P62_LIST_ENTRIE_ID:2453907:NO.

¹⁵⁷ The policy, accompanied by an operational guidance note adopted by the United Nations Development Group in September 2009, contributes to a common understanding of, and approach to, employment creation and reintegration in post-conflict scenarios at country level. It aims to help scale up and maximize the impact, coherence and efficiency of employment support provided by United Nations agencies to post-conflict countries. See www.ilo.org/gb/GBSessions/WCMS 116195/lang—en/index.htm.

and capacities of conflict-affected groups, in particular unemployed women and youth, and encourages actors in the humanitarian-development nexus to tap into the positive energy and skills of young people to help them escape from the vicious cycle of violence, poverty, illiteracy and social exclusion. The policy recommends recognition of the needs of specific groups as part of an overall strategy that respects community-based demands, security concerns and equity considerations. And it emphasizes the importance of resolving root causes of conflict to facilitate long-term reconciliation.

The framework laid out by the policy includes three programming tracks to support upstream and downstream interventions at the country level. All three tracks promote employment, but their focus differs:

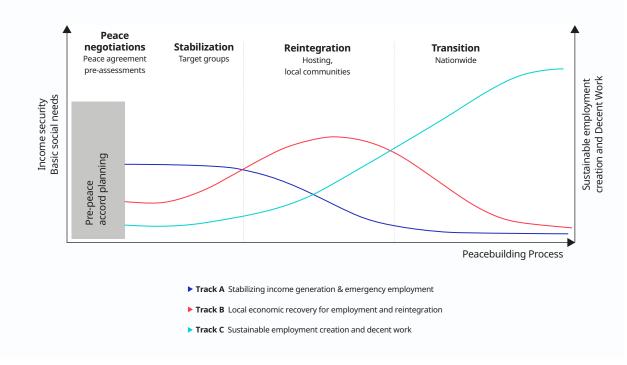
- Track A targets stabilization through actions that provide quick peace dividends, such as immediate job creation to kick-start socio-economic recovery and restore livelihoods.
- Track B targets recovery and reintegration through capacity development of local governments, authorities and providers of business services, community-driven investments in

- socio-economic infrastructure and local economic recovery.
- Track C targets a transition to sustainable employment creation and decent work through enabling policies, support for financial sector and business development services and the promotion of labour institutions.

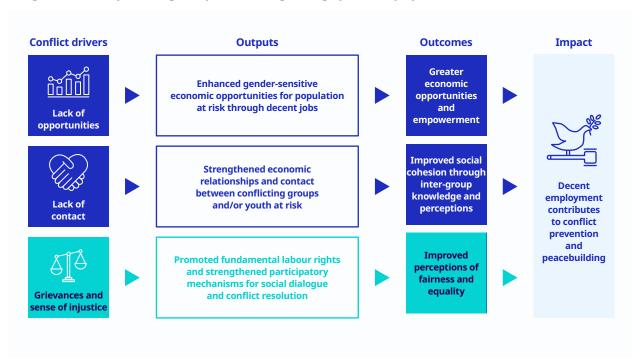
The three tracks, which include the promotion of social dialogue, the protection and respect of fundamental human rights, and gender equality, especially among marginalized groups, should be implemented simultaneously but in varying intensity and duration depending on the context.

The ILO has intensified its efforts to strengthen the peacebuilding contribution of employment programmes through the establishment in 2016 of a partnership with the United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office, the United Nations Development Programme and the World Bank. The result of the first joint activity, an independent study (Brück et al. 2016) called for the consistent application of a theoretical framework underpinning the relationship between employment programmes and peacebuilding and highlighted the need and

► Figure 2. The three concurrent tracks of the United Nations policy for post-conflict employment creation, income generation and reintegration



Source: United Nations 2009.



▶ Figure 3. A theory of change for peacebuilding through youth employment interventions

opportunity to extend the empirical evidence on those linkages.

While recognizing that proof of the direct connection between jobs and peace was scarce and not always obvious,¹⁵⁸ the study allowed a theory of change based on three conflict factors: lack of opportunity, lack of contact and existence of grievances (figure 3).¹⁵⁹ These dimensions, recognized as the likely provocation for engaging in anti-social behaviours, provide a meaningful backdrop to understand how employment interventions can counter sources of youth unrest by:

- ▶ Promoting opportunity. The availability of and access to decent employment for youth at risk, including skills training, counselling, job creation and sustainable income, has the potential to provide greater economic opportunities and empowerment for young women and men, thereby increasing the opportunity costs of engaging in adverse behaviour.
- ▶ **Promoting contact.** Creating constructive contact between rivalling groups by strengthening

economic relationships through employment and bringing people together through social dialogue can challenge preconceived perceptions and forge better relationships and mutual understanding that should contribute to breaking down sources of division.

▶ Addressing grievances. The provision of equal and non-discriminatory access to employment and training opportunities to groups who hold grievances against the State and/or a sense of injustice compared with other groups can help strengthen participatory mechanisms for social dialogue and conflict resolution, thereby contributing to improving perceptions of fairness and equality.

According to this scheme, employment and decent work programmes can be a strategic entry point for mobilizing youth for peacebuilding. While providing livelihood opportunities, promoting social cohesion and social dialogue and advocating the respect of fundamental principles and rights at work, these programmes improve the economic prospects of

¹⁵⁸ This has been contested due to mixed empirical evidence and data reliability issues. See Gilligan 2016; Idris 2016; Berman et al. 2011; Dube et al. 2013 and 2011; Miguel et al. 2004.

¹⁵⁹ Joint statement by the ILO, United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office, the United Nations Development Programme and the World Bank (2016), www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_535663/lang-en/index.htm.

young women and men while laying the foundation for sustainable peace (ILO 2019a).

The collaboration among the four partner organizations, which also led to agreement on principles for action to inform the design, monitoring and evaluation of programmes, aligns with the priorities of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development on peaceful and inclusive societies and decent work and growth and is consistent with the review of the United Nations peacebuilding architecture¹⁶⁰ around the goal of sustaining peace.¹⁶¹

Based on the outcomes of this joint work, the thematic priority of youth in fragile situations (ILO 2016b), formulated as part of the Global Initiative on Decent Jobs for Youth, ¹⁶² embraces the theory of change stipulating that, in crisis settings, employment can contribute to peace by (i) fostering skills and economic opportunities, which in turn reduces incentives for engaging in adverse behaviour and embarking on irregular migration; (ii) creating constructive contact between groups, thus overturning common stereotypes and improving inter-group knowledge and perceptions; and (iii) addressing grievances and perceptions of unfair treatment and inequality.

Recognizing that investments in job creation for crisis-affected youth can positively impact socio-economic integration and social cohesion, the global initiative emphasizes expanding evidence on what works to support the youth and on developing guidance for youth employment promotion in fragile settings to orient tailored interventions in countries and regions.

The continued relevance of the ILO mandate and the central role of employment and decent work in responding to fragile situations were reaffirmed in 2017 when the International Labour Conference adopted the Employment and Decent Work for Peace and Resilience Recommendation (No. 205).¹⁶³ The new Recommendation, a landmark instrument

for the world of work in addressing concerns that are at the crossroads of humanitarian and development assistance, provides updated guidance to ILO Member States on the role of employment and decent work in response to conflicts and disasters¹⁶⁴ and on related measures to prevent crises, enable recovery and build peace and resilience.

Recommendation No. 205 is the result of the revision of an earlier normative instrument, the Employment (Transition from War to Peace) Recommendation, 1944 (No. 71) that expanded ILO guidance to cover reconstruction and recovery as well as prevention and preparedness. Presenting measures that span the Decent Work Agenda, Recommendation No. 205 calls for attention to population groups and individuals who have been made vulnerable by crises, including young people, and highlights response mechanisms that promote youth employment creation as well as peace and resilience building, such as:

- ▶ Provide income-generation opportunities, stable employment and decent work for young women and men through integrated training, employment and labour market programmes that are responsive to the specific situations of young persons entering the world of work; they should include youth employment components in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes that incorporate psychosocial counselling and other interventions to counter anti-social behaviour and violence, with a view to reintegration into civilian life.
- ▶ Provide rehabilitation, social integration and training programmes for young persons who were formerly associated with armed forces and groups.
- ▶ Ensure that second-chance programmes for young persons are available and target their needs arising from interruptions of their education and training.

¹⁶⁰ In 2016, the General Assembly and the Security Council, through the twin resolutions on the review of the peacebuilding architecture (General Assembly Resolution 70/262 and Security Council Resolution 2282 (2016)), expressed their commitment to building and sustaining peace and highlighted the importance of Member States working better together to sustain peace at all stages of conflict. See https://reliefweb.int/report/world/peacebuilding-and-sustaining-peace-report-secretary-general-a72707-s201843.

¹⁶¹ Joint statement by the ILO, United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office, the United Nations Development Programme and the World Bank (2016), www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS 535663/lang-en/index.htm.

¹⁶² The global initiative aims to scale up action and impact on youth employment under the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Launched in 2016 with the endorsement of the executive heads of the United Nations, Decent Jobs for Youth is a unique platform for partners to target fragmentation and catalyse effective, innovative and evidence-based action at the country and regional levels. See www.decentjobsforyouth.org/.

¹⁶³ See www.ilo.org/global/topics/employment-promotion/recovery-and-reconstruction/WCMS_631491/lang-en/index.htm.

¹⁶⁴ Recommendation No. 205 also covers disasters, including prevention, recovery and resilience building. Although there are some similarities in the types of decent work challenges that conflicts and disasters give rise to, and in responses to them, there are also significant differences. For example, institutions tend to be more affected and recovery usually takes longer in conflict situations. This discussion here is limited to examining conflict-related settings.



▶ Figure 4. The ILO Jobs for Peace and Resilience flagship programme

- Adapt education curricula and train teachers and instructors to promote peaceful coexistence and reconciliation for peacebuilding and resilience.
- Ensure that all response measures are developed or promoted through gender-inclusive social dialogue.
- Protect the labour rights and safe environments of youth migrant workers, in all sectors.
- Promote inclusion within the labour market of young refugees and returnees who are in situations of vulnerability.

The importance of crisis responses towards attaining decent work for all and the commitment of governments, employers and workers to these responses is highlighted in the ILO Centenary Declaration for the Future of Work, adopted in June 2019, which states that "decent work is key to sustainable development, addressing income inequality and ending poverty particularly in areas

affected by conflict, disaster and other humanitarian emergencies" (ILO 2019d, preamble). The Declaration also highlights the imperative of truly integrating young people into the world of work.

As one of the ILO global flagship programmes, Jobs for Peace and Resilience, 165 adopts an operational approach that translates the framework of Recommendation No. 205 into tangible action. The overall goal of the programme is to contribute to more peaceful and resilient societies through employment and decent work. It targets vulnerable young women and men in countries that are going through situations of fragility and conflict. 166

Jobs for Peace and Resilience combines employment-intensive investments; technical, vocational and entrepreneurial skills training; employment services; and private sector and local economic development to achieve the following objectives:

- ▶ Provide direct job creation and income security.
- ► Enhance skills for employability.

¹⁶⁵ See www.ilo.org/jpr.

- Support self-employment, enterprises and cooperatives; and
- ▶ Bridge labour supply and demand.

The promotion of social dialogue, the Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work and institution-building is an integral part of the approach.

The design of the Jobs for Peace and Resilience programme was based on the theory of change for youth interventions (figure 3) and on the complementary interaction between the peacebuilding objectives and the employment promotion objectives. By enhancing economic prospects, facilitating inter-group contact and redressing grievances of the most vulnerable communities, particularly of their youth, the programme aims to tackle root causes of fragility, reduce risks of social and political instability, reinforce social cohesion and build resilience to future shocks.

Articulating the theory of change is essential to capture the potential contribution of employment programmes to peacebuilding processes. In the development of programme ideas, this involves systematically conducting conflict analyses, including outcomes and performance indicators in the project design and accurately reflecting the correlation between employment, poverty reduction and peace consolidation in the results chain. The design of employment programmes operating in a fragile context leads to the availability of monitoring data and the possibility to evaluate the contribution to peace of the perceived changes in economic opportunities, inter-group relations and grievances (ILO 2019a).

Targeted interventions for youth employment in conflict and fragile settings

In response to the protracted nature of contemporary crises and their adverse effects on young people and in line with its institutional mandate, the ILO promotes decent job creation, facilitates access to labour markets and reinforces social dialogue as a means to enhance the self-reliance and socio-economic integration and reintegration of youth in conflict situations. An array of ILO approaches has

been adapted and applied that consider the specificities of crisis contexts. They call for emergency relief measures to include sustainable livelihood strategies to reduce dependency on humanitarian assistance and establish conditions for sustainable development and resilience-building. Through its work on the humanitarian-development nexus, the ILO promotes sustainable recovery while tackling root causes of fragility, hopefully helping to avert future crises.

In this framework, the ILO provides assistance from the immediate post-conflict phase to the long term by integrating downstream initiatives that promote decent work with upstream actions for policy and institutional support. Downstream activities are rapid-impact projects targeting affected populations. They generate jobs and income to contribute towards stabilization, social cohesion and the creation of peace dividends. Upstream initiatives support the establishment, re-establishment or reinforcement of national systems, institutions and policies that create an environment conducive to sustainable employment growth. They include the development of employment recovery strategies, institutional capacity-building to address labour-related issues, such as employability, social protection and other aspects of labour administration, and the mainstreaming of the Decent Work Agenda into recovery and transition planning.

Through this combined approach and a strong focus on rights and social dialogue, which represent the ILO value added compared with other actors operating in fragile settings, the ILO aims to (i) bridge the humanitarian-development divide through stabilization interventions, skills development and livelihood recovery; and (ii) build sustainable resilience through improved labour markets by implementing well-recognized technical strategies.¹⁶⁷

Employment-intensive investment approaches for immediate employment creation

The promotion of employment-intensive work and public employment programmes in times of crisis links immediate job creation with infrastructure development for economic stabilization, social and

¹⁶⁷ Traditionally, the immediate aftermath of a crisis was met with relief and humanitarian efforts. In more recent times, it has become evident that the complex and protracted nature of fragility, coupled with the need for more sustainable actions, requires the concurrent implementation of humanitarian and development measures. Effective responses in the humanitarian-development nexus involve the early, coordinated and complementary intervention of humanitarian and development actors.

Employment-intensive investment approach in the Central African Republic

Through the strengthening of community capacities and the construction of infrastructure through labour-intensive activities, the Promotion of Peace and Creation of Decent and Productive Jobs project created immediate income opportunities, facilitated access to infrastructure, strengthened social cohesion and reduced grievances against institutions. In the first year of the project, results included the training of 30 professionals (10 per cent of them women) and 100 young people (30 per cent of them women) in local resource-based approaches for infrastructure development; the uptake of the local resource-based approach across the country, with several other projects making use of it; development of a guide and establishment of a multisector committee on the methodology; and the generation of direct employment in the construction sector with the expectation of sustainable job creation beyond the project duration thanks to the creation of public works cooperatives and the development of business relationships with partners to facilitate their access to public markets (ILO 2019c).

In terms of peace dividends, the project activities strengthened social cohesion through which young people from different and formerly antagonistic communities and religious affiliations learned to work together in infrastructure rehabilitation and to form and manage cooperatives jointly. The job opportunities and incomes they secured through this work encouraged them to see the future differently, thus reducing feelings of injustice and hopelessness, which can otherwise jeopardize peace.

environmental protection, provision of essential services and community cohesion while offering opportunities for promoting enterprises, skills development and the improvement of working conditions. These approaches, which afford measures for the physical reconstruction of destroyed areas, the restoration of natural resources and the management of the environment for climate change adaptation, have positive impacts both in conflict mitigation and post-conflict recovery and reconstruction (ILO 2018a).

Employment-intensive programmes can assist governments in generating emergency livelihood support mechanisms for large numbers of vulnerable young women and men. Employment-intensive approaches applied to rural infrastructure, for example, have generated up to five times more jobs than equipment-intensive methods (ILO 2013a). By participating in these programmes, young people receive work experience; new skills (such as carpentry, masonry, basic accounting); incomes above the minimum wage; guidance on occupational safety and health and access to personal protective equipment; health and accident insurance; and social protection.

While employment-intensive work in crisis settings may only grant wage employment for a short period of time, the impact persists into the long term. The infrastructure developed through

these programmes can create multiplier effects on employment and income by enhancing the economic performance of other sectors. And the increased purchasing power of people participating in emergency employment schemes ultimately stimulates the local economy, potentially leading to the creation of more jobs.¹⁶⁸

Skills development for improved employability

Although macro-level economic improvements are critical for supporting job growth, they will not lead to positive results unless needed skills are developed in parallel. Employment-based solutions to fragility cannot overlook the need for technical and vocational education and training among affected populations of all ages but particularly of young people whose life, education and career paths have been disrupted by conflict. In sudden or protracted crises, women, men, girls and boys may be affected by the interruption of education services for a long period of time and eventually drop out due to the urgency to earn a living for them and their family. Overage youth may find themselves excluded from formal education. Young people engaged in informal learning and looking for a job may experience difficulties with skills recognition, while others who completed their schooling may lack core work skills (ILO 2013b).¹⁶⁹ As a result, young people in crisis settings often become part of the population not in employment, education or training, join the informal economy for survival or migrate in search of better opportunities.

To promote decent work for young people in fragile environments, the ILO directs considerable attention to the conditions under which education and training are planned and undertaken in affected communities, ensuring connection to employers, emphasis on the quality and relevance of training and inclusiveness of all people whose livelihoods have been disrupted or destroyed. Interventions integrate hands-on training with livelihood activities, whether in emergency employment, self-employment, micro and small enterprise development or infrastructure development, thus combining learning with earning. Rapid assessments of both the available skills and skill needs arising from market opportunities are conducted to build on existing skill sets and identify viable employment opportunities. Training and vocational guidance programmes are adapted and adjusted to respond to emerging skills needs for recovery and reconstruction. Skills are certified to enhance young people's employability.

To support early recovery, short-cycle skills training courses should centre on skills not available in the market. Enterprises still operating and providing goods and services with market potential are crucial partners to establish quality apprenticeships, either by upgrading informal apprenticeship practices (ILO 2012b) or by introducing quality apprenticeships as a combination of on-the-job training and school-based education, which should also ensure high levels of instruction and adequate remuneration.¹⁷⁰ To improve employment opportunities for youth, programmes need to be comprehensive and include core skills for employability (often called "soft" skills). This includes conflict mediation, social awareness, cooperation and personal skills. The training should be accompanied with psychosocial support that works to enable young people engage in peaceful coexistence and contribute to reconciliation in their communities (ILO 2019b).

In the context of the Syrian refugee crisis, many Syrians who had sought refuge in Jordan and Lebanon did not have certificates or evidence of qualifications (ILO 2018b). Due to the protracted nature of a conflict like what Syria is experiencing, skills erosion is a risk for refugees, given their limited labour market access. Yet, later, reconstructing Syria will require numerous qualified workers. In response, the ILO and the Centre of Accreditation and Quality Assurance are implementing a recognition-of-prior-learning scheme for Syrian refugees and Jordanians with experience in the construction sector, with the objective of improving workers' employability in occupations that are subject to licensing.¹⁷¹ The scheme includes a compulsory 40-hour training course that helps refugees gain knowledge on occupational safety and health and upgrade their technical expertise. Upon taking an assessment at the end, participants obtain a certificate that enables them to receive an occupational licence and work permit. Thanks to the project, skill-qualification certificates were given to 9,200 workers in 14 occupations in the construction sector from September to December 2017, increasing their employability, both in the host country and in the event of their return to Syria. The scheme is being extended to the agriculture sector.

Enabling environments for self-employment and for micro, small and medium-sized enterprise and cooperative development

The private sector represents the main source of employment creation across economies worldwide. For example, small and medium-sized enterprises account for an estimated two thirds of all jobs in the world; in developing countries, this estimate is often higher (ILO 2015a). In the aftermath of conflicts, the development of sustainable enterprises is essential for helping societies strengthen their resilience and transition to peace.

In situations in which young people's access to education, training and employment is disrupted due to conflict, setting up micro, small and medi-

¹⁶⁹ Individuals are most employable when they have broad-based education and training, basic and portable high-level skills, including teamwork, problem-solving, information and communications technology and communication and language skills. This combination of skills enables them to adapt to changes in the world of work

¹⁷⁰ Oftentimes these courses address the immediate labour skills needs of humanitarian and development agencies in implementing their construction, transportation, education, health and security projects.

¹⁷¹ Recognition of prior learning gives credit for competencies gained through previous learning, other training and work or life experience as part of skills assessment. It formally recognizes the skills and knowledge that a person already possesses against competencies in the National Training and Vocational Qualifications Framework.

um-sized enterprises, cooperatives and other types of social and solidarity economy enterprises and the strengthening of existing ones in challenging contexts (limited service availability, disrupted market functioning, etc.) is imperative for creating livelihood options and incomes for young women and men.

Different enterprise forms face different constraints and offer different opportunities in such circumstances. For example, due to the democratic nature of cooperatives, their establishment can be a relatively lengthy undertaking. Unless they are already well established, they may not be the most appropriate mechanism for providing post-conflict humanitarian relief. When already established, cooperatives can operate in unstable situations, often at times when other forms of private business have ceased to function fully. Young people tend to choose cooperatives because of the collaborative approach they promote, which combines self-help with mutual aid; the possibility to circumvent the challenges of establishing new start-ups; and their function as a medium for formalizing informal work arrangements (ILO 2012a). Being jointly owned and democratically controlled enterprises, they also support trust-building and are true schools for democracy, help combat xenophobia and racial, tribal and religious hatred and help rebuild communities (ILO 2016a). They are essential for generating decent work, strengthening resilience and building peace.

The value added of integrating entrepreneurship promotion and access to finance is demonstrated by the higher returns generated on productive work for young people (ILO 2015b). Assisting youth in conflict settings to access financial resources, for example through the provision of recovery grants or loan guarantees, not only boosts their drive for entrepreneurship and self-employment but has also positive impacts on their resilience by improving their preparedness, coping capacities and ability to manage risks.

It is vital to build the skills of young women and men entrepreneurs in business and cooperative management, improve their financial literacy and facilitate their access to financial services. It is also necessary to ensure that the environment in which enterprises operate is as enabling as possible. The ILO provides assistance through the delivery of programmes that support sustainable enterprise development.

To guide the formulation of responses and the most appropriate interventions, the ILO has developed methodologies for assessing the environment in which enterprises operate and identifying needs, constraints and opportunities. These include local economic recovery and development approaches that encompass the territorial dimension of the enterprise ecosystem through a territorial diagnosis, value chain and market systems analysis and enabling environment analysis that take stock of the overall micro, small and medium-sized enterprises.¹⁷²

One such methodology is the Approach to Inclusive Markets, which analyses markets and sectors for high potential to include forcibly displaced persons and host communities. For instance, in the Somali Region of Ethiopia, the ILO and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees carried out a market systems assessment and determined that the small ruminants sector had the greatest potential to improve the livelihoods of refugee and host community members. Interventions along the value chain were designed to improve links between livestock herders and local export abattoirs and regional markets; improve the organizing of herders to enhance their bargaining power with traders; and improve entrepreneurship and business skills among the refugee and host community members. As a result, the refugee and host community members now have improved access to livestock markets and regional traders travel regularly to the refugee camps to purchase livestock.

Once practical support needs are determined, the ILO turns to a number of mechanisms, including high-impact training packages to enhance management capacity, such as the Start and Improve Your Business programme for small and medium-sized enterprises, the GET Ahead for Women in Enterprise training package and resource kit and the Managing Your Agricultural Cooperative and the My.Financial.Coop programmes for different types of cooperatives.

In addition to assisting young people in adapting to volatile situations, business development training in crisis settings can help reintegrate youth who were formerly associated with armed forces and groups into civilian life. In the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, for instance, the ILO trained demobilized ex-combatants in entrepreneurship and cooperative management, complementing vocational training provided by

partner organizations in 11 trades chosen by the beneficiaries (ILO, UNDP and UNHCR 2017).173 The young ex-combatants, who were almost illiterate because they rarely could attend school due to the conflict, learned about cooperatives, enterprise development and community activities while still in the Centre for Preparation and Reintegration, which promoted social cohesion, peace and community values. A better understanding of concepts relating to savings, costs and income contributed to their engagement in vocational training by clarifying how to manage a profitable occupation. While enhancing the livelihood opportunities of the young demobilized soldiers, the project helped them break down military attitudes, improve their confidence, rebuild constructive relationships with their communities and adjust their behaviours, all geared towards promoting peaceful coexistence.

Employment services bridging labour demand and supply

Fragile contexts are often characterized by dramatic shifts in the labour supply and demand, particularly in the rehabilitation and reconstruction phase post-crisis. Influxes of crisis-affected people seeking employment put pressure on the supply side of the market. On the demand side, specific skills are required to support physical reconstruction, the provision of services and the reinvigoration of economic activities. Emergency public employment services fall under the umbrella of active labour market policies, which, when directed towards young people in crisis settings, facilitate their access to decent work and contribute security in a volatile climate, which thus helps create equity and ultimately helps reduce poverty. Emergency public employment services are essential to link jobseekers in affected populations, including youth, with temporary work and job-training opportunities, thereby contributing towards advancing recovery objectives. During and after the recovery period, employment services continue their importance by ensuring a more efficient matching of skills and jobs and promoting employability and lifelong learning.

Emergency public employment services can be instrumental in supporting initiatives that speak to the needs of youth or other groups but also provide general employment assistance to anyone affected by a crisis. They offer a range of services that

include the registering and matching of jobseekers and vacancies; employment orientation and counselling on paid jobs and self-employment; up-to-date labour market information based on needs assessments of local labour markets to jobseekers and employers for making informed decisions; referrals for jobseekers to special employment programmes, such as public works, training options, entrepreneurship and self-employment schemes and employment and wage subsidies where available. Overall, they seek to prevent discrimination by promoting equal access to job opportunities.

Emergency public employment services can be activated immediately after a crisis to deliver short- and medium-term interventions that prioritize young people or other specific groups and that capitalize on employment and training opportunities offered by international organizations, non-government organizations and other national and international actors as well as the private sector.

In the medium to long term, employment services are critical for developing local capacities. They facilitate access of affected populations to training, jobs or emerging employment opportunities. Long-term sustainability of these services can be ensured only if the capacity of local government structures in the affected areas is strengthened.

Because young people constitute a significant proportion of the jobseekers in conflict settings, emergency public employment services should offer assistance to youth and school leavers (ILO 2003):

- ▶ Provide young people with registration, referral services and access to special vocational guidance and counselling.
- ▶ Conduct information sessions for youth on job choices, skills training opportunities, job search techniques and other services, paying special attention to gender issues and to young people who have never attended school or who left early.
- ► Encourage youth to stay longer in education and training.
- Assist young people in learning about the importance of generic employability skills, including communication skills, personal management competencies and team work.
- ➤ Design and develop special programmes, including on-the-job training, to facilitate the transition of young women and men to employment.

Employment centres for nationals and refugees in Jordan

In Jordan, the labour code allows private employment agencies to operate upon authorization by the Ministry of Labour and according to regulations. The Minister of Labour may authorize associations, syndicates, professional associations, universities, municipalities, chambers of industries and commerce or any public body to provide intermediation services to Jordanians for free.* While the open entry into employment services market ensures wider outreach to affected communities and perhaps increases their choices, it requires coordination among service providers, which may not be possible where public sector capacity is weak.

In response to the Syrian refugee crisis in Jordan, around 26 service providers comprising international non-government organizations and United Nations agencies were operating as of mid-2017, in addition to the government, the private sector and local NGOs operating in the country. Thirteen of them were registering jobseekers in their employment centres; each provider operated one or more (up to 37) employment centres. Among them, the ILO supported 13 employment service centres across Jordan. The services ranged from registration, job search assistance and placement to group counselling, referral to active labour market programmes and management and dissemination of labour market information (Kattaa 2017).

Additionally, the ILO helped the Ministry of Labour establish a Coordination Group for international organizations that provides employment services that meets regularly. The Coordination Group adopted core principles and minimum standards of services for the delivery of employment services, such as free services, confidentiality, equity, empowerment, durable solutions, social partners, work conditions, labour dispute mechanism and coordination. With support of donors, the ILO developed an online job counselling and guidance platform that provides Jordanians and Syrian refugees online registration and matching services, career guidance and training opportunities across multiple sectors, a mapping of services in the area and labour market information. The ILO and other international organizations also have worked to coordinate their efforts at the regional level to contribute to improved quality and coherence of the refugee crisis response in Syria and five neighbouring countries (ILO et al. 2017).

Note: * Labour Code, Law No. 8, 1996, www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/WEBTEXT/45676/65048/E96JOR01.htm#c3; see also www.ilo.org/beirut/media-centre/news/WCMS_671346/lang--en/index.htm.

- Use wage subsidies and training allowances to encourage employers to recruit young people.
- ▶ Provide advice on the demand and skills required for particular occupations.
- ▶ Help organize career information days at educational institutions, job fairs and youth clubs to ensure that school leavers are well informed about the labour market and are well equipped with the tools for informed decision-making about their prospective careers.
- ► Encourage entrepreneurship and promote self-employment opportunities and training.
- ► Collect labour market information from employers on career patterns, required qualifications and further training needed.

In line with developments in international labour markets and labour standards¹⁷⁴ and in accordance with evolutions in domestic law, many employment services, both in emergency situations and post-cri-

sis, can be delivered through public, private and third-sector organizations.

Cross-cutting components

Fragile and post-conflict environments are characterized by weakened institutional and governance structures and depleted social capital, where loss of confidence and trust in formal authorities combines with destroyed relationships and community values. Crises have adverse effects on the most marginalized and disadvantaged persons and can originate or exacerbate violations of the Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, such as discrimination, child labour, forced or compulsory labour, limitations of freedom of association and the right to collective bargaining.

Cognizant of the need to rebuild trust in institutions, support social cohesion and protect labour and human rights in order to provide sustainable responses to a conflict, ILO interventions aim at creating employment and decent work opportunities for youth in situations of fragility through:

- Institution-building. The knowledge and capacity of local institutions are developed to help them improve governance and take responsibility for the design and implementation of employment policy and programmes that contribute to peace and resilience.
- Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work.
 The respect, promotion and realization of these principles as well as international labour standards is advocated as a way to address grievances and tackle root causes of conflict through employment programmes.
- Social dialogue. Active dialogue between governments, employers and workers is instrumental to ensure the thorough determination of needs and locally appropriate solutions, increase local ownership and transparency, support consensus-building and restore trust.

In the aftermath of a crisis, there should be a concentration on restoring the capacity of national institutions and communities to recover, revitalize the economy and prevent relapses. The ILO provides assistance to strengthen the resilience of institutions by including employers' and workers' organizations and local, regional and national institutions in the conceptualization, design and implementation of interventions, based on local needs.¹⁷⁵ As the situation moves from relief to recovery, the process of transition is increasingly led by the national actors.

In the wake of the 2006 crisis In Timor-Leste, for example, the ILO provided direct technical assistance within the national labour administration to increase the ability of the Government to manage employment policy and programmes. The project inserted international staff directly within national institutions and worked through national institutional systems to respond to unaddressed emergency needs and support the establishment of credible and effective national leadership, which is an imperative for peace consolidation and State-building. The aim of the embedded approach was not just service delivery but service delivery by and through the Government. The effectiveness and efficiency of the embedded approach were demonstrated by the sustainability of its results. The ILO in Timor-Leste continues to deliver decent work objectives through programmes and work in three priority areas: youth employment promotion, rural economic development and labour market governance (ILO 2016b).

What works for youth employment in conflict and fragile settings

Promoting employment and decent work for young women and men in countries affected by conflict and fragility is particularly challenging due to the complexities associated with these contexts and to the intrinsic characteristics of youth. Nevertheless, responding to the unique needs of young people is a requisite for stabilizing crisis-affected societies. For instance, in the case of young ex-combatants, evidence demonstrates that successful reintegration measures rely on both the generation of opportunities in the labour market and the improvement of the employability of youth formerly associated with armed forces and groups. 176 Exclusion from decision-making processes in post-crisis recovery and development efforts, on the contrary, can exacerbate young people's pre-existing vulnerabilities and animate anti-social behaviours, ultimately feeding a downward spiral of poverty, frustration and violence. Promoting youth employment in conflict and fragile settings has become paramount for reducing the vulnerability of young people and to seize their positive transformational potential.

As the following highlights, ILO engagement in youth employment promotion in a multitude of crisis settings have generated a wealth of insights that should be useful to many countries.

▶ It is absolutely necessary to understand labour market requirements to avoid skills mismatching while promoting the right of youth to shape their career. Labour market assessments should identify the relevant sectors and opportunities for young people through a participatory approach involving youth whenever possible. While it is imperative to consider youth interests (agricultural activities might be unattractive to some young people, for instance), it is equally essential to formulate interventions that respond to the market needs (skills in demand, microenterprises and self-employment)

because this can facilitate the youth transition into growth sectors and burgeoning industries.

- whatever is done should be guided by a theory of change that links employment and peace outcomes. The objectives of job creation interventions should be clarified through a theory of change that links positive labour market outcomes for youth to peace and resilience. Generally, more resources should be allocated to comprehending the diverse dynamics and potential mechanisms through which these interventions can bring change. A first step when designing programmes for youth employment in conflict and fragile contexts is to understand – through such reflections on the theory of change – how the desired outcome can be achieved.
- ► Context-specific analysis will help build an understanding of youth heterogeneity and gender-specific needs and aspirations. Interventions should respond to the specific heterogeneous needs of youth subgroups (young ex-combatants, young returnees and refugees, displaced youth, young women and young migrants), and data should be disaggregated based on their individual characteristics (age, sex, education level, socio-cultural background). Attention should be directed towards understanding the push-and-pull factors related to decision-making processes at the individual level within a given social context. For example, it is necessary to consider the factors that may stimulate youth reluctance to engage in certain income-generating activities due to negative perceptions or social stigma and, where possible, provide support to curtail such negative associations. Similarly, emphasis should be placed on comprehending the multifaceted dynamics of youth engagement in anti-social behaviours at a local level. In line with this, interventions should attempt to confront the structural and contingent elements that contribute to adverse behaviours through decent employment generation and the amelioration of the quality and availability of education and training opportunities as well as through psychosocial support, conflict-resolution training and social dialogue. Analyses of the specific dynamics and the needs of diverse subgroups are necessary to ensure programme relevance and flexibility during volatile crises.
- Constructive participation and contact must be established at several levels (youthyouth, youth-community, youth-business and youth-government connections). The

- lack of exposure to alternate ways of thinking and values can fuel insularity. Creating spaces for contact, for example, by connecting young ex-combatants with other youth who did not engage in armed conflict, can facilitate the overall integration of these youths into their societies. Programmes that incorporate components for young ex-combatants while tackling the needs of other youth subgroups have been relatively more successful in breaching the element of segregation that hampers effective youth reintegration. Supporting youth cooperatives can be one vehicle of disseminating positive values, such as responsibility, teamwork, accountability and democracy, together with essential business skills training. Another issue exacerbating youth grievances is distrust of the government and institutions and disillusionment with the private sector. Providing a platform for social dialogue allows youth to engage with the government and employers' organizations at a community level. For example, strengthening social connections and building personal relationships within the framework of apprenticeships and engaging with local councils and community groups can be a conduit for social integration and cohesion.
- ▶ Ownership at all levels must be cultivated among the youth, communities and national agencies and government. One dimension of project effectiveness is the inclusion of young people and their communities in project design and implementation to enhance peer-to-peer and community relationships and to ensure ownership and empowerment. In line with promoting local ownership of projects, all other actors, such as employers' and workers' organizations, unions, NGOs and donors, also should be involved in the project design and implementation to facilitate the transition of youth into the world of work.
- ▶ Every effort must be made to reach out to and include all youth. Several interventions targeting youth in conflict and disaster settings have focused on involving young people who are easy to reach, such as those engaged in education programmes or in their communities, thus leaving behind young persons who are hard to reach but who are equally or more vulnerable during crises. Innovative approaches, including technology-based solutions, should be explored to reach youth who have been detached from community systems and interventions due to their geographic (or other type of) isolation.

▶ Mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation need to be amplified to ensure that programmes generate employment and peace outcomes. Rigorous monitoring of interventions is recommended to ensure continued relevance in volatile political and socio-economic climates. Emphasis should be directed to comparing the outcomes and perception changes of programme participants versus non-participants to understand the effects of employment programmes on both employment and peace.

When designing and implementing programmes for youth employment in conflict and fragile settings through, for example, skills development, employment services or enterprise and cooperative development, the process should attend to the following factors: linking short-term job creation with skills development and long-term employment opportunities to promote sustainability; involving the private sector and local businesses to ensure that interventions are demand-led and market-based; and integrating youth into programme design while working with communities

and employers' groups. Promoting tripartism to stimulate youth agency and trust, encouraging community ownership and establishing constructive dialogue will ultimately support peaceful coexistence and strengthen resilience.

When such initiatives meet the needs of youth, the enhanced economic opportunities they provide, the contact they stimulate and the reduction in grievances they bring about will enable young women and men to use their energy for generating positive peace dividends.

Ultimately, ensuring that interventions work for youth is not only important for optimal employment outcomes for young people in situations of conflict and fragility but is also fundamental for sustainable peace. The future of any country inevitably lies in the future of its youth; investing in youth and unleashing their potential for contributing positively to peace is a necessary precondition for prosperous, peaceful and stable societies and decent work for all persons.

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