Youth and the State: addressing the violence of exclusion and building partnerships
Wednesday 11 – Friday 13 December 2019 | WP1715

In partnership with:

The Commonwealth

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Search for Common Ground
Report
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Introduction
Today’s youth population is the largest in recorded history. With over 1.8 billion youth between the ages of 10 and 24 in the world today, supporting and empowering young people is a rising priority. It’s high on the agenda for most policymakers and is (or should be) informing governance and investment at local, national, regional and global levels. What characterizes the approach of many decision makers and politicians, however, is the fear that large youth populations may ignite political unrest and violence. This fear means that States often fail to ensure safe and inclusive spaces for youth and do not fully tap into the potential that young people bring to building peaceful, just and inclusive societies. Despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of youth do not engage in violence, nations with large youth populations often have shrinking civic space and higher levels of state repression. Yet it is critical that young people have the space (literally and metaphorically) in which to exercise their individual agency and voice and have an enabling environment to meaningfully engage in development processes that affect them now, and in the future. Such engagement could support the broader revitalisation of inclusive politics and policy-making in societies more broadly.

The purpose of the Wilton Park meeting on Youth and State was to engage with this vision of inclusiveness and participation. The aim was to identify opportunities for improving relations between young people and their respective governments, and link these to broader processes of building peaceful, just and inclusive societies, as well as reversing youth exclusion. Three reports provided a framework for the discussion: the 2018 report, “The Missing Peace: Independent Progress Study on Youth, Peace and Security” and the paper, “Youth and the Field of Countering Violent Extremism,” (2019) published by Promundo.; and Frontlines, (May 2019) published by UNDP and Agenda 2030, in particular SDG16 on peaceful, just and inclusive societies.

Youth grievances against the State for negligence, marginalisation and abuse are rising in many countries and are a consistent predictor for political violence, including violent extremism. The dialogue at Wilton Park aimed to explore how key actors (governments - including security sectors - and regional organisations, youth activists, donor institutions and practitioners) address or avoid the core drivers that shape troubled youth-State dynamics. One goal was to surface more clearly the reasons why relations between youth and State are so often based on fear, mistrust and resentment, with underlying assumptions that are misleading and counterproductive. Promising approaches that improve youth-State relations (even where State repression and exclusion of youth is significant) were highlighted, as were methods that enable inclusive and collaborative youth-State engagement.

This dialogue followed a Wilton Park meeting on Youth, Peace and Security and Countering Violent Extremism, which took place in Washington DC in April 2019.
Executive Summary

Key themes that emerged from the Youth and the State dialogue include the following:

- **The need for seismic change** – ‘Business as usual is not working’ and the critical importance of political will and commitment to effect change is not translating into action.

- **The need to tackle systemic issues** – Government, security and police repression etc. – if these issues are not tackled, it will not be possible to address the main problems affecting youth.

- **Trust/distrust is at the heart of youth/state relations** – The need for trust along the whole value chain is critical; youth lack trust in institutions generally, not only just in government. Local government engagement may be the best place to start building trust.

- **Corruption and political instability drives grievance and exclusion** – The same happens when State security services work against youth; talking about corruption makes for a tough conversation; however, if it’s ignored, this makes it hard (or even impossible) to address the trust issue.

- **Coordination is critical but often lacking** – Coordination of donors, NGOs and other actors focused on youth is critical for several reasons, including because lack of coordination leads to duplication of effort and wasted costs. ‘Youth’ is often a contested issue within the donor organizations – this makes it hard for them to coordinate internally; NGOs are typically not funded to coordinate.

- **The need to focus on more strategic, long-term efforts** – Youth programmes are often short-term. This sets up tensions by raising expectations that can’t be met; even when programmes go to scale, impact is usually unsustainable once the funding comes to an end.

- **Psychological well-being is critical to empowerment of youth** – There needs to be a focus on the psychological effects of exclusion and the psychology of healing; addressing youth mental health is an issue requiring attention and investment.

- **Youth is a global agenda** – First, youth issues are not limited only to States characterized by conflict and/or repression; second, youth are seeing their lives globally – they no longer see local or regional or national communities as the boundaries of their horizons.

- **Data matters** – Data needs to be disaggregated and used more effectively - e.g. to make the case for investment and provide evidence of return on investment in youth, peace and security/any youth efforts; young people can collect data and become experts within their own communities.

- **Skills development is often overlooked** – Investment needs to be increased to build capacity for youth in basic skills as well as in digital skills, leadership, advocacy, civil engagement and funding young people to run for office.

- **Multi-sectoral approaches should be explored** - There are multiple entry points in different sectors for working with and investing in youth; some of these, such as education, health, and migration, may be less controversial entry points; making use of them could lead to collective action and have a cumulative effect.

- **A focus on resilience could be a way to open up a progressive dialogue** – It could offer an alternative, creative investment path and help open up spaces for the positive contribution of youth.
A Framework for Action

It was agreed that a framework for action should have governance at its centre. Ideas included the following:

- Localize national youth plans to create district level plans (where these do not already exist);
- Increase youth representation in the development of national and local policy and implementation plans;
- Draw upon expertise across government, including in justice, education, and government, when developing youth plans; these plans require a more holistic approach, one that looks beyond youth as its own (artificially separate) sector;
- Include youth issues in other national policies;
- National action needs to be matched by local government action;
- Review existing peacebuilding interventions and improve these. Socialize these interventions amongst government departments;
- Train youth workers, who can become part of the national education curriculum;
- Support youth-led initiatives, including resourcing through funds and technical expertise;
- Increase investments in education policy makers in peacebuilding and conflict resolution to increase political will for youth issues;
- Develop communication branding: an effort to shift hearts and minds needs to move beyond the view of youth as victims or violent; create new narratives.

Introduction

1. The conference opened with an overview of the themes which emerged from the Wilton Park meeting on Youth, Peace and Security and Countering Violent Extremism, which took place in April 2019 in Washington DC. That event ended with participants requesting an opportunity for further dialogue, with greater focus on youth/State relations.

2. The starting point for both events was the need for seismic change, and the necessity of systemic approaches to achieve this. Unless structural problems such as government, security and police repression are addressed, the main problems affecting youth in many countries will also go unaddressed. Yet approaches to youth programming are typically tactical and short-term, with modest expectations for impact. Some takeaways from the opening session included the following: even where efforts do target systemic change, outcomes are usually short-lived once funding comes to an end; State and youth need to find a way to work together for long-term change, yet this is hard to do, especially where it is difficult for youth to speak out and to do so safely. In countries where this is the case, the international community has a role, even a moral imperative, to facilitate dialogue between State and youth and, where this is not possible, to speak out on youth’s behalf.

3. Linked to the matters of State/youth relations, trust – or lack thereof - was highlighted as a major issue stalling change. Lack of trust in governments and institutions is leading to growing youth frustration which translates increasingly into social protests. One challenge is that youth see State institutions as perpetrators of distrust, while State institutions see youth as perpetrators, as lazy, or needing to be repressed. It’s not surprising then, that trust is so difficult to achieve between these two groups. It will therefore be critical over the coming decade to understand how to improve government and institutions’ accountability to the young people they are trying to serve. Civil society is not exempt from this picture of distrust – civil society
organizations can also contribute to youth exclusion and therefore need to acknowledge their part in the problem.

4. This report sets out some of the main themes from the conference, drawing on plenary and small group discussions.

The violence of exclusion

5. The first few sessions began with a focus on youth-State dynamics and “the violence of exclusion”. Speakers and participants explored the nature of youth-State relations today and why a ‘business as usual’ approach has proven so unproductive. They considered what drives many States to repress and marginalise youthful citizens and how this has shaped the exclusion that many young people experience. Participants then broadened the scope to consider to what extent youth exclusion goes beyond political and institutional spheres to economic and social spheres as well. Other issues discussed included the impact of gender for youth-State relations, and whether (and how) States engage (or fail to engage) with both female youth and male youth. Participants discussed how gender-specific differences in youth-State relations should inform policy reform, programming and advocacy efforts involving youth and their governments. Participants also considered whether female and male youth employ different strategies when they deal with State authorities and examples of potentially effective approaches to addressing the main problems affecting youth and States today.

6. The discussion transitioned into a consideration of the constraints and challenges to improving youth/State relations and the question of whether a fertile ‘middle ground’ could be created to address systemic issues of repression and exclusion. It was pointed out that in countries with youth bulge populations there is often high State repression, with male youth and those living in cities coming under greatest scrutiny. And when repression increases, so does the activity of violent extremist groups. Ultimately State repression backfires. How therefore to find that middle ground for dialogue? Creating this is further complicated given the perceptions - and the reality - of growing horizontal inequality, increasingly exclusive economies and the lack of opportunity or future vision for young people (by their States and sometimes for themselves).

7. A case study from one region described how withdrawal from the State as a service and security provider, and guarantor of human security, has led to an all-time low in youth/State relations. On the one hand, the State is absent, playing a limited role, particularly outside capitals. On the other hand, the State is selectively present, there to punish those the State does not like, or to provide preferential opportunities for a favoured few to join programmes and receive benefits. It was agreed by participants that effective service delivery, whether in regard to security, nutrition, health or other services, is one way that a State gains legitimacy. Absence of State services is fuelling discontent; young people are indicating growing frustration in this respect. No matter how hard they work, they feel they are being let down by the State. For positive change to happen, States need to address material needs (healthcare, food, jobs, transportation) and – as important – non-material needs (freedom from fear, freedom of expression). Without addressing both material and non-material factors, it is not possible to discuss trust-building.

8. The language of exclusion came up early on and surfaced several times during the event. Participants noted government sensitivities when using terms which implied fault rather than opportunities for them to be agents of change. For example, some governments preferred using terms such as ‘vulnerable’, rather than terms such as ‘marginalization’ or ‘exclusion’. It was also suggested that effective dialogue between youth and agencies with governments is more likely if framed in the context of ‘peace and security’, rather than ‘violence’. It was further noted that terms such as ‘extremism’ and ‘radicalization’ do not have to equate to violence – arguably they are...
features of youthful engagement with important issues that affect them, and the international community should be alert to inadvertently buying in to the criminalization of the language of democratic action.

Trust matters

9. The multilayered issue of trust was quickly established as a recurring concern throughout the three days’ discussion. The point was made that it’s hard to talk about trust without also talking about the impact of corruption and political instability on the lives of young people. It was suggested that there’s often a reluctance – on the part of international and other non-State actors - to tackle these issues head on. Yet if they remain unaddressed, it will be almost impossible to build genuine trust. It was proposed by several participants that the best place to start creating trust might be at local government level, then building out from there.

10. It is not simply an issue of lack of trust between youth and State, however. There are also trust issues that reside in the relations between youth and civil society (largely in the latter’s association with government); youth and institutions more broadly; youth and donors (for not challenging repressive State regimes) and between ‘elite’ youth and those typically excluded from programme and other opportunities. Several participants also pointed out that some NGOs may create a “fake sense of empowerment” to those they have helped, by raising expectations, only to leave when the funding runs out. This has damaging consequences and usually affects those that are already the most marginalised. One NGO representative mentioned that “we do not have good awareness of ourselves – we think we are trusted and credible. But we need to be self-aware that we may not be trusted to engage and to implement.”

11. Young people should be supported to look beyond the State to build trust within communities and between themselves. Youth exclusion often starts at the community level, and young people need support to help form the agenda that addresses their needs, not just be on the receiving end of others’ agendas. Building networks of young people to learn what works in non-violent civic change, civic engagement and civic leadership may help bridge the growing deficit of trust. Informal networks or informal youth groups can also be a locus to build significant trust, especially within communities; it was suggested that it’s the role of domestic actors to help create movements and networks, because frequently, “the international community gets it wrong”.

12. It was also pointed out youth is a global agenda. First, youth issues are not limited only to States characterized by conflict and/or repression; it’s not just about a few countries or a few regions. Second, youth are seeing their lives globally – they no longer see local communities as the boundaries of their horizons.

Political leadership

13. Government officials were open about the challenges of moving from political will to action. Several noted that their commitments and policies do not always translate into implementation. There is an opportunity here, participants suggested, to work closely with States to help them build capacity; one government official commented that it’s only this that will help move political will to action. Another emphasized the importance of working across government, since some departments may be supporting policies that are unintentionally undermining broader youth agendas. It was suggested that ministers also need training on how to interact with youth – again, not just those who are focusing on youth; training needs to be mainstreamed across other ministries as well.

14. In the USA, advocacy is underway for adoption of new legislation on youth, peace and security which is international in focus (as well as domestic). It aims to anchor policies that support youth as peacemakers worldwide. Components of the proposed
legislation include integrating the youth voice into policy; ensuring the USA works with partner governments; creating a new investment stream to support youth programming and integrating protection of youth into policy.

15. One participant pointed out that it was important not to be naïve regarding the good will of States to engage with this agenda and that the most oppressive States were missing from the room for this dialogue. More broadly, it was agreed that it is unrealistic to expect States to change entrenched practices and thinking overnight. State practitioners will need to adjust their lenses to understand how they can be part of the solution to better youth/State relations. This will take time, shared learning and practice for change to be sustainable in the long run.

Coordination and strategic planning

16. Coordination of donors, NGOs and other actors focused on youth is critical for several reasons. Lack of coordination leads to duplication of effort and wasted costs, as well as creating barriers to scale and sustainability of impact. Linked to the call for better coordination was a recognition that more strategic, long-term approaches are required. The current focus on small, short-term projects often do not bring youth organizations together and can set up tensions by raising expectations that can’t be met. Even when programmes show the promise of scaling up, outcomes are often unsustainable once the funding comes to an end. In addition, NGOs are typically not funded to coordinate and therefore the incentive to collaborate with other NGOs to achieve greater and longer-lasting impact is absent. One participant noted that NGOs “all operate on competition, which puts challenges in our way of making seismic change”. On a positive note, a representative of an alliance focusing on peacebuilding shared how their network is looking at the role of youth in positions of leadership – on Boards, steering committees, etc. – and how to increase youth-led organizations in a meaningful way (i.e. not just led by youth volunteers). Essentially this is about institutional change and up-ending old ways of working.

17. One participant described how ‘youth’ is often a contested issue within the donor organizations, which makes it hard for them to coordinate internally. Issues around youth, armed violence and marginalisation, and the way they are framed, have their sensitivities within large donor organizations. ‘Youth’ can be a very political issue, centred around matters of democracy, freedom of assembly, and freedom to speak out – areas where most donors are hesitant to engage. It was suggested that one way donors could engage and invest would be to support efforts that focus on the psychological effects of exclusion and the psychology of healing, as well as on mental health more broadly – areas often ignored or under-represented in funding.

18. At the national level, participants considered how best to revive coordination on youth empowerment amongst member States. It was suggested that this could include engaging youth politicians and young parliamentarians, as well as identifying and working with the next generation of civil servants, politicians, and others working in State institutions. In addition, since young people are working in human rights organizations, trade unions, the police and other organizations, they can be change agents within these spaces. There is now a need to think innovatively about how to engage with them.

19. Coordination and engagement at the civic level are also promising areas for investment. This could involve supporting networks of young people to learn what works in non-violent civic change and creating programs that promote civic engagement and civic leadership. Common challenges in this space include a plethora of short-term programs that compete with each other, lack the capacity to take efforts to scale and fail to reach marginalized youth.

20. The importance of coordinating across sectors was also highlighted. There are multiple entry points in different sectors for working with, and investing in, youth. Some of these, such as education, health, and migration, may be less controversial
entry points. Making use of them could lead to collective action and have a cumulative effect, potentially leading to the seismic change that's needed.

21. The balance between a need to match immediate concerns, whilst simultaneously thinking of the long-term strategy of engagement was noted as being a difficult one to achieve. There was consensus, however, that overall there needs to be much better coordination of development efforts and that strategic, collaborative approaches to investment would yield more lasting results.

The importance of data

22. The value of good data came up several times during the conference. It was agreed that data needs to be disaggregated (youth/gender) and that current data does a poor job in this respect, with States often not gathering gender or age data. Lack of data means that governments often have limited understanding about what the youth needs and issues are in their countries.

23. It was suggested that data could be better used, for example to help make the case for investment, as well as provide evidence of return on that investment in youth, peace and security/other youth efforts. Several participants stressed the importance of young people collecting data and being supported to become experts in data collection within their own communities. There is room for significant capacity building in the way data is collected, analysed and used. This suggests an area for investment that would have benefits for a wide range of stakeholders.

Skills development

24. A significant portion of the discussion focused on the need for more skills building for youth, including digital skills. Engagement with Ministries of Education should therefore be a priority – skills building is not only a matter for youth ministry departments. It was noted however, that even where strides have been made in secondary and tertiary education, they are not matched in the job market. Many countries have zero job growth, despite thousands of young people pouring out of schools and colleges into the market space.

25. Basic and ‘soft’ skills development is often overlooked. It can’t be assumed that all youth have the capacity to have effective dialogue with their government that could lead to policy change or shaping political structures over the longer term. Investment needs to be increased to build capacity for youth in skills such as leadership, advocacy, research and evaluation, civic engagement, as well as supporting young people to run for office and strengthen their political participation more broadly. Other skills mentioned included entrepreneurship, and financial competencies. Mentorship was also mentioned as an important aspect of skills development, including drawing on the inspiration of young people who inspire other young people, as well as the skills of older and more experienced individuals who have demonstrated an understanding of youth engagement.

Protection and safe spaces

26. Participants emphasized the critical need for safe spaces for youth, pointing out that police or military harassment of youth who gather together is an issue in many countries. This can create a fear of participating in dialogue and speaking out, which renders youth silent. Yet dialogue is crucial to create a sense of understanding about what youth want and need, and to improve trust. Protecting civic space is therefore vital. Nothing can be done without safe spaces, and protection is a priority. Spatial exclusion matters.

27. Institutionalized places may have a role to play in promoting dialogue (e.g. a townhall). However, they can also be transactional or have a co-optive power which mitigates against the trust agenda. It was suggested that the concept of dialogue should be widened beyond formal arrangements. Other avenues include virtual
dialogue, media debates, research and media releases etc. Online engagement/dialogue is growing and offers an opportunity for collective debate, outside of more traditional political dialogue. This helps build inclusion and a sense of self-esteem for young people, which can in turn lead to more engagement with formal modes of dialogue.  

28. A commitment to the inclusion of youth voices that are not usually heard is vital – there’s a need for State and international actors to look beyond the youth ‘in the room’. It was also emphasized that exclusion of young people goes beyond just being a youth. Gender and ethnicity come into play, as well as tribal identity and religious identity. Part of creating safe spaces is also about having rules for engagement – what does dialogue look like; and how do you ensure security and protection for all involved? Several participants proposed that a focus on resilience could be a way to create a progressive dialogue; it could offer an alternative, creative investment path and help open up spaces for the positive contribution of youth.

A Framework for Action

29. In the final few sessions, participants returned to the challenge shared at the start of the event: how could the goal of seismic change in youth-State relations be realized? This led to a discussion about what a framework for action for improving youth/State relations might look like. Questions included: What priorities would support a major breakthrough? What must each group – governments, regional organisations, donors, UN agencies, international NGOs, civil society – do to facilitate a breakthrough? Where does leverage exist for reforming youth-State relations?  

30. One model shared with the group was the Commonwealth’s holistic approach to the development of national youth strategies. Its theoretical framework engages young people who are central to the planning at each stage, from design through to implementation. There is potential for any government to adapt and incorporate this practical framework in their own national and local youth strategies. One avenue for enquiry post-conference would be to explore which governments are showing the way in effective youth strategy planning – it’s important that governments are leading the way, not just international actors creating demands of them.

31. The importance of bringing in the private sector as part of the framework for action was raised. This is especially critical in those countries where the State is failing in its service delivery capacity and incapable of meeting the needs of its population. The private sector should be encouraged to invest in youth (e.g. local business) to help grow and sustain economies in the future.

32. Other issues that mentioned during these discussions included a need for reversing the most significant policies that exclude youth, and for policy action to be conscious of the differences between elite youth and non-elite youth. Youth are not homogenous and cannot be treated as one group. Encouraging governments to reappraise their youth budgets was also mentioned. A summary of the recommendations that participants proposed be included in a Framework for Action can be found on page 3 of this report.

Commitments

33. Participants were invited to share commitments of actions they would take following the Wilton Park meeting. Broadly, commitments were made in the following 12 areas:

- **Protection**: One alliance stated that they will prioritise the challenge of the protection of young peacebuilders in its strategy and also put this high on the agenda of its partners
- **Research (including better collection and use of data)**: Several organizations committed to funding/prioritizing more policy-relevant research to build an evidence base; other commitments included a greater focus on how local
youth define the issues that matter to them; more research to have a better understanding of how to map the actors that could support the youth; and strengthening the domain of youth and civic participation so there is more data available.

- **Engage more with young people in the design of programmes/build capacity of youth groups**: Several NGOs and others committed to engage with young people much more in the design of programmes; several participants committed to focus members of their peacebuilding and youth coalitions on the importance of building capacity within the local community and to build capacity of youth groups to grow from groups to networks.

- **Organize young people and hosting dialogues/more safe spaces**: Commitments included hosting local dialogue between local State actors and local youth; creating more safe space and bringing together young people and State actors to confront stereotypes.

- **Continue to speak up/out and share best practice**: Many participants committed to continuing to speak up about youth issues; target youth inclusivity and participation; strengthen coordination and co-creation of youth intervention; establish governance structures for accountability; and share best practice across the region in regional forums.

- **Funding – coordination, new mechanisms, youth access to funding**: Several organizations committed to strengthen capacity-building in the movements and organisations of youth to access funding; several participants committed to researching existing and/or developing new funding mechanisms that work for youth movements to build capacity and to increase funding to build civic engagement of youth.

- **Government engagement**: NGOs, youth representatives and others committed to share practical suggestions from the conference with government officials to implement these, and to ensure YPS is integrated into national policies; commitments were also made to map youth ministries to understand their capacities; to advocate for young people to be put into positions of trust; to integrate the YPS agenda in the Commonwealth programme of work; and to convene country roundtables of all stakeholders to develop youth/State relations. One government official committed to revising the current youth strategic plan, and to incorporate some of the recommendations from the Wilton Park conference into that plan. Another committed to developing a brief that will import findings from the discussion and to share this with members of parliament to inform their actions.

**Conclusion**

At the turn of a new decade, there is an opportunity to change the narrative for youth/State relations. Participants spoke of the paradigm shift that is required to achieve the seismic change called for in ‘The Missing Peace’, and the need to move the ‘youth narrative’ from one that highlights violence to one that features meaningful engagement and peacebuilding. The challenge should not be underestimated; however, participants suggested that Resolution 2250 offered a turning point on how young people are recognised as partners. They proposed that, at the start of this new decade, there is a unique opportunity to build on work already underway. This will require greater support for efforts to open up civic space and to create more inclusive and positive forms of engagement between youth and States. It is also critical that the international community coordinate its work and its investments for more effective, lasting impact. This may be via a global coalition comprised of members of UN, AU, EU, member States, NGOs, USAID, academics and others to collectively ensure progress is made and to be accountable for that. Underpinning that narrative are the issues of protection, dialogue, and coordination;
a focus on protection and psychological health is also critical.

It was also pointed out that much of the discussion over the three days were based on the assumption that States are receptive to engage in youth issues – yet that’s not the case in a lot of countries, which opens up opportunities to think about how to engage these States going forward.

The framework for action (summarized on page 3) proposed by Wilton Park participants focuses on the importance of creating enabling environments to support meaningful youth and government engagement, and the revitalisation of inclusive politics and policy-making in societies more broadly. The framework further emphasizes the need for engagement between youth and the State at both local and national levels; the importance of drawing on expertise across governments to promote a holistic approach when developing youth plans; the value of investing in youth-led initiatives; and the importance of resourcing critical skills development for youth.

The final message was the need for urgent action to grasp the unique opportunities that currently exist to transform youth–State relations in the coming decade: securing a new future is at stake.

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Wilton Park | January 2020

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