MARGINALIZING YOUTH

How Economic Programs Fail Youth in Post-Conflict Settings

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ABSTRACT

Young people are among the most under-served of all people affected by conflict and displacement despite the fact that they are both causal and recipient agents. Additionally, as a result of marginalization and social exclusion, youth are highly vulnerable to recruitment, exploitation and abuse. Young people affected by conflict are often disadvantaged by disrupted schooling, the lack of parental mentoring in traditional livelihoods, and limited employment opportunities and, as such, are ill-equipped for the transition to adulthood. Livelihood interventions seldom target youth and those that do are often inadequate. This article looks at how economic programs fail youth both during displacement, leading to wasted potential, and in post-conflict settings through two case studies: Southern Sudan and Liberia and argues for more responsive, appropriate interventions so that youth can effectively participate in the re-building of the countries, communities, and lives.

We want jobs and the means to survive. We want relevant training for those of us who are old enough to work so that we can find safe jobs for ourselves and be useful to our communities. We want technical and vocational training institutions in all our communities that will lead to real jobs.[1]

INTRODUCTION

- Half of the world's 39 million children who are out-of-school live in conflict-affected fragile states.[2]
- A country emerging from civil war faces a 44 percent chance of returning to conflict within five years if economic growth does not take off.[3]

These statistics, taken together, both present a dire prediction and a clear opportunity about the role economic activity (and the lack thereof) plays with regards

[1] Machel Study 10-Year Strategic Review: Children and Conflict in a Changing World, "Will You Listen? Young Voices from Conflict Zones," October 2007.
[2] Save the Children, "Rewrite the Future: Last in Line, Last in School," International Save the Children Alliance, 2007, p. v.
[3] Collier, Paul, *Breaking the Conflict Trap—Civil War and Development Policy,* The World Bank and Oxford University Press, Washington, DC, 2003.

to youth in post-conflict situations. The civil conflict in Sierra Leone, for example, was fueled by marginalized youth who saw few opportunities to participate in political and economic life. Throughout West Africa, Sudan, Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda and Sri Lanka, the voluntary and forced conscription of child soldiers enflamed and extended the life span of the conflicts. Marginalized youth are easy recruitment targets, especially when soldiering is the only viable employment option.

From continent to continent and across race and religion, the "demographic" of insurgency—ethnic conflict, terrorism, and state-sponsored violence—holds constant. The vast majority of recruits are young men, most of them out of school and out of work.[4] Recent studies have shown that a large "youth bulge"—usually defined as a high proportion of 15 to 29-year-olds relative to the adult population—is associated with a high risk of outbreak of civil conflict.[5] In fact, countries where young adults make up more than 40% of the working-age population are nearly 2.5 times more likely to experience a new outbreak of armed civil conflict than countries with lower proportions of young adults.[6] Between 1970 and 1999, 80% of the world's civil conflicts occurred in countries where 60% or more of the population was under the age of 30.[7] Today, of 67 countries with youth bulges, 60 are experiencing social unrest and violence.[8] Clearly, the mix of large youth populations lacking educational and employment opportunities is a social Molotov cocktail ready to be ignited.

Knowledge of these statistics and factors necessitates that we get livelihood programming that targets displaced and returnee youth right. To do less is irresponsible: without appropriate attention and effective economic interventions, we risk the return to conflict. And yet, we know that time and time again young people are not targeted by livelihood interventions; that the vocational training programs designed to serve them do not prepare them for entry into local markets; that youth have little to no access to micro-finance programs; and that there are few programs that address their employment-readiness and skill-development needs, such as accelerated learning programs that help compensate for lost school years, financial literacy programs, and alternative learning programs that marry academic development with employment preparedness skills.

LEARNING FROM DISPLACEMENT

"The first 15 years of the Burmese refugee camps was a wasted opportunity—so much more could have been accomplished."

—Senior international humanitarian staff worker commenting on the "care and maintenance" focus of the first 15 years of camp life for the Burmese in Thailand, where food and non-food assistance was provided, but almost no training or opportunities for income generation.

[4] Cincotta, Richard, State of the World 2005 Global Security Brief #2: "Youth Bulge, Underemployment Raise Risks of Civil Conflict," Worldwatch Institute, March 1, 2005.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Leahy, Elizabeth, with Engelman, Robert, Gibb Vogel, Carolyn, Haddock, Sarah and Preston, Tod, "The Shape of Things to Come: Why Age Structure Matters to a Safe, More Equitable World," Population Action International, 2007, p. 3.
[8] Beehner, Lionel, "The Effects of 'Youth Bulge' on Civil Conflicts," Council on Foreign Relations; http://www/cfr/org/publication/13093/

It would be remiss to look at job creation and economic potential for young people in the context of post-conflict return without also looking at the skills development provided during displacement. Post-conflict countries and regions invariably include the return of peoples displaced by the conflict—be they former refugees or people internally displaced to other parts of the country. It is also shortsighted to view this displacement as a temporary phenomenon that disrupts people's lives for only a few weeks or months. The majority of refugees are now displaced, on average, for 17 years.[9] While similar figures do not exist for internally displaced persons (IDPs), we do know that the average length of all civil wars (which generally produce massive displacement) since 1945 is 10 years. Conflicts in Burma, Angola, India, the Philippines, Chad and Colombia have lasted more than 30 years. Wars in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Lebanon, Sudan and Peru have lasted more than 15 years.[10]

Research by the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children in refugee and IDP camps and urban centers, however, has found a lack of viable training and livelihood programs targeting youth. In the Burmese refugee camps in Thailand, for example, a Women's Commission field assessment found that vocational training programs serve only a small number of refugees, are fairly traditional in nature (baking, carpentry, tailoring, hairdressing), and, in general, do not lead to economic opportunities. Refugees stated that the course offerings were planned without community input and that they have few, if any, opportunities to use skills acquired through such training programs. The programs do not match market needs, including those few that do exist within the camps, and do not appear to build on refugees' existing skills.[11]

In a Women's Commission's assessment in southern Sudan, it was clear that the lack of appropriate education and skills training provided during displacement was greatly impeding young people's participation in the reconstruction process. As a result, young people find themselves sidelined, with even unskilled jobs going to Ugandans and Kenyans, leaving many of the locals mere bystanders. Far greater investments are needed in skills development and livelihoods while youth are displaced so that those years are not wasted opportunities but rather time used constructively to develop skills and prepare young people for the rebuilding of their own countries, communities and lives.[12]

Similarly, field research in northern Uganda found young people unprepared for contributing to the emerging peace. Many young people in the region, for example, do not attend school and only 20% complete primary school.[13] Meanwhile, only 5% of secondary school-aged children in the north are enrolled in

[9] UNHCR, Protracted Refugee Situations, Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Program, Standing Committee, 30th meeting, 10 June 2004, p. 2.
[10] Walter, Barbara, "You Can't Win with Civil Wars: History Teaches that Conflicts like Iraq Drag on and Rarely Produce Peace Deals," *Los Angeles Times*, October 2, 2007.
[11] Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, "We Want to Work: Providing Livelihood Opportunities for Refugees in Thailand," September 2006.
[12] Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, "From the Ground Up: Education and Livelihoods in Southern Sudan," 2007.
[13] UNICEF-Kampala complied statistics, 2007, p. 116.

classes.[14] Barriers to education include extreme poverty, insecurity, abduction, poor health and household responsibilities. And yet, young people in the north rate education as their highest priority and see it as the principal solution for the multitude of problems they face.[15] The other concern most widely voiced by young people was the lack of opportunities to earn a safe and dignified income to support themselves and their families. Young women and men said that exploitation and abuse, poor health and hygiene, and lack of food were all a direct result of their inability to earn an income.[16] Meanwhile, international and local agencies express concern for boys under the age of 18 who are susceptible to recruitment by the Uganda People's Defense Force (UPDF), as it provides one of the few opportunities to earn some money in the north.

When meeting with resettled refugees in San Diego, California, the Women's Commission learned that while the majority of people interviewed had been displaced, on average, for 10 years before coming to the United States, they had little to show for those years in terms of skills developed or knowledge acquired. Many said that their years of displacement were largely wasted. Interviews with their current employers confirmed how unprepared the resettled refugees were in terms of job readiness skills, which resulted in their being relegated to entry-level jobs that required little in terms of literacy, numeracy or knowledge about how to use equipment.[17]

The majority of economic interventions that do target youth during displacement are technical and vocational skills-training programs. Course offerings, though, are seldom linked to market demand—either in regions of displacement or communities of origin and return. Course offerings, in general, reinforce existing gender stereotypes, thereby relegating young females to being trained in those occupations, like hair-dressing and tailoring, that are less well paid, less prestigious and less desired. Additionally, the courses seldom build on youths' existing skills, nor do they take their future aspirations into account, which begs the question, "What are we training them for?" Unless we seize the opportunities that years of displacement provide, we will be crippled in our efforts to equip youth with economic opportunities during post-conflict return and reintegration.

Displacement, especially as it extends year after year, also leads to the erosion of existing skills—especially among adults—and a lack of opportunity for adults to pass on their traditional livelihood practices to their children through informal mentoring and accompaniment. Rural youth, for example, historically learn how to farm from working alongside their fathers and mothers. Such opportunities are seldom present during

[14] Government of Uganda Ministry of Education and Sport. Annual PEAP Implementation Review Report for the Education Sector. March 2007.
[15] Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, "Listening to Youth: The Experiences of Young People in Northern Uganda" (Summary report), September 2007.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Refer to: Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, "Rebuilding Lives: Refugee Economic Opportunities in a New Land," August 2007.

displacement and, as a result, when the conflict is over youth are ill-prepared to return to an agrarian lifestyle. Other young people are generally mentored in "informal apprenticeships" within family businesses—again, an opportunity seldom available during the years of displacement.

CASE STUDIES FROM POST-CONFLICT RETURN SITUATIONS

The Women's Commission traveled to southern Sudan (Nov. 2006) and Liberia (May 2007) to assess livelihood interventions targeting women and youth in return contexts. The overall findings were that many, if not most, of the economic activities being implemented present serious challenges.

Southern Sudan

"Today, illiteracy is our biggest enemy."
—Leader of local women's organization
in Juba, November 8, 2006

Southern Sudan is endowed with a greater proportion of Sudan's natural resources than the rest of the country, including more fertile land, plentiful rainfall, and a larger percentage of the country's oil fields. In fact, it is estimated that 80% of the country's oil lies in the south.[18] Southern Sudan is one of the areas richest in natural resources in sub-Saharan Africa, but the region has one of the least developed economies in the world.

Largely as a result of the devastation caused by more than two decades of civil strife, southern Sudan suffers from chronic underdevelopment and some of the worst humanitarian indicators of any region in the world. 90% of the population lives on less than $1 per day.[19] Less than 30% of the population has access to clean drinking water, and one out of four children dies of preventable diseases by the age of five. Less than 25% of an estimated 2.2 million children are enrolled in primary school.[20] The region has no electricity, no phone service, and only six kilometers of paved roads. These statistics alone demonstrate both the immense challenges and the potential opportunities—in terms of possible economic interventions. Clearly, the health care and construction fields, at a minimum, present huge needs and longer-term employment opportunities for those with appropriate training or experience.

At present, little employment data is available in southern Sudan. The local markets are largely controlled by Ugandans, Kenyans, and, further north, by Arabs. Virtually everything is imported, including both skilled and unskilled labor. Little is known about individuals' and families' current economic coping strategies. What is clear is that a mass return to cattle-raising and herding is unlikely as disputes over land rights and land use and the presence of as many as 1 million landmines[21] make the revitaliza-

[18] *The Economist,* Special Report Sudan, December 9, 2006.
[19] New Sudan Centre for Statistics and Evaluation in association with UNICEF, "Towards a Baseline: Best Estimates of Social Indicators for Southern Sudan," June 2004.
[20] Dr. Michael Hussein. Minister of Education, Science and Technology. Interview, Juba, Sudan, November 2006.
[21] United Nations CHR, *Report of the Secretary General on the Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons,* Walter Kalin, Addendum Mission to the Sudan (3 -13 October 2005), February 13, 2006. Referenced in: "Internal Displacement Monitoring Center, Sudan: Slow Return to the South While Darfur Crisis Continues Unabated, A profile of the Internal Displacement Crisis," August 2006, p. 89.

tion of the cattle herds problematic. This will have serious ramifications for southern Sudan, especially for some of the ethnic groups, such as the Dinka, for whom cattle-raising was more than a livelihood, but also the basis for social interactions and networks. Dowries were paid in cattle; young males transitioned from boyhood to adulthood herding cattle on their grazing migrations across the region; and political clout was gained and favors dispensed based on cattle wealth.

Cattle-raising and other agricultural activities have historically been the mainstay of southern Sudan's economy. Sorghum, maize, cassava and millet were produced in the rainy, fertile areas—such as the Nuba Mountains and the area surrounding the regional capital, Juba. In the flood plains and zones surrounding the Nile and Sobat rivers, gathering of wild plants, fishing and hunting were more prevalent. Returning youth, however, besides lacking the requisite agrarian skills following a lifetime of displacement, are also less interested in returning to remote villages that lack educational programs, health services, and alternative sources of livelihoods. These youth have missed out on opportunities for mentoring in agricultural activities and have often been displaced to urban centers, such as Khartoum, with access to all the options an urban area provides.

The sharing of Sudan's oil revenue, as outlined in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, is adding approximately $95 million per month to the coffers of the Government of Southern Sudan.[22] This oil wealth creates incredible opportunities and carries with it immense risks. If well invested in education, health, agriculture, job creation and infrastructure, it could open up thousands of opportunities for young people to prepare them for employment and help them begin to earn income for themselves and their families. The associated risks are, however, also well known. Countries and regions largely dependent on a single natural resource tend not to invest in diversifying economic activity; the risks of corruption and mismanagement tend to be high; and the benefits are seldom, if ever, equally distributed. Instead, they tend to favor a small, wealthy class and have little real effect on the reduction of poverty more broadly.

At present, it is clear that employment opportunities are not sufficient to absorb the influx of returnees.

At present, it is clear that employment opportunities are not sufficient to absorb the influx of returnees. Youth are particularly impacted by the lack of options. Additionally, given the region's agrarian history, absorbing large numbers of newly returning people into urban areas will require a signifi-

[22] Interview with David Gressly, UN Organization for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Juba, Sudan, November 9, 2006.

cant economic and social shift—a shift for which the region seems ill-prepared. Economic programs and skills training programs targeting youth may specifically have to focus on a strategy of economic adjustment—how to prepare them for new opportunities completely different from the economic activity with which they were previously familiar. The very high rates of illiteracy (75% among adults,[23] with less than 2% of children completing primary school[24]) necessitates considerable emphasis on functional and financial literacy among young people to prepare them for any economic opportunities that do exist.

Liberia

"Vocational training—the supply and demand side are not meeting."

—Deputy Minister for Ministry of Youth and Sports, Government of Liberia, May 30, 2007

As in southern Sudan, serious challenges to youth employment and economic activity were also found in post-conflict Liberia.[25] The statistics alone demonstrate the magnitude of the challenges. In a country with a median age of 16[26] and a life expectancy of only 48,[27] 45% of youth are illiterate,[28] and youth unemployment is 88%.[29] For young people who are working, 50% of those aged 18 and below are involved with the "worst forms"[30] of child labor.[31] Fully 68% of 15 to 20-year-olds in Liberia have never seen a classroom.[32]

Like southern Sudan, Liberia is plagued with a largely destroyed infrastructure—minimal electricity, damaged roads and bridges, and a near complete collapse of the agricultural sector. It is estimated that only 10% of arable land is currently being cultivated.[33] Meanwhile, some 56% of the population lives in rural areas and over 80% are farmers eking out a hand-to-mouth existence, with little or no cash income.[34] Land is quickly depleted as fertilizers are seldom used. Instead, a slash and burn approach is employed whereby cultivation is shifted to new sites through forest clearing and burning, followed by one- to two-year cultivation after which the land is allowed to lie fallow and return to bush for eight to 10 years. There has been little investment in or attention to post-harvest food technologies such as food preservation and processing, which could add value to raw food products, thereby both increasing and regularizing farmers' generally seasonal income.

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[23] Sudan Open Archives, New Sudan Center for Statistics and Evaluation in association with UNICEF, June 2004, p. 3.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Refer to Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children Report, *Build the Peace: Creating Economic Opportunities in Post-Conflict Liberia,* June 2007.
[26] Source: UNFPA: http://www.unfpa.org/profile/compare/cfm
[27] National Human Development Report 2006, Liberia, p.1.
[28] UNDP/ILO, Draft Employment Opportunities and Working Conditions of Rural Youth in Liberia, December 2006.
[29] Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy: Republic of Liberia, 2006, http://siteresoruces.worldbank.org/INTPRSI/Resources/LIBERIA-IPRSP(Jan 16-2006).pdf
[30] ILO Convention 182 defines the worst forms of child labor as the "use of any individual under the age of 18 for the purposes of debt bondage, armed conflict, commercial sexual exploitation, drug trafficking, and other types of work identified as hazardous to children."
[31] International Rescue Committee, Needs and Resource Assessment on Child Labor and Education in Targeted Communities in Liberia, 2006.
[32] Youth Unemployment and Regional Insecurity in West Africa, *UNOWA Issue Papers,* Second Edition, August 2006.
[33] Comprehensive Food Security and Nutrition Survey, DFID, WFP, FAO, et al. 2006, p. 14.
[34] Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy, Republic of Liberia, 2006, p. 4.

At present, Liberia is food dependent and must even import most of its rice, the local food staple. In fact, 11% of the rural and semi-urban population is completely "food insecure" and an additional 80% are vulnerable to food insecurity.[35] Few medium and large enterprises are operational and the informal economy is estimated to be 80% of the national economy. Further, at its present rate of growth, it is estimated that it will take Liberia 25 years to achieve pre-conflict income levels.[36]

The Women's Commission's field assessment to Liberia found that market assessments were largely absent from project design and, hence, programs were seldom market-driven. While hundreds of skills training programs exist, the same courses were offered by agency after agency in location after location, and the skills developed through these courses seldom led to job placement or small business development. In fact, the vast majority of the technical and vocational training programs on offer did not have a pre-enrollment counseling component to guide young people on their choices and the job possibilities that may or may not be present for those choices. Nor did they have an apprenticeship component wherein trainees are placed in existing businesses for real work experience, or a job placement component. At most, these courses provided graduates with a start-up tool kit, which was often sold for needed income. Curricula were not standardized and, subsequently, the certification provided lacked validity. These courses also did not prepare young people for employment in the informal market—even though it is the informal market where opportunities, especially for youth, exist.

Youth were also largely absent from all other economic interventions implemented by UN and NGO agencies even though the youth cohort of the population is huge. In fact, one out of every two Liberians is under the age of 25[37] and 20% are between the ages of 15 and 24.[38] Micro-finance programs, for example, were limited both in terms of geographic and demographic outreach. Youth were neither targeted nor served by these programs; nor were vocational training program graduates linked to or referred to micro-finance programs.

Economic growth is currently crippled by a lack of requisite, employment-readiness skills—basic literacy, numeracy, financial literacy—and the absence of personal, social and economic assets among young people. There has also been little attention to increasing both the quality of the labor supply and labor demand. Most programs targeting youth focused only on the former with little to no attention to the latter, thereby creating expectations among trained youth that ultimately result in frustration and continued idleness.

As in southern Sudan, vocational and technical skills training programs were seldom market driven and, in fact, did not appear to take advantage of available opportunities. As an example, the large iron ore mine,

[35] Ibid.
[36] Joint Action Plan for Community-Based Recovery and Restoration of Basic Services in Liberia, 2006 -7.
[37] US Census Bureau: http://www.census.gov/cgi-bin/ipc/idbpyrs.pl?cty=LI&out=s&ymax=250.
[38] UNFPA: http:www.unfpa.org/profile/compare.cf.

formerly LAMCO, soon to be Mittal Steel, which was previously the largest private employer in Liberia, is preparing to reopen after nearly 14 years of idleness. Yet, no training program could be found focused on preparing young people and adults for the workforce that the mine will need. Other existing opportunities that the international community was giving little concerted attention to include pepper production and preservation; rice production; rubber plantation care, production and tapping; cacao production; fisheries and the revitalization of fish ponds; and animal husbandry. Youth, no doubt, at least those in the rural and coastal areas, could be trained and supported to participate in these income generating activities.

With targeted investments in education (including bridging and accelerated learning programs focused on those who have missed many years of schooling), health care, skills development and job creation, the expanding youth cohort could be instrumental in building both the economy and the peace. Without such investment, youth will continue to pose a grave security challenge to Liberia's stability and future prosperity. Already, idle, disaffected youth with few prospects for employment have resulted in increasing insecurity in and around Monrovia. Without interventions that lead to future opportunities, these young people will continue to have little recourse but to survive through all available means, even when placing themselves and their communities at risk. Sexual exploitation and abuse, for example, are reportedly rampant in Liberia and closely linked to the lack of employment opportunities. Girls, often at the encouragement of their families, find "sugar daddies" to help support them and/or their families in exchange for sexual favors.[39]

ADDRESSING THE GAPS

The Women's Commission is undertaking two applied research and advocacy projects to look at and assist the international community to address the issue of employment and job readiness for youth affected by conflict—both those currently displaced and those returning to post-conflict situations. One of the projects focuses specifically on promoting appropriate livelihoods for displaced women and youth. The other focuses on service needs for displaced out-of-school youth.

Livelihoods

The Women's Commission's livelihood initiative aims to improve the effectiveness, quality and sustainability of economic interventions targeting refugee, internally displaced and returnee women and youth by promoting comprehensive approaches that build on existing skills, match market demand, and lead to real income generation. The project includes: desk research covering the range of interventions implemented in camps, urban areas and rural settlements by both humanitarian assistance and development actors; multiple field missions to Africa, Asia and Latin America to assess current livelihood programs and gaps in services; and six pilot projects implemented by operational agen-

[39] Interview with Christian Children's Fund staff member managing a gender-based violence program, May 2007.

cies that try out innovative approaches to capture new learning. The project will culminate in a user-friendly, "how-to" handbook for field practitioners; it will include information on the myriad livelihood intervention options; tools for selection, design, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation; and examples of promising practices.

Out-of-School Youth

The Women's Commission's project on displaced out-of-school youth focuses on those young people, age 10-24, who because of conflict and displacement have missed valuable years of schooling and need specialized assistance to prepare them for the next stages of their lives. The project aims to place this neglected population higher on the international agenda of both donors and practitioners. We will document the problem, identify service gaps, prioritize needs as expressed by young people themselves, and identify innovative field practice that can be replicated and brought to scale to prepare these young people for the transition to adulthood. Programs that marry basic education with employment readiness and that include a life skills component will be assessed as possible models. An advisory committee, composed of displaced youth around the world, will guide and contribute to the initiative. Projects that implement creative approaches and capture new learning will be piloted. Project outputs will include a resource toolkit for donors and practitioners to guide funding priorities and interventions and an advocacy campaign to push for greater attention to and services for young people in conflict and post-conflict situations.

CONCLUSION

Young people are among the most under-served of all people affected by displacement and conflict, despite the fact that they are highly vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. Idle, disaffected youth are easy recruits for armed factions and the presence of such populations significantly increases the risk of return to conflict. At the same time, when young people make choices based on available opportunities to plan for their transition to adulthood, youth can be a time of incredible potential, enthusiasm and energy. Yet their potential as constructive contributors to their societies goes largely unrecognized and unsupported—at enormous cost to the young people and their communities. Treating youth as young people with needs, instead of as people with assets—skills, experience, knowledge and potential—runs the risk of further marginalizing and socially excluding youth, at great peril to the youth themselves as well as to their communities.

"With the right investments and continued progress through the demographic transition, in time large youth populations can become large, economically-productive populations that can drive economic gains—a phenomenon known as the demographic dividend."[40] Michelle Gavin, Council on Foreign Relations fellow, adds, "If you can educate young people and create jobs for them, they can be a boon for development."[41]

[40] Beehner, Lionel, "The Effects of 'Youth Bulge' on Civil Conflicts," Council on Foreign Relations, April 27, 2007.
[41] Ibid.

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Mr. Buscher has also worked as a consultant for UNHCR's Department of International Protection writing a field handbook entitled, *Operational Protection in Camps and Settlements: a reference guide of good practices in the protection of refugees and other persons of concern,* and later on a Strengthening Protection Capacities Project focused on four refugee hosting countries in Africa. Dale has authored numerous publications, presented at workshops and conferences around the world and undertaken research on conflict and displacement in twenty-five countries. Dale earned his Masters Degree in Social Work from the University of Utah and earned a Bachelors of Science degree in both psychology and sociology from Iowa State University.