Jobs and social cohesion

*Jobs can shape social interactions and the ways societies manage
collective decision making. They connect people with others
and can provide access to voice.*

Jobs influence who we are and our relations with others. In most societies, jobs are a fundamental source of self-respect and social identity. Historically, family names in some cultures were associated with specific occupations because people defined themselves by what they did: Miller in English, Hurudza (master farmer) in Shona, and Suthar (carpenters) in Hindi.

Jobs connect people with others through networks. The workplace can be a place to encounter new ideas and information and to interact with people of different ethnicities. The distribution of jobs within society and perceptions about who has access to opportunities and why can shape people's expectations and aspirations for the future, their sense of having a stake in society, and perceptions of fairness.

These individual influences of jobs may have collective consequences. Having or not having a job may affect key elements of social cohesion, the capacity of societies to manage collective decision making peacefully. While the frustration of unemployed youth during the Arab Spring suggests that the lack of jobs can be a source of social unrest, that does not mean that the relationship between jobs and social cohesion is straightforward, immediate, or direct. Rather, the relationship is contextual and shaped by individuals, their values, attitudes, and behaviors, and the institutions that surround them. And it goes both ways: social

cohesion can also influence jobs by shaping the context in which entrepreneurs make investment decisions.

Empirical evidence of a connection between jobs and social cohesion is limited by data constraints, the complexity of measuring social interactions, and the multiple factors that can contribute to social cohesion. However, cross-country analysis of values surveys finds that job loss or lack of access to jobs is associated with lower levels of trust and civic engagement. This is not only a rich-country phenomenon, as is often suggested. Unemployment can cause depression, increase mistrust in others, and lead people to drop out of community life. Migrants without social ties may be excluded from job opportunities that would allow them to succeed in their new environments. In extreme cases, if people, particularly youth, lack jobs and hope for the future, they may turn to violent or criminal activity to compensate for the absence of self-esteem and sense of belonging that a job might otherwise provide. Similarly, jobs offering limited opportunities for future growth or lacking access to voice can lead to alienation and frustration.

Some jobs are positively correlated with social cohesion. Jobs that are empowering, build agency, and provide access to voice can increase trust and people's willingness to participate in civil society. Jobs can create economic and social ties and have the potential to build incentives to work across boundaries and resolve conflict.

And people's trust in government and their confidence in institutions may increase if they believe that job opportunities are available to them either now or in the future. Jobs can influence social cohesion through their effects on social identity, networks, and fairness.

Jobs can help manage social tensions

News reports about the financial crisis and the Arab Spring have broadcast a common sentiment that unemployment, especially among young people, can ignite unrest and violence.[1] In September 2010, a *Telegraph* headline reported that the "IMF Fears 'Social Explosion' from World Jobs Crisis" ahead of a summit of the International Monetary Fund and the International Labour Organization (ILO).[2] In 2011, *Le Monde* linked jobs and social unrest in Tunisia to concerns about social justice: "protesters aren't asking the Government to find them a job, but denouncing the lack of transparency and justice in the labor market."[3] The revolution in Tunisia was sparked by the protests of a fruit vendor frustrated by his inability to get a permit to do his job. High levels of youth unemployment were a significant contributing factor to the riots in the United Kingdom in the summer of 2011.[4]

These events suggest that jobs can contribute to social cohesion, including how societies handle differences and manage tensions among different groups, and how they avoid and resolve conflicts. There are many possible ways to define social cohesion (box 4.1). But overall, social cohesion refers to the capacity of societies to peacefully manage collective decision making.[5] Social cohesion thus relates to the processes and institutions that shape how groups interact. It does not follow that collective decision making should be imposed from above, but rather that channels for voice, accountability, and inclusive participation of diverse groups can contribute to a cohesive society.

Trust and civic engagement matter . . .

The capacity of a country to support peaceful collective decision making involves multiple factors including the quality of institutions,

intergroup relations, and the effectiveness of channels for resolving conflicts. Cross-country data on political stability, the absence of violence, and voice and accountability can be used to construct an index of social cohesion at the country level.[6] The Nordic countries, Switzerland, and New Zealand, score high on this index. Although the index is a static measure, the capacity for peaceful decision making can evolve over time as societies change, through urbanization, more female employment, and the growth of a middle class.

The nature of the interactions through jobs affects the degree of social cohesion in communities and societies. Trust and civic engagement are two measurable indicators of social cohesion at the individual level. These indicators are associated with the country-level index of the capacity for peaceful collective decision making (figure 4.1).

Trust refers to the extent to which individuals have confidence in people whom they know personally, including family and neighbors.[7] It can also refer to trust in people met for the first time and in people of different religions and nationalities. Civic engagement captures the extent to which people participate voluntarily in civil society by joining community organizations, unions, political parties, or religious organizations, and by engaging in civic life. These forms of involvement and activism include nonviolent activity, such as participating in protests, that can be constructive for social cohesion. Civic engagement relates to social capital, participation, and the agency that motivates individuals to be part of collective action.

. . . and they are influenced by jobs

Trust and civic engagement can be linked to jobs. Having—or not having—a job may affect the way people view the world by influencing their values and attitudes, including trust in others and in institutions. Jobs can also provide channels for people to interact across diverse groups. Jobs with certain characteristics may contribute more to trust and civic engagement than others.

Not having a job is associated with less self-reported trust in high-income countries (figure 4.2a). The relationship is stronger with civic engagement, where unemployment is linked to

BOX 4.1 *What is social cohesion?*

The concept can be traced as far back as the writings of Ibn Khaldun, a Muslim scholar born in Tunis in the 15th century, whose idea of *asabiyah* is generally translated as "social cohesion." Living during times of manifold conflicts, Khaldun regarded *asabiyah* as the solidarity of small groups (tribes) that has the power to promote broader social integration.[a]

Four centuries later, Emile Durkheim considered cohesion in the context of societal transformation.[b] He was particularly concerned with two different types of solidarity that he observed emerging through industrialization in Europe. Primitive societies, he found, were marked by mechanical solidarity and a strong collective ethos based on relatively homogeneous patterns of life and work. Advanced capitalist society, in contrast, with its complex division of labor, was marked by organic solidarity based on merit, respect for different roles within the labor force, and the need for moral regulation.

More recently, social cohesion has been related to social capital. In the 1990s, Pierre Bourdieu and others focused on the benefits that accrue to individuals through their participation in groups and the need for individuals to invest in these relations. Robert Putnam's analysis of the conditions for creating responsive, effective, and representative institutions builds on this theme. Famously, northern Italy had more of these institutions than southern Italy, and Putnam concluded that the central enabling condition was the existence of more social capital, measured through the density of local associations.[c] Social cohesion can be understood as a broader concept than social capital in that it considers intergroup relations in a wider context. Easterly, Ritzen, and Woolcock define social cohesion (or lack thereof) as "the nature and extent of social and eco-nomic divisions within society (income, ethnicity, political party, caste, language)."[d]

Although social cohesion has multiple definitions with differences in focus and emphasis, some common threads emerge:

- Social cohesion is generally viewed as a positive concept. It can be an end in itself, as well as a means. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development describes a cohesive society as one that "works towards the well-being of all its members."[e] The French Commissariat General du Plan defines social cohesion as "a set of social processes that help instill in individuals the sense of belonging to the same community and the feeling that they are recognized as members of the community."[f]

- Social cohesion relates to the interactions among individuals, groups, and societies. These interactions are seen as "the forces holding the individuals within the groupings in which they are" and as linking diverse groups together.[g]

- Social cohesion contributes to sustainable social development. According to the Club de Madrid, "shared societies are stable, safe and just and based on the promotion and protection of all human rights . . . , including disadvantaged and vulnerable groups and persons."[h]

- Last, some definitions of social cohesion relate the concept to processes and institutional characteristics. For example, social cohesion can refer to "the capacity of societies (not just groups, networks) to peacefully manage collective action problems."[i] This definition links social cohesion to participation and civic engagement.

Sources: World Development Report 2013 team based on Norton and de Haan 2012 for the World Development Report 2013; OECD 2011.
a. Weiss 1995.
b. Durkheim 1893.
c. Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti 1993.
d. Easterly, Ritzen, and Woolcock 2006, 105.
e. OECD 2011, 17.
f. Jenson 1998, 4.
g. Moreno and Jennings 1937, 371.
h. OECD 2011, 53.
i. Woolcock 2011.

lower participation in associations and demonstrations, and signing petitions (figures 4.2b, c, and d). With the exception of low-income countries, the relationship between unemployment and active membership in an association is significant and negative. The mixed findings on trust and unemployment underscore that unemployment may not always be a meaningful concept in low-income countries. Open unemployment is frequently low in developing countries and is not always concentrated among the worse-off, because most people work to make ends meet in the absence of social safety nets.

In developing countries, the type of job, the opportunities the job provides, and the way jobs connect people may be more relevant for social cohesion.

Further indications of a connection between jobs and social cohesion comes from looking at job characteristics. The 2005 wave of the World Values Survey asks people whether their jobs involve manual or cognitive, routine or creative tasks, and how much independence they have at work. An index of these self-reported characteristics captures how motivating a job is. The index is positively associated with trust

FIGURE 4.1 *Trust and civic engagement go together with peaceful collective decision making*

a. Trust

b. Civic engagement
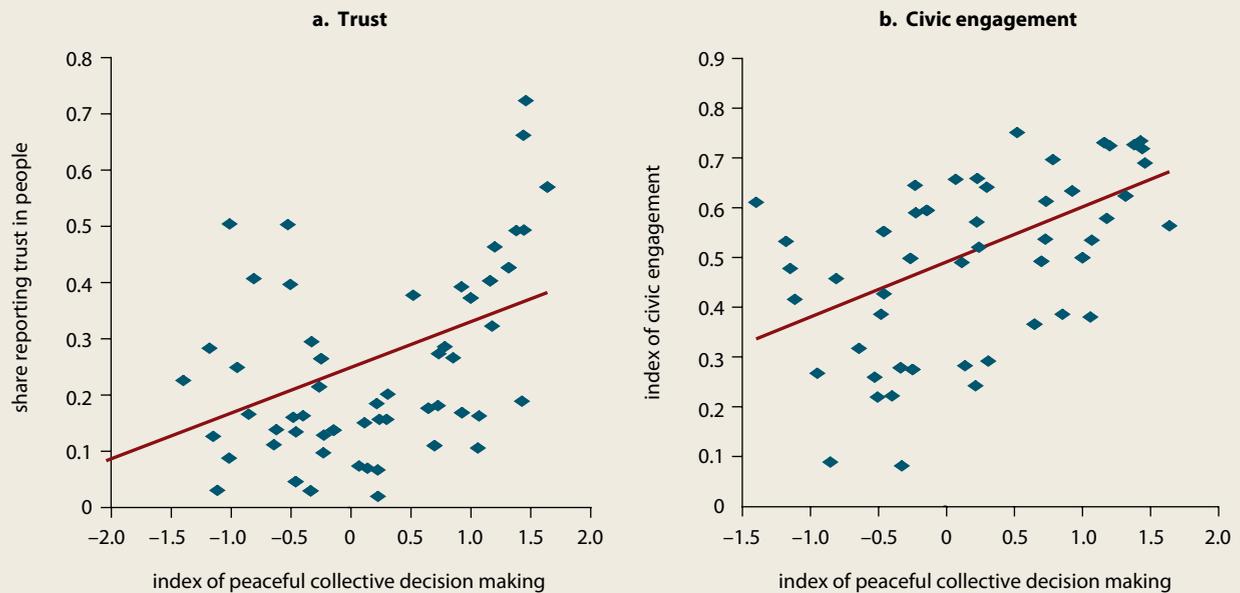
Sources: World Development Report 2013 team, based on World Values Survey 2005 (database), World Values Survey Association, Stockholm; Worldwide Governance Indicators 2005.

Note: The analysis includes 56 countries (panel a) and 49 countries (panel b). "Index of peaceful collective decision making" is an average of indicators of "voice and accountability" and "political stability and the absence of violence" from the Worldwide Governance Indicators. "Index of civic engagement" is the average of responses to questions from the World Values Survey on (a) active membership in associations; (b) whether the respondent participated or would participate in a demonstration; and (c) whether the respondent would sign a petition.

in high- and upper-middle-income countries (figure 4.3a). This relationship is not significant in lower-middle- and low-income countries. Holding a job with perceived cognitive, creative, and autonomous attributes is positively linked with civic engagement indicators in all but low-income countries (figures 4.3b, 4.3c, and 4.3d).[9] Similarly, in surveys conducted in 2012 in China, Colombia, and the Arab Republic of Egypt, workers who perceived that their jobs involved more autonomy and greater creative and cognitive content were more likely to report helping other people.[10]
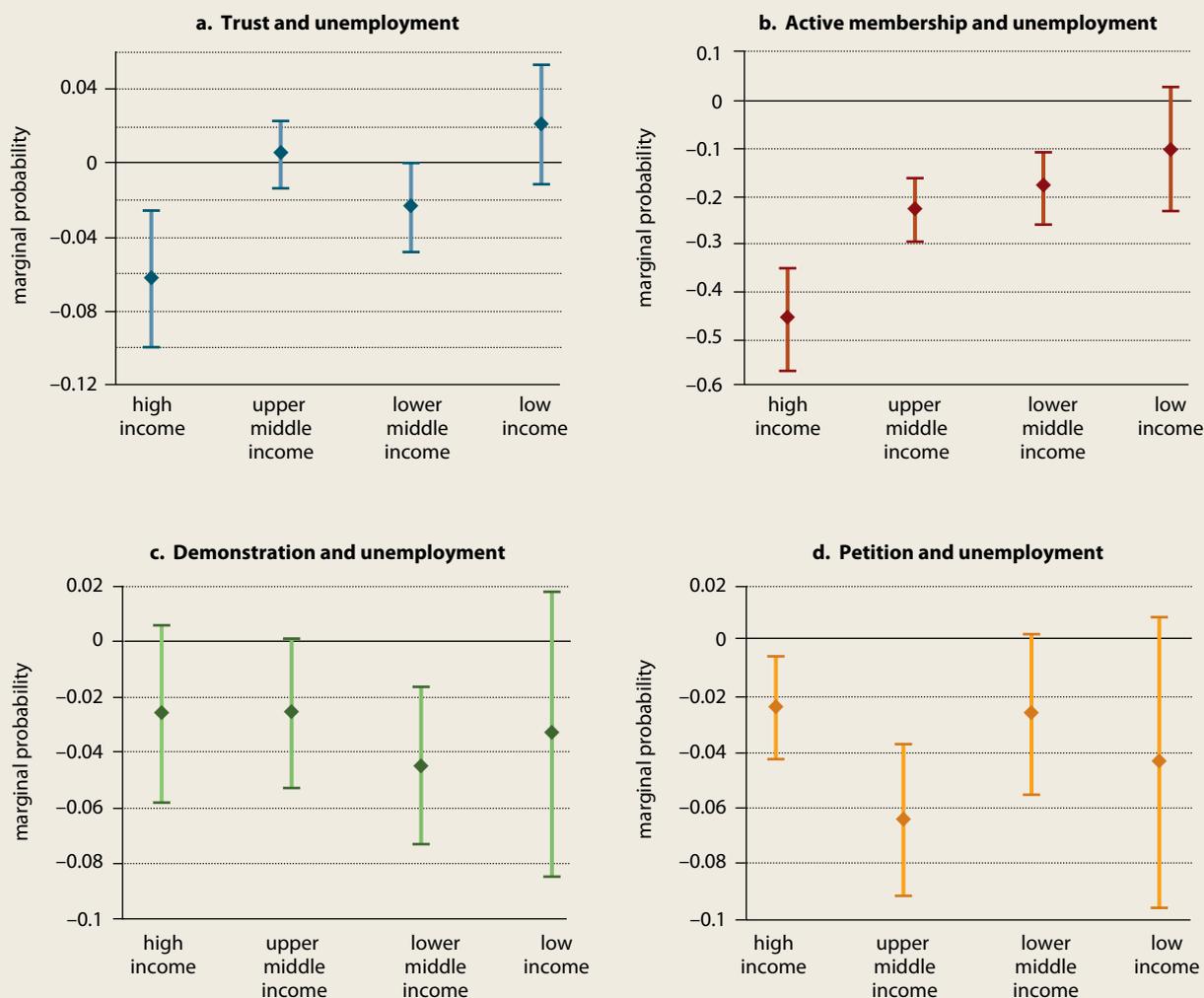
More than correlations?

As suggestive as they are, these relationships between jobs and social cohesion do not establish causality. While unemployed people may be less likely to trust others or join associations, people with less trust in others may also be more likely to be unemployed or not participate in civil so-

ciety. Moreover, trust and civic participation are influenced by peer and social interaction effects (such as the trust or participation of others), which can make it difficult to draw conclusions.

While the primary focus is on how jobs can contribute to trust and civic engagement, this relationship goes in both directions. There are ways in which social cohesion can affect jobs. Trust and social capital (an element of civic engagement) may create an economic and political environment that is conducive to economic growth.[11] Trust can reduce transaction costs and overcome market failures that arise because of uncertainty; it can reduce costs related to search and information, policing and enforcement, and bargaining and decision making; and it can be the basis for the transmission and exchange of knowledge and allow for innovation, coordination, and cooperation among firms.[12] Meanwhile, factors such as mistrust, discrimination, fragmentation along ethnic lines, or inequality can also influence whether jobs are created, and what kind.

FIGURE 4.2 *People who are unemployed trust and participate less*

a. Trust and unemployment

b. Active membership and unemployment

c. Demonstration and unemployment
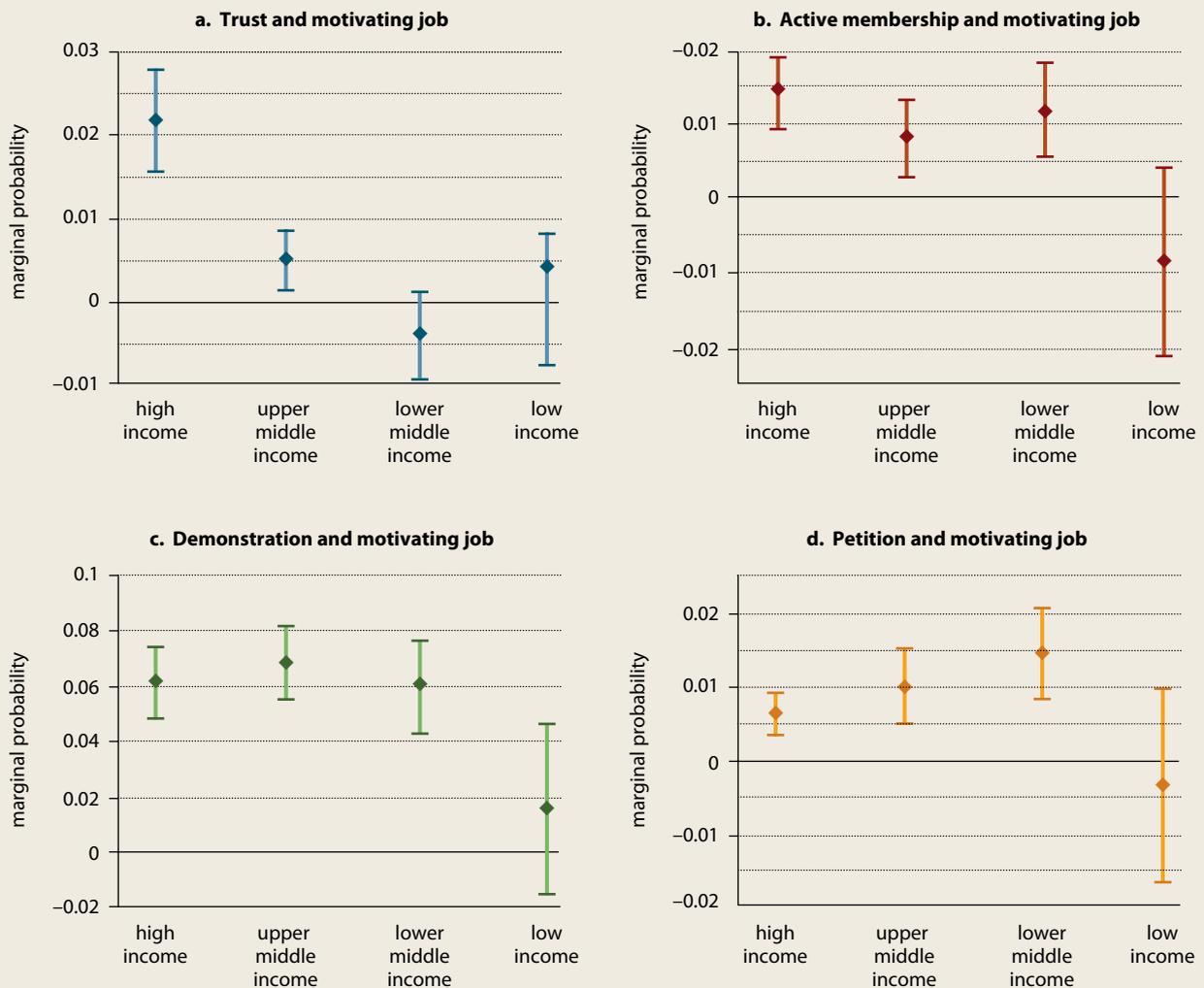
d. Petition and unemployment

Source: Wietzke and McLeod 2012 for the World Development Report 2013.

Note: The analysis includes 54 countries. The vertical axis shows the marginal probability (d-probit coefficient) of individuals' self-reported trust or civic engagement on being unemployed. The estimates control for the income, education, and demographic characteristics of respondents. Trust is based on the question, "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?" Civic engagement variables are (a) whether the respondent is an active member of one or more of nine different associations; (b) whether the respondent attended or would attend a demonstration; or (c) whether the respondent signed or would sign a petition. The line indicates the 95 percent confidence interval of each coefficient. If the line crosses the horizontal axis, the corresponding coefficient is not statistically significant.

Evidence of a directional link between employment status and civic engagement comes from a survey in Indonesia that tracked participation in community meetings and volunteer activities and interviewed the same respondents in 2000 and 2007.[13] On average, participation in community activities increased 8 percent during the period, but it increased at different rates among people with different work histories (figure 4.4).[14]

Controlling for other factors, men and women who were working in 2000 but not in 2007 were less likely to be participating in community activities than others. Conversely, men and women who were not working in 2000 but were working in 2007 were significantly more likely to be involved in community activities than those who were not working in 2007.[15] Reasons not controlled for in the analysis could explain these findings; for example, people who

FIGURE 4.3 *People with motivating jobs trust and participate more*

*Source:* Wietzke and McLeod 2012 for the World Development Report 2013.
Note: The analysis includes 54 countries. The vertical axis shows the marginal probability (d-probit coefficient) of individuals' self-reported trust or civic engagement on an index assessing whether respondents think their job is cognitive, creative, or independent. The estimates control for the income, education, and demographic characteristics of the respondents. Trust is based on responses to the question "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?" Civic engagement variables are whether the respondent is an active member of one or more of nine different associations and whether the respondent attended or would attend a demonstration, or signed or would sign a petition. The line indicates the 95 percent confidence interval of each coefficient. If the line crosses the horizontal axis, the corresponding coefficient is not statistically significant.

get sick lose their jobs and their ability to participate in the community. New cross-country analysis from Europe and Latin America suggests a casual relationship between employment status and trust in others and institutions (box 4.2).[16]

The empirical results relating unemployment, trust, and civic engagement imply that losing a job means more than losing income. Job loss can undermine feelings of self-worth and strain family and social relationships. Un-

employment can break economic and social ties, breed mistrust, and damage people's sense of community and hope for the future. Not having a job can mean losing social status as well as not being able to provide income for one's family. A man laid off after 24 years of work in a factory in Serbia explained, "I automatically lost everything. I lost any freedom and power I had. Everything was lost."[17] Ethnographies of communities in Argentina, Bulgaria, and Guyana

FIGURE 4.4 *Having a job means more community participation in Indonesia*

employment status
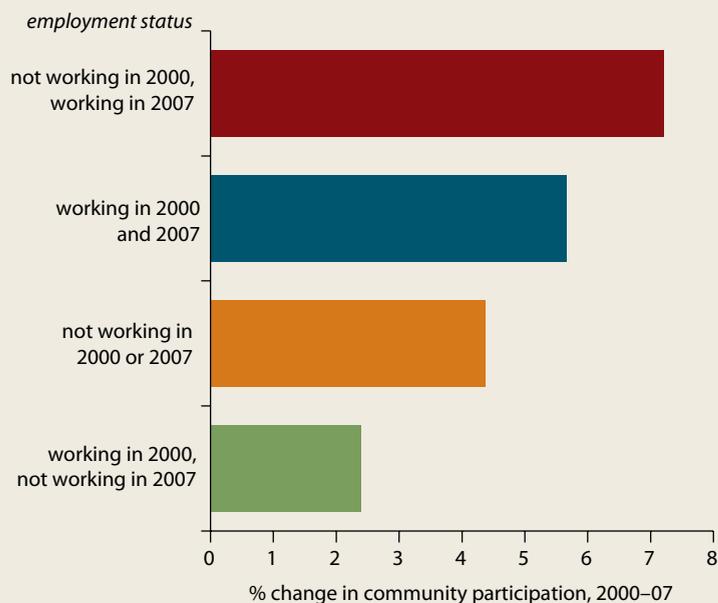
Source: Indonesia Family Life Survey (database), Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, CA.
Note: Community participation includes joining in a community meeting; cooperative, voluntary labor; neighborhood improvement; neighborhood watch (men); or women's association.

that experienced widespread job losses in contexts of limited new job creation are remarkably consistent in their accounts of the social implications of long-term unemployment (box 4.3).

For communities, job loss appears to foster mistrust not only toward former employers or government authorities suspected of being indifferent or responsible for the lack of employment opportunities but also among neighbors, former colleagues, and friends. This frustration may contribute to general dissatisfaction with the political environment. An empirical study using the World Values Survey in 69 countries finds that joblessness can be linked with negative views about the effectiveness of democracy and preferences for a rogue leader.[18] Insecure jobs or jobs that people find demoralizing can have effects similar to those of unemployment. The lack of status, job security, or voice at work can lead people to feel disempowered and hopeless about the future and to stop participating in social networks.[19]

In extreme cases, unemployment can contribute to violence or social unrest. Youth in particular may turn to gangs or other violent groups to compensate for the lack of ties in economic and social life.[20] A longitudinal study of youth in Ecuador found that members of gangs

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BOX 4.2 *Do jobs cause trust? Analysis of Eurobarometer and Latinobarómetro Surveys*

An analysis using the Latinobarómetro and Eurobarometer values surveys during the 2000s makes it possible to study the evolution of trust and jobs and links in both directions. The surveys include questions on interpersonal trust and trust in institutions. Cohorts are defined and examined in the different survey years. The analysis looks at how social cohesion and employment conditions for the cohorts evolve over time, controlling for certain country characteristics that could be correlated with both trust and employment status.

The dataset captures important features of the formation of social cohesion, because perceptions of trust and civic participation are highly influenced by peer and social interaction effects. For instance, an individual's propensity to trust other people or the state depends on the perceived or actual trust of others belonging to similar sociodemographic groups.

The model simultaneously allows group level job conditions, including unemployment and self-employment, to influence trust and vice versa. The empirics quantify how earlier changes in group-level employment conditions predict their trust in society and its

institutions over time. The estimated effects measure how a percentage change in, say, the unemployment rate for a cohort in a given year predicts changes in the percentage of individuals of that same cohort reporting to trust in the subsequent year.

This analysis finds that increases in unemployment are followed by increases in trust among Europeans, but the opposite is true among Latin Americans. At the same time, increases in self-employment lead to higher trust in Europe while the opposite is true in Latin America. These results hold in Latin America for trust both in government and in others. Conversely, the analysis finds little evidence of a causal link from trust to jobs, except for a small negative impact of self-employment on trust in government in Latin America. These results may reflect the higher coverage of social protection in Europe and the lower importance of open unemployment in Latin America than in Europe. They are consistent with evidence that in Latin America self-employment, while a last resort for many unable to find wage employment, is valued by some for the independence it provides.[a]

Source: Arias and Sosa 2012 for the World Development Report 2013.
a. Perry and others 2007.

BOX 4.3 *Displacement and unemployment can lead to the erosion of trust and ties*

Downsizing of bauxite mines in Guyana

The downsizing of bauxite mines in the absence of new opportunities has contributed to a deterioration in family and community relationships in Linden, Guyana.[a] Between the early 1970s and the mid-1980s, bauxite mining near Linden was cut by half, and layoffs continued throughout the 1990s. By 1999, formal unemployment in Linden stood at about 40 percent, and residents complained of rising crime.

Once among the best-paid workers, miners were respected for their work and seen as drivers of the economy. People felt particularly demeaned by the downsizing process: "The people off the job don't get any information. They treat us like we don't exist. Yet . . . before we came off, there used to be meetings with us, [about] what was happening."[b]

Material hardship and insecurity took a harsh toll on identity and the relations between men and women. Women directly linked men's inability to retain their authority as breadwinners to domestic violence. "Especially in cases of abuse, you would be surprised that after counseling them, the problem comes right back to the economic situation. The man can't provide adequately for the home."[c] Indigence was linked to shocking forms of child neglect and abuse. Some parents were said to be prostituting their children. The cultivation of cannabis, the use of cocaine, and involvement in the international transshipment of drugs were said to be rapidly increasing among young men.

Downsizing also diminished the economic resources available to community organizations such as churches: "The churches are in crisis also. As individuals, we are part of the crisis, so we carry it into church and it in turn goes into society," one person said.[d]

Regime change and unemployment in Bulgaria

Bulgaria massively downsized its unsustainable state enterprises following the end of the Communist regime. The disappearance of state jobs entailed the loss of numerous benefits, including health care and job security. In focus groups, people linked job loss to poor health, social isolation, and crime. Older men, in particular, lost face when they had to ask young relatives or employers for work.

Unemployment did more than simply weaken social ties; it created distrust and mutual suspicion. The restructuring created winners as well, and they also suffered from the mutual distrust. People who had lost their jobs began to avoid traditional social gatherings because they were unable to afford gifts that they were expected to provide. People felt that security—once linked to good health, the opportunity to pursue personal and professional fulfillment, good personal relations, respect in the community, and social cohesion—had moved out of reach. In communities that were once relatively equal, people identified five or six levels of well-being.

Economic reforms in Argentina

La Matanza is a city of 1.2 million outside Buenos Aires that was once a manufacturing center of textiles, diesel engines, household appliances, and steel. Economic transformations in the 1990s led to increased reliance on technology and skilled workers. Factories in La Matanza closed, and job opportunities became scarce. With mobility low, people had to take up temporary or casual jobs without unemployment or health insurance. Those who managed to find jobs complained of exploitative pay, abusive treatment, and assaults to their dignity.

As elsewhere, job loss affected men and women's relationships. While some men adapted to a more egalitarian role, many responded to the blow to their self-esteem as breadwinners with depression or anger; women complained that violence in the household increased. Men felt joblessness undermined their roles in the family.

Source: Dudwick 2012 for the World Development Report 2013.
a. World Bank 2004a.
b. World Bank 2004a, 26.
c. World Bank 2004a, 29.
d. World Bank 2004a, 53.

involved with drugs and guns had joined "because they were searching for the support, trust, and cohesion—social capital—that they maintained their families did not provide, as well as because of the lack of opportunities in the local context."[21] Similarly, analysis in the United States has found that gangs provide youth with the income, respect, and social ties that they were unable to find in jobs, particularly given the limited opportunities available in cities such as Chicago and New York that had lost stable, unionized manufacturing jobs.[22]

The lack of jobs among dislocated populations, including migrants, refugees, and displaced persons, can be particularly disorienting. It can influence status and identity, for example, for migrants who had better jobs in their places of origin. The social effects of unemployment among dislocated populations may be especially isolating for people lacking family or other ties in their new communities. It can have implications for psychological well-being, as well as the ability to participate in civil society. Even migrants who find work may be vulnerable if their jobs do not provide adequate channels to integrate within the new society or if the migrants lack voice or information about their rights.

Jobs (or the lack of jobs) can shape social interactions

The link between social cohesion and jobs is not necessarily direct or linear. Interactions between jobs and societies are contextual and multidimensional; effects can be positive as well as negative. Having, or not having, a job can influence how people view themselves in relation to others, with implications for values, attitudes, and behaviors. Jobs can connect people with information, economic activities, and other people. And how jobs are allocated can affect whether people think their society is fair and merit-based, believe they have a stake in society, and have expectations and aspirations for the future (Question 4).

Jobs provide social identity

Some jobs can contribute positively to how people view themselves and their relations with others. The identity conveyed by a job can influence the social categories that individuals associate with, their behaviors, and the norms that shape this behavior.[23] In industrial countries, jobs that give people opportunities to learn and develop careers can be motivating and strengthen identity. In the United States, programs that provide skill development and growth opportunities to low-wage workers aim to strengthen self-esteem and motivation.[24] Public and private sector initiatives to establish career ladders in health care,

child care, education, biotechnology, and manufacturing define job competencies and give employees the chance to develop skills, participate in training, and increase their responsibility. Results from a program implemented in nursing homes in Massachusetts in the United States found that having opportunities for growth improved communication and teamwork, reduced turnover, and built self-respect and confidence among staff.[25]

Jobs can have similar effects for low-wage workers in developing countries, and these effects can have implications for social cohesion. The growth of the garment sector in Bangladesh brought more than 3 million women into the workplace. Although the factory jobs were physically demanding and poorly paid, they expanded women's autonomy and increased their opportunities to participate in public life.[26] "I am braver now," a 26-year-old worker explained, "I understand more things which I did not before."[27] Observers noted that the sight of women walking back and forth to work changed popular notions about the acceptability of women in the public space and their right to access public institutions.[28] Coworkers travel together, share information about work opportunities, and form savings groups.[29]

The effect of jobs on identity also holds for self-employed workers, including farmers (box 4.4). Jobs that provide access to voice can be empowering and give workers a stake and shared interest in their work.[30] Informal workers lack access to representation on the job and are similarly excluded from local government and economic associations. Associations of self-employed workers and farmers help fill these gaps.[31] A core strategy of the Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) in India has been to empower its members and partners by increasing their say in communities (box 4.5).

Jobs connect people

Some jobs bring people into contact with others whom they might not otherwise encounter, including people of different ethnicities and social backgrounds (box 4.6). This connecting aspect of jobs can contribute to social cohesion. Jobs can create opportunities for repeated interactions focused on tasks leading to interdependent relationships.[32] A study of political views

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BOX 4.4 *Jobs, motivation, and identity in Risaralda, Colombia*

David is the owner of a small shop in one of the rural areas of Risaralda. He was born in another part of Colombia but has lived in the region of Risaralda for some years now. He loves living in this area for the safety and peace that exists. He has had his shop, located next to the main street of his village, for around 15 years.

One of the things he loves the most about his job is the deep sense of belonging to the community that it offers. When necessary, people come to his shop and ask for credit for the goods they need. Despite a few unpaid bills some of his customers have left him, he does his best to help the villagers. The income from the shop provides only enough to subsist, and it is necessary for him to engage in other businesses so that he can have an additional income. He feels that his shop is a way of giving back to the community and that by being there, he is able to provide for the needs of his neighbors.

Source: Bjørkhaug and others 2012 for the World Development Report 2013.

BOX 4.5 *Voice can be extended to the self-employed: The case of SEWA*

The Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) began in 1972 with a small group of migrant women cart pullers in the wholesale cloth market of Ahmedabad City in Gujarat, India. These women worked as head loaders, carrying clothes to and from the wholesale market. They were paid on a per-trip basis, regardless of the distance they traveled or the weight they carried. Often, they were not paid the full amount they were owed because no records were kept. Ela Bhatt, head of the Women's Wing of the Textile Labor Association, helped organize the group and negotiate with the cloth merchants to gain fair treatment.

SEWA is now a member of the International Confederation of Trade Unions and has become a model for associations of informal workers internationally. In 2011, SEWA had more than 1.3 million members across India, of which over 820,000 were in Gujarat, while the rest were in eight other states. The members are drawn from multiple trades and occupations and from all religious and caste groups.

SEWA stresses self-reliance and promotes organizing around the central strategies of work security, income security, food security, and social security. Primarily a trade union, SEWA now engages in a wide range of other areas, including leadership development, collective bargaining, policy advocacy, financial services (savings, loans, and insurance), social services, infrastructure, and training and capacity building.

Of particular concern to SEWA is the fact that the working poor, especially women, do not have a voice in institutions that set the rules that affect them. The association seeks to expand the voice of its members at the local level through representation and by building capacity to participate in local councils; municipal, state, and national planning bodies; tripartite boards; minimum wage and other advisory boards; sector-specific business associations; and local, state, and national labor federations.

Over the past decade, SEWA has also inspired or cofounded national and regional networks of home-workers in other parts of South and Southeast Asia, national networks of street vendors in India and Kenya, and international networks of domestic workers and waste pickers. While some of these networks and organizations remain weak, most have been able to collaborate, leverage resources, and influence policies. The regional and international networks of domestic workers, home-based workers, street vendors, and waste pickers have secured two international conventions (for home-workers and domestic workers) and policies, laws, or legal judgments in several countries.

Source: Chen and others 2012 for the World Development Report 2013.

and the workplace in the United States finds that cross-cutting interactions at work lead to greater awareness of the rationales for views other than one's own and for "exposing people to political dialogue across lines of political difference."[33] In a survey of 200 managers, owners, and sales representatives in Trinidad and Tobago, 81 percent of the interviewees reported that their working lives brought them into contact with people of a wider range of races than did their social lives.[34]

Interactions through jobs can contribute to greater trust and positive interdependence between groups. In the 18th century, Montesquieu wrote that "the natural effect of commerce is to bring peace. Two nations that negotiate between themselves become reciprocally dependent, if one has an interest in buying and the other in selling."[35] Relations through jobs, whether built through trade or other transactions, can influence social relations.

A 2001 study of multiethnic cities in India suggests that economic interdependence, including through jobs, can reduce the incentives for violence between communities.[36] Cities with more interlinked economic relations were less likely to witness ethnic violence, while riots were more frequent in cities with fewer economic ties. The existence of civil society organizations, such as clubs, political parties, labor unions, and business associations, contributed to reducing violence. But economic interests provided a common motivation for community members of both groups to participate in these associations.[37]

Jobs can also play a connecting role outside of urban environments. Studies in Ghana and Uganda illustrate how farmers connected through networks can access information and increase productivity. In Ghana, pineapple farmers adjusted their use of fertilizer in response to the successful or unsuccessful experiences of their neighbors. Farmers who were starting to cultivate pineapples were more likely to make changes based on information they had received from other farmers, showing the potential that on-the-job interactions and learning from others can have.[38] In a qualitative survey, youth in Ghana who were asked about the characteristics that would make a job attractive emphasized the importance of jobs as opportunities to meet new people and build social networks.[39]

BOX 4.6 *Some jobs connect people across ethnic boundaries*

Surveys carried out across the world illustrate the ways jobs can connect people from different backgrounds.

"In Sadakhlo market in Georgia, next to the borders with Armenia and Azerbaijan, one does not hear the virulent expressions of mutual hatred one can hear a few miles away across the border. 'They fight, we don't,' says Mukhta, a trader from Azerbaijan, while putting his arm round his Armenian colleague Ashot."[a]

"According to one of the stallholders at Ergneti market, on the disputed border between South Ossetia and mainland Georgia, 'There are no political questions here. The market has one language: economic. That is it.'"[b]

"In Guinea, members of the Malinke ethnic group are wholesalers in the groundnut market chain, while the primary producers of groundnuts tend to be Guerse. Malinke wholesalers and Guerse farmers are willing to trade with each other. This is helping overcome ethnic and religious tensions. . . . This willingness to trade is due to the mutually recognized possibility of profit."[c]

"In Burma, as in Java, probably the first thing that strikes the visitor is the medley of peoples—European, Chinese, Indians, and native. It is, in the strictest sense, a medley, for they mix but do not combine. Each group holds to its own religion, its own culture and language, its own ideas and ways. As individuals they meet . . . in the market place, in buying and selling."[d]

In ancient Cordoba, Spain, the marketplace represented "the place of encounter over and above the gender, tribal, and faith divides that constituted Islamic urbanization."[e]

"You don't reconcile in a vacuum. There must be a practical programme; there must be something that brings people together. As they work together, cleaning the coffee, they talk together so they start talking business but later they start talking family affairs. It fosters relationships and reconciliation."[f]

"If I wasn't in this job, I might have only Indian friends or African friends," said a sales manager for a processed food manufacturer in Trinidad and Tobago. "But now I have plenty, plenty friends. White friends in Mayaro. Chinese friends in Port-of-Spain. And real close. Closer than if you born with someone, your next-door neighbor. And that's why I wouldn't swap this job for anything else."[g]

Source: Kilroy 2012 for the World Development Report 2013.
a. *The Economist* 2000.
b. Voice of America 2002.
c. Spilsbury and Byrne 2007.
d. Furnivall 1948, 304–12.
e. Vicente-Mazariegos-Eiriz 1985, 763, cited in Briggs 2004, 326.
f. Fatuma Ngangiza, Unity and Reconciliation Commission of Rwanda, quoted in BBC News 2006.
g. Kilroy 2011.

An experiment among farmers in rural Uganda found that subsistence cotton farmers using social networks can change existing social interactions with beneficial results. The randomized intervention compared the impact of training on agricultural productivity with the impact of being paired with another farmer. The pairs were encouraged to discuss farming activities, problems, and solutions and to set a target for increases in cultivation. The intervention encouraged exchanges of information and learning by expanding farmer networks. Farmers who participated in the project, especially women, significantly increased their productivity. Connecting farmers with people outside their established social circles helped spread information that would not otherwise have been shared.[40]

Jobs may not always help overcome differences and tensions between groups. While incentives inherent in jobs can provide people with motives to interact across gender, caste, and ethnic boundaries, these incentives may not be sufficient to build trust or change behaviors and contribute to social cohesion. The literature on prejudice suggests that contact across groups can alter people's perceptions of others.[41] There may also be risks. If cooperation through jobs fails, tensions between groups may flare, particularly if the groups have previously been in conflict and blame each other.[42]

While networks connect people in positive ways, they can also exclude. Surveys in industrial and developing countries consistently find that people obtain jobs through acquaintances. Yet, reliance on networks may have negative social consequences if people and groups who lack such connections are left out. In Morocco, after controlling for education, social status, and other factors, people whose fathers did not have formal sector jobs were significantly less likely to obtain formal sector jobs themselves.[43] In addition to unfairness in access to jobs, family connections can also influence labor earnings. For example, in Brazil, sons' wages are influenced by those of their parents.[44]

The exclusionary nature of networks is highlighted by the experience of migrants moving from rural areas to cities. Migrants often choose destinations where they have connections. But if they do not, they can be uprooted from family and community ties that provide economic and social support, including access to jobs. They may also lack the information needed to integrate into their new destinations. Migrants moving across borders or regions, internally displaced persons or refugees fleeing from conflict or returning after a peace agreement, and soldiers demobilized after conflict may be particularly vulnerable to exclusion from job opportunities. This is a concern in conflict situations as well as in contexts of structural transformation, when massive numbers of people move from rural to urban areas.[45] Networks also do not reach many among the self-employed, especially home-based workers who work in isolation and domestic workers who lack opportunities to interact with others.

Jobs influence aspirations and expectations

The various ways in which jobs are distributed can affect expectations and aspirations and influence whether people believe that they have a stake in society. The jobs that other people have can contribute to an individual's values, attitudes, and behaviors. Children's goals for the future may be influenced by whether their parents have jobs or not, as well as by the types of jobs their parents have. Frustration and even social unrest may develop when education and effort are not rewarded or when people perceive the distribution of jobs to be unfair.

The Arab Spring was as much or more about political voice as it was about jobs. Yet widespread disappointment, especially among youth, about the lack of job opportunities and frustration with the allocation of jobs based on connections rather than merit echoed across countries. A young person in Egypt commented, "To work in a big company, you've got to have *wasta* [connections; literally, a middleman]. Regardless of your qualifications, you must search for someone to secure the job for you. In some cases, you have to pay money."[46] Social assessments in the Republic of Yemen documented frustration with the allocation of jobs based on tribal, family background, or party affiliation.

Respondents at a focus group explained that, "to get jobs, one needs someone to speak for him, particularly from Sana'a." Young people reported that inheriting a civil service post from one's father was not viewed as wrong under the country's civil service rules.[47]

Jobs that are allocated based on connections and other circumstances beyond the control of an individual can influence whether people view society as fair. Recent work on the measurement of inequality of opportunities examines the extent to which access to basic services that are essential for human development, such as education, health, nutrition, and sanitation, is based on circumstances of birth or arises because of inequality within society (box 4.7).[48] Application of this approach to access to jobs considers the extent to which opportunities are related to circumstances at birth, including gender, ethnicity, and parental educational attainment and political affiliation, or to attributes, including educational attainment and age.[49] Results from 29 countries in Europe and Central Asia indicate that inequality across groups based on circumstances and attributes varies between 3 and 20 percent. The share of inequality attributable to circumstances is substantial in most cases, contributing to more than half of the overall inequality (figure 4.5).

Circumstances at birth contribute the most to inequality in Azerbaijan, followed by Uzbekistan, Georgia, Turkey and Albania. In these countries, such factors contribute the most to inequality in access to jobs. Education plays an outsized role in inequality in some countries—Armenia stands out in particular, along with Albania, Bulgaria, and Romania.

Similar analysis for 18 countries in Latin America using the 1990 Latinobarómetro survey confirms these findings. On the whole, the education of the worker and the circumstances he or she was born into play important roles in explaining inequalities in access to jobs, and the role of education is especially important for regular employment in the formal sector.[50]

* * *

The interaction of jobs and social cohesion is not linear or simple to disentangle. This is an emerging area for further research across disciplines. The effect of jobs on trust and civic engagement at the individual level suggests that exchanges

BOX 4.7 *Measuring inequality of opportunities in access to jobs*

The approach

The concept of equality of opportunity, which can be traced back to John Rawls and Robert Nozick,[a] stems from the idea that an individual's chances of success in life should not be caused by circumstances that are beyond the individual's control, such as gender, ethnicity, location of birth, or family background. John Roemer's 1998 work formalized the principle of equality of opportunity and argued that policy should seek to equalize opportunities independent of circumstances.[b] Empirical applications of this concept use different measures of opportunity and estimate the extent to which inequality arises because of circumstances at birth, rather than individual attributes such as effort or talent.[c]

The Human Opportunity Index (HOI) is one approach that is being used across countries and regions to analyze the opportunities available to children in terms of access to basic goods and services such as sanitation, clean water, electricity, and basic education.[d] The HOI captures both the extent to which societies provide these goods and services and how equitably access to them is distributed among groups with different circumstances in a society.

Recent work has tested the application of the HOI methodology to jobs in Europe and Central Asia and Latin America using data from the 2006 Life in Transition Survey and the Latinobarómetro Survey.[e] In this case, opportunity is defined as having a job involving more than 20 hours of work a week; circumstances are the gender of the individual, the educational attainment of the father, parents' past affiliation in the Communist Party (in Europe and Central Asia), and self-reported minority status; and attributes are educational attainment and age. Those lacking opportunity are people working fewer than 20 hours a week, the unemployed, and those who want to work more.

The HOI is the coverage rate of the opportunity, adjusted for inequality between groups defined by circumstances and attributes. Inequality is measured by a "dissimilarity index" (henceforth, *D*), which reflects the share of available opportunities that would have to be reallocated to achieve the same coverage rate of opportunity across all groups. A decomposition of *D* indicates how much circumstances contribute to inequality between groups (relative to attri-butes), and which circumstances contribute the most. Circumstances can affect access to a job involving more than 20 hours of work a week through direct and indirect channels. An example of a direct channel is when belonging to a minority group can affect the chance of getting a job. As for indirect channels, circumstances can influence the education of a person, which, in turn, influence the chance of getting a job. The decomposition of *D* is intended to measure the direct channel, which is to say the inequality attributable to the predetermined circumstances, net of the effect attributed to differences in education and experience among workers.[f]

Caveats

A number of questions complicate the exercise and act as caveats to the analysis. First, how should opportunity be defined in terms of access to jobs? People have different preferences about jobs, so part of the measured inequality may reflect voluntary choices rather than a lack of access. And people with certain circumstances and attributes may be more (or less) likely to be in the labor force in the first place. Second, which circumstances should be considered? The data only report a limited range of them, and some may simply not be observable. Gender, minority status, and parental education are commonly considered in the literature; and whether parents were affiliated with the Communist Party can be a proxy for social status in the European and Central Asian countries, even many years later. However, parental education may be correlated with unobserved abilities of an individual. Controlling for the individual's education level partially resolves this problem but does not address the possibility that among children who receive the same education, children with educated parents may acquire better skills stemming from unobservable inputs. The methodology makes no assumptions about missing circumstances, which are likely to exist since information on all circumstances is not typically available from the same survey. The inequality or dissimilarity index has the property that the index will always increase with the addition of more circumstances or attributes. Despite these caveats, this approach is a first step in applying the inequality of opportunity analysis to access to jobs.

Source: Abras and others 2012 for the World Development Report 2013.

a. Nozick 1974; Rawls 1971.
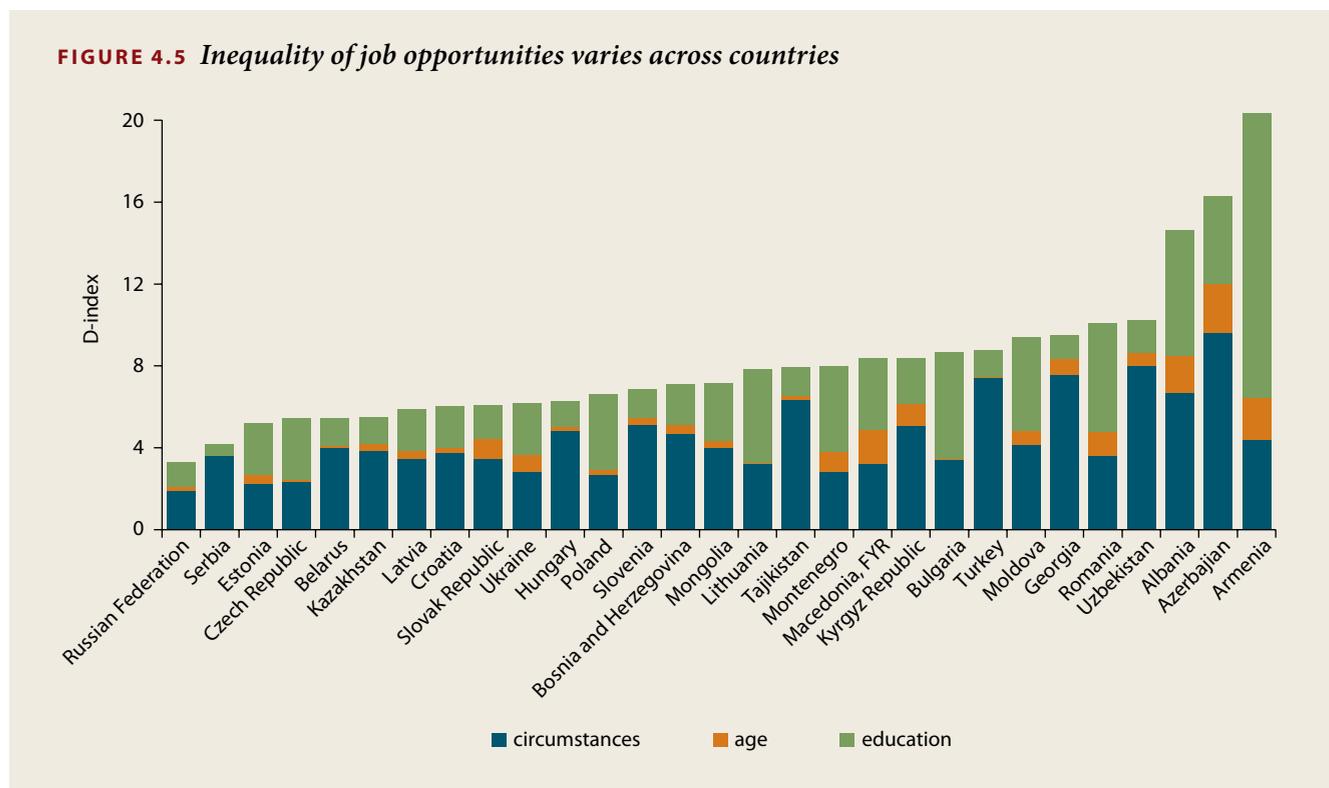b. Roemer 1998.
c. Roemer and others 2003.
d. Paes de Barros and others 2009.
e. Life in Transition Survey I (database), European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, London.
f. Estimating the indirect channel—the effect of circumstances through education—would be difficult because education depends on a host of factors other than the circum-stances on which information is available. Moreover, excluding the impact of circumstances through education is justified because we are interested in measuring the extent to which inequality in access to jobs is attributable to circumstances. While circumstances may have influenced educational attainment as well, these effects would have occurred at a much earlier stage of life (primarily in childhood) and therefore do not reflect inequality of opportunities specific to jobs.

and relationships established through jobs can have broader effects on societies, including how they manage tensions between groups and collective decision making. But some jobs may contribute more to social cohesion than others. What matters is not necessarily whether people have a job but whether the job and its characteristics can contribute to social cohesion. In

FIGURE 4.5 *Inequality of job opportunities varies across countries*

Sources: Abras and others 2012 for the World Development Report 2013; based on the data from the Life in Transition Survey I (database); European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, London.
Note: Opportunity is defined as having a job with 20 or more hours a week. *Circumstances* include gender, ethnicity, and parental education and political affiliation. The *D* Index is the share of available opportunities that would have to be reallocated to achieve the same coverage rate of opportunity across all groups.

certain contexts, jobs can transform societies if they influence social identity and social norms; if they shift bargaining power within households, communities, or society; or if they alter power relations between groups. Jobs that influence identity, connect people through networks, and increase a sense of fairness and meritocracy in access to jobs have the potential to contribute to social cohesion.

In Rabat, Morocco, unemployed college graduates gather daily in front of government buildings to protest the lack of jobs.[51] In Juba, South Sudan, the fledgling government faces the challenge of demobilizing 150,000 combatants and reintegrating large numbers of internally displaced persons after conflict.[52] For policy makers in countries with high youth unemployment and in countries affected by conflict, expanding job opportunities has urgency for social and political reasons, as well as for economic reasons.

In industrial and developing countries alike, the conventional wisdom is that having a job is what matters for social cohesion—how societies peacefully manage collective decision making. The idea that jobs can build identity, or might be associated with trust or more participation in society, is often seen as relevant only for a narrow set of occupations in rich countries. Those jobs are perceived as a luxury that developing countries cannot afford. Even those who concede that some jobs can do more for social cohesion in developing countries are skeptical that policies can do much beyond supporting job creation. Given that most employment is in the private sector, it is unclear how or whether the government could influence the nature of the jobs. Some even doubt that jobs on their own lead to greater social cohesion. They view jobs as only one element that can contribute to changing values, attitudes, and behaviors within a complex web of institutional, historical, political, and social factors. Given this multiplicity of influences, engineering social cohesion through jobs is not an option.

Negative experiences with publicly funded employment programs give some justification to this skepticism. Temporary employment programs that place people into dead-end jobs with no hope for future employment may do more harm than good.[53] Similarly, demobilization programs in post-conflict environments risk exacerbating tensions between former opponents through divisive targeting.[54] Social cohesion is actually undermined when jobs in publicly funded programs are allocated to friends and relatives of government officials, or when the programs themselves are subject to corruption and governance risks. These negative experiences may reveal poor program design, however, rather than prove the impossibility for jobs policies to contribute to social cohesion.

Access to information, rights, and voice

Policies can take social cohesion into account by expanding opportunities for groups who face barriers to getting jobs and increasing access to voice and rights. People may feel frustrated if they perceive that jobs are allocated on the basis of privilege and connections rather than merit and achievement. Increasing fairness and equality of opportunity for jobs involves informing the public about jobs and how to get them, and about the existence of legal mechanisms, such as antidiscrimination laws and affirmative action programs to reduce discrimination and support the inclusion of groups who lack access. But having laws on the books is not enough. Increasing fairness involves institutions for enforcement, and redress mechanisms for accountability. Although such measures can be motivated by multiple objectives, including poverty reduction, they can also be considered from a social cohesion perspective.

Transparency and access to information about jobs can increase fairness and equality of opportunity by ensuring that vacancies are widely publicized, together with information about accessing public employment programs. Access to information about rights is similarly important for ensuring that labor practices are fair. Farmers, self-employed workers, and workers without formal labor contracts are often not knowledgeable about their rights in relation to land owners, traders, local authorities, and employers, or about their options for appeals. Civil society organizations such as cooperatives, associations of informal workers, and trade unions can disseminate information about rights and the channels to voice grievances.[55]

A related challenge is the extension of effective legal protection to those who work outside of legal frameworks. At the international level,

the passage of ILO conventions on domestic and home workers has extended coverage for these groups (box 4.8). At the national level, countries such as Zambia and the Philippines include legal protections of informal workers in domestic legislation. Brazil recognizes domestic workers within its constitution and has extended social protection, including leave and maternity benefits to them. The country's National Social Security Institute provides incentives for employers who register domestic workers. Although difficult to enforce in practice, Brazil, the Czech Republic, the Philippines, and South Africa have established minimum wages for domestic workers.[56]

Similarly, migrant workers tend to fall outside legal frameworks. Both sending and receiving countries can adopt measures to extend legal protection. The government of the Philippines has a mechanism to protect its overseas workers. The government provides them with pre-departure information and support services; it has also signed bilateral agreements and memoranda of understanding recognizing migrant workers' rights with receiving countries. The government has also promoted voluntary social security schemes for overseas workers.[57]

The existence and quality of institutions for accountability can influence the extent to which rights are enforced in practice.[58] Legal frameworks rely on the ability of labor ministries, inspectorates, and courts to handle disputes and hold the parties accountable. Most countries allow labor disputes to be heard in special labor courts or civil courts. But court proceedings can be lengthy, costly, and cumbersome. In response, some countries have established alternative procedures for dispute resolution, including conciliation, mediation, and arbitration before court hearings.[59] Cambodia introduced an Arbitration Council in 2003 to help manage labor grievances and improve industrial relations in the growing garment sector (box 4.9).

Antidiscrimination policies

Legal mechanisms such as antidiscrimination laws and provisions for affirmative action can facilitate access to jobs for groups who are excluded from opportunities or suffer from stigma. Most countries have equality guarantees within their constitutions, generally covering

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BOX 4.8 *Domestic workers: The journey to an ILO convention*

Domestic work includes cleaning, cooking, gardening, child care, and elder care. The International Labour Organization (ILO) estimates that there are 52.6 million domestic workers worldwide; other estimates are nearly twice as high. Women, generally from the poorest sections of society, make up over 80 percent of domestic workers.[a] Many are migrants, and child labor is common, especially for girls. Domestic workers, and especially migrants, are excluded from labor and social protection laws in most countries.

Domestic workers have long tried to be recognized and included in the labor laws of their respective countries. In 2006, domestic worker organizations began to organize internationally with the support of international trade unions and nongovernmental organizations representing informal workers. Their main demand was recognition and access to rights, including a campaign for an ILO convention on labor rights for domestic workers.

The campaign involved extensive coordination at the country level to mobilize workers and gain support from labor ministries, trade unions, and employers' associations. As a result of this campaign, the minimum wage for domestic workers was raised by 10 percent in Jamaica, and a memorandum of understanding was signed to improve the conditions of Indonesian domestic workers in Malaysia.

In 2011, the ILO adopted the Domestic Workers Convention and the Domestic Workers Recommendation. The convention states that domestic workers are to be covered under national labor laws and regulations, including those related to social protection programs.

The process of securing an ILO convention contributed to building the capacity of organizations and individual leaders and gained domestic workers associations status with trade unions. It also created better conditions for recognition and enforcement of rights. In March 2012, the government of Singapore announced that it would require employers to give one day a week off to the country's 206,000 domestic workers, most of whom come from Indonesia, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and India.[b]

Source: Chen and others 2012 for the World Development Report 2013.
a. ILO 2011a.
b. Kennedy 2012.

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the obligations of the state. Guarantees are often complemented by laws addressing job segregation, unequal pay, prejudice in recruitment, harassment at work, and lack of education and training.[60] Affirmative action programs involve proactive measures for hiring women, minorities, and other groups subject to exclusion.[61] Such programs can be mandatory or voluntary and apply to the public or private sectors.

Affirmative action programs can work, but pitfalls are many. Evaluations yield mixed results.[62] The most extensive research is from the United States; it finds that programs are most effective when they are temporary and combined with improvements in recruitment, train-

From laws on the books to laws in action in Cambodia's garment sector

The garment industry is Cambodia's largest formal sector employer. By mid-2008, the sector had more than 300 factories, with nearly 340,000 workers, 90 percent of whom were women. Labor conditions including low wages, excessive overtime, poor occupational health and safety, child labor, and antiunion practices emerged as a major issue as the sector expanded. The initial response was passage of a new labor law in 1997. Enforcement was poor, however. The Labor Inspectorate lacked credibility; inspectors were underpaid and underresourced, and were seen as subject to influence. The courts were perceived as corrupt and unresponsive to the needs of workers or employers. As a result, strikes and demonstrations increased, and major international brands raised concerns about the viability of operating in Cambodia.

In this context, Cambodia concluded a 1999 bilateral trade agreement with the United States. Building on a similar clause in other trade deals, the United States agreed to increase Cambodia's import quota for garments if a semiannual review showed that progress had been achieved in adherence to core international labor standards and standards set in Cambodian law. Following the agreement, the United States funded two International Labour Organization (ILO) projects to support the implementation of this clause. The first, which became known as Better Factories Cambodia, involved monitoring working conditions in garment factories.

The second program established an Arbitration Council to prevent and resolve labor disputes. The council's 30 part-time members were nominated through a process facilitated by the ILO and endorsed by unions, employers' organizations, and government. The council conducts mandatory but (generally) nonbinding arbitration of collective labor disputes that cannot be resolved through mediation by the Ministry of Labor. Most disputes handled by the council involve compliance with labor law related to wages, bonuses, benefits, and working conditions. Some cases also relate to rights, including antiunion practices, gender equality, freedom of association, and collective bargaining.

Since its establishment in 2003, the council has heard more than 1,200 disputes, 70 percent of which are reported as successfully resolved. Opinion surveys indicate a high level of confidence in the council's independence and effectiveness. In 2010, the Garment Manufacturers Association of Cambodia and major union federations agreed to switch to the council's arbitration procedures for disputes over existing labor rights. The result has been an upsurge in the rate of awards issued by the council and a decrease in the rate at which parties are filing objections. Strikes per factory have fallen to their lowest level in 10 years.

Source: Adler and Hwang 2012 for the World Development Report 2013.

ing, and on-the-job training.[63] Evidence from developing countries is more limited. In South Africa, affirmative action supporting blacks, women, and people with disabilities was complemented with incentives for firms, including access to licenses and contracts. An evaluation found that programs had limited impact on reducing gaps in employment and wages but narrowed differentials at the top of the wage distribution. This finding suggests that the program might have assisted individuals who were already higher up on the skills ladder but not the average previously disadvantaged individual.[64]

Hiring quotas for underrepresented groups can be enshrined in constitutions, as is the case for Scheduled Castes and Tribes in India and for Bumiputras in Malaysia. Both countries have shown that quotas work well but can become politicized.[65] Quotas supported through specific programs have been successful. In Bangladesh, for instance, where women's employment rates were extremely low, the Employment Generation Program for the Poorest put in place a 30 percent quota for women. This doubled women's participation in the program within a year, with participants reporting a high level of satisfaction.[66]

Jobs policies can shape social identity and connect people

Access to jobs can bolster self-esteem and produce benefits for societies beyond incomes. Programs that support employment for at-risk populations, including youth, can take into account the ways in which jobs affect peoples' attitudes, values, and behaviors and contribute to improved relations between groups. Arguably, in countries with high youth unemployment, targeted training programs have the potential to be designed to strengthen self-esteem, which can lead to greater community involvement and reduced crime and violence. The evidence remains limited and tentative, but emerging findings from some training programs targeted to youth, including those in post-conflict settings are somewhat encouraging.

The Northern Uganda Social Action Fund suggests that combining vocational training, life skills, and counseling can increase community involvement and reduce aggression among youth in a post-conflict setting (box 4.10).[67] A reintegration and agricultural livelihoods program for high-risk Liberian youth led to a modest increase in social engagement and a reduction in illegal activities. Participants were also less interested in recruitment into violent activities in neighboring Côte d'Ivoire. The program had no clear impact on reducing aggression and violence, however.[68] An evaluation of the Juventud y Empleo program in the Dominican Republic found that a combination of voca-

tional and life-skills training for unemployed youth can reduce involvement in gangs and delay teen pregnancy.[69] This is an area for further research; evidence is thin, and few evaluations of employment and training programs incorporate social cohesion outcome measures such as community participation and conflict resolution.

Temporary employment programs can provide skills training and access to employment for youth at risk and vulnerable populations, particularly during crises and after conflicts.[70] These programs have a mixed record in supporting employability, because they generally involve jobs with low status that rarely lead to future earnings opportunities. But there are indications that programs can be designed to invest in skills with benefits for social cohesion. El Salvador's Temporary Income Assistance Program targets women and youth in areas with high rates of violence. Early results suggest that the program has increased the self-esteem of beneficiaries and reduced the recurrence of violence.[71]

Public works programs frequently rely on community participation to identify local projects, providing forums for collective decision making. Community meetings can bring together people affected by conflict and crisis (box 4.10). In Rwanda, meetings for the country's public works program discussed peace building, security, community development, and reconciliation, in addition to project-related issues. In the Republic of Yemen, fuel shortages and price increases in building materials stalled public works activities in 2011. However, communities worked together to find creative solutions to these obstacles, including using local materials and finding alternative modes of transport.[72]

Participatory aspects of programs can provide a channel for voice of excluded groups. In a survey of participants in Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Program—which at 7.6 million beneficiaries is one of the largest public works programs in the world—two-thirds of respondents said that the project had given them the first opportunity ever to be involved in a local meeting. Many participants had not interacted with local government officials prior to the program.[73]

Employment programs partnering with the private sector can connect people through jobs. A program in Tunisia uses the process of writing an undergraduate thesis to teach students basic

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BOX 4.10 *In post-conflict settings, well-designed programs reduce social tensions*

Opportunities for youth in Northern Uganda

Two decades of insurgency, instability, and conflict led to high rates of poverty in northern Uganda. By 2005, a measure of peace and stability had returned to the region, allowing for the demobilization and reintegration of former combatants and other war-affected populations. In 2006, the government launched the Youth Opportunities Program to stimulate income generation and employment growth among young adults ages 16 to 35. The program provided cash grants for vocational training and business materials to groups of participants with successful grant proposals. Groups had an average of 22 members, and most expressed interest in tailoring, carpentry, metal works, mechanics, or hairdressing.

An evaluation two years after the intervention found increased investments in skills, participation in skilled work, greater incomes, and higher savings. Grantees were 4 percent more likely to attend community meetings and 9 percent more likely to be community mobilizers. Participants also reported receiving more social support from their family and the community. Furthermore, men who received grants reported a 31 percent decline in aggressive behavior relative to the control group. This finding is consistent with theories that link aggression to stress levels, low social standing, and perceived injustice—all potentially alleviated by higher employment and incomes.

Public works in Sri Lanka's Northern Province

In Sri Lanka, a cash-for-work program initially established to resettle 100,000 returnees following internal conflict actually assisted more than 250,000 returnees and quickly evolved into one of the largest sources of employment in the Northern Province.

Participants noted that in many cases the program meetings were the first community-level gathering that they had attended after having arrived from camps for internally displaced populations. By many accounts, community meetings, shared meals, team work, and the involvement of elders and children as indirect beneficiaries of the program promoted a sense of belonging among the newly resettled families.

Sachchithananthan Subodhini, 36 years old, from Thervipuram in the Puthukkudiyiruppu Division of the Northern Province said that she was "very happy. As a result of cash for work, the whole village is working as one; for our own community and village." Reflecting on her life journey since being displaced in 1995, she said that the program "had helped to bring the community together. . . . [T]he village seemed abandoned but the *shramadana* [volunteer work] helped to get the community back to its original state."

Sources: Blattman, Fiala, and Martinez 2011 (Northern Uganda); Andrews and Kryeziu 2012 for the World Development Report 2013 (Sri Lanka).

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entrepreneurial skills. Students are mentored by professors and private sector coaches to develop business plans. The initial results of the program show that the program motivated students and gave them confidence to take risks. A male participant from Tunis explained, "I have become more independent. My behavior has changed. I use my new skills, I am more disciplined." Stu-

dents also explained that the program expanded their professional networks by giving them opportunities to interact with mentors. "I now have a social network. I know whom to consult," explained a female participant.[74]

While not all jobs affect social cohesion, those that shape social identity, build networks, and increase fairness, particularly for excluded groups, can defuse tensions. Increasing fairness in the allocation of jobs and at work can also be important for social cohesion. Measures that support inclusion, extend access to voice and rights, and improve transparency and account-

ability in the labor market can improve equity. They can also increase the extent to which people perceive that they have a stake in society. This perception can be especially critical when risks of social unrest from youth unemployment and conflict are high. While policies with weak governance or divisive targeting can undermine social cohesion, well-designed programs may have positive effects. Jobs policies for youth at risk can incorporate counseling and training in conflict resolution. Public works programs can facilitate community participation and engagement between citizens and local governments.

Shopkeeper and a friend at a foodstuff shop in Mpape, Nigeria

Rural migrants working in construction in China

Notes

1. The International Labour Organization (2011b) estimates the impact of the unemployment rate on social unrest to be positive and significant.

2. Evans-Pritchard 2010.

3. Solletty 2011. "[*L*]*es manifestants ne demandent pas à l'Etat de leur trouver du travail mais dénoncent le fait que, sur le marché de l'emploi, les choses ne se font jamais dans la transparence et avec justice.*"

4. Hudson and others 2011.

5. This definition is based on Woolcock 2011.

6. Based on indicators from the Worldwide Governance Indicators, http://info.worldbank.org/governance/, and documented in Kaufmann, Kraay, and Mastruzzi 2010.

7. Fukuyama 1995; North 1990; Putnam 2000.

8. Delhey, Newton, and Welzel 2011.

9. These aspects of jobs are also correlated with values that include tolerance for others, preferences for gender equality, individual choice, and voice (though not controlling for other factors). See Welzel 2012 for the World Development Report 2013.

10. Based on data from the FAFO (Forskningsstiftelsen Fafo [Fafo Research Foundation]) Good Jobs Survey for the World Development Report 2013. Probit regressions controlling for income, age, education, and household characteristics of an index of job attributes on the question, "Not counting anything you do for your household, in your work, or within voluntary organizations, how often in the past 12 months did you actively provide help for other people?"

11. Easterly, Ritzen, and Woolcock 2006; Knack and Keefer 1997. Fukuyama (1995) notes that trust in society shapes the nature of economic transactions and institutions. Similarly, Arrow (1972, 357) writes that "virtually every commercial transaction has within itself an element of trust, certainly any transaction conducted over a period of time. It can plausibly be argued that much of the economic backwardness in the world can be explained by the lack of mutual confidence." North (1990) discusses the role of trust and informal institutions as the basis for market economies.

12. Noteboom 1999; Ostrom 1990; World Bank 2004b. See Boschma (2005, 51–52) for an overview.

13. Giles, Mavridis, and Witoelar 2012 for the World Development Report 2013. Indonesia Faily Life Survey (database), Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California, http://www.rand.org/labor/FLS/IFLS.html. The community activities recorded covered participation in a community meeting; cooperative, voluntary labor; neighborhood improvement; neighborhood watch (men); or women's association. These trends were likely driven by a set of factors, including political changes after 1998 that created more space for community dialogue and the decentralization of public services starting in 1999; the introduction of multistakeholder forums for consultation on budgeting (the *Musrenbang*) in 2004, which included village meetings; school based–management initiatives that require parental involvement; and the scaling up of development programs that explicitly promote community participation.

14. Giles, Mavridis, and Witoelar 2012 for the World Development Report 2013. Development and antipoverty programs such as the KDP (Kecamatan Development Project) and its urban counterpart, the UPP (Urban Poverty Program), explicitly promoted community participation from their inception and continue to do so under the new and expanded umbrella of the PNPM (National Program for Community Empowerment). Other poverty programs (including the conditional cash transfer program, Program Keluarga Harapan) usually have some community participation component.

15. These results are similar to findings from the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study, which tracked nearly 5,000 people who had graduated high school in 1957 over 45 years and indicated that the loss of a job can lead to withdrawal from associational life. Getting laid off even once, especially if it occurred during a person's prime working years, resulted in "enduring, substantively and statistically significant lower probabilities of social involvement over the life course," particularly in church, youth, and community groups. See Brand and Burgard 2008.

16. Arias and Sosa 2012 for the World Development Report 2013.

17. Petesch 2012 for the World Development Report 2013.

18. Altindag and Mocan 2010.

19. Helliwell and Putnam 2004.

20. Bell and Blanchflower 2010; Cramer 2010 for the World Development Report 2011.

21. Moser 2009, 240.

22. Cramer 2010 for the World Development Report 2011; Padilla 1992.

23. Akerlof and Kranton 2010.

24. Fitzgerald 2006; Holzer and Lerman 2009; Osterman 2005.

25. Wilson, Eaton, and Kamanu, 2002.

26. Dudwick 2012 for the World Development Report 2013; Hossain 2011 for the World Development Report 2012.

27. Amin and others 1998, 191.

28. Feldman 2009, cited in Dudwick 2012 for the World Development Report 2013; Hossain 2011 for the World Development Report 2012.
29. Amin and others 1998.
30. Marsden 2000.
31. Chen and others 2012 for the World Development Report 2013.
32. Kilroy 2012 for the World Development Report 2013; Pickering 2006.
33. Mutz and Mondak 2006, 153.
34. Kilroy 2011; Kilroy 2012 for the World Development Report 2013.
35. Montesquieu 1951.
36. Varshney 2002.
37. Chandra 2001.
38. Udry and Conley 2004.
39. Anarfi, Anyidoho, and Verschoor 2008.
40. Vasilaky 2010.
41. Allport 1954. Pettigrew and Tropp (2011) provide a meta-analysis of intergroup studies.
42. Austin and Worchel 1979.
43. Gatti and others 2012.
44. Arias, Yamada, and Tejerina 2004. See also Wang 2011.
45. Willman and Makisaka 2010 for the World Development Report 2011.
46. Singerman 2007, 33.
47. Marc and others 2012, 50.
48. World Bank 2005.
49. Abras and others 2012 for the World Development Report 2013.
50. Abras and others 2012 for the World Development Report 2013.
51. Amos 2012.
52. IOM 2012.
53. Assessments of experience with public works programs can be found in Betcherman, Olivas, and Dar 2004; Harvey 2011; Martin and Grubb 2001; and McCord and Slater 2011.
54. Dudwick and Srinivasan, forthcoming; USAID 2009.
55. Chen and others 2007.
56. Fredman 2012 for the World Development Report 2013.
57. Fredman 2012 for the World Development Report 2013; McKenzie, Theoharides, and Yang 2012.
58. Locke, Amengual, and Mangla 2009.
59. Purcell 2010.
60. Fredman 2012 for the World Development Report 2013.
61. Holzer and Neumark 2000.
62. World Bank 2011.
63. Holzer and Neumark 2000.
64. Burger and Jafta 2010.
65. Bardhan, Mookherjee, and Parra 2012; Das 2012 for the World Development Report 2013; Datta 1999; Deshpande 2008; Funston 2001; Gudavarthy 2012; Montlake 2010; Teoh 2008; Weisskopf 2004; Yadav 2010.
66. Das 2012 for the World Development Report 2013.
67. Blattman, Fiala, and Martinez 2011.
68. Blattman and Annan 2011.
69. Ibarraran and others 2012.
70. Public works programs can be scaled up quickly and reach large numbers of people. In Argentina, a program, Jefes y Jefas de Hogar, introduced after the 2002 crisis was scaled up quickly and reached more than 2 million people every month. Programs have been launched and scaled up after conflicts in countries including Guinea and Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, and the Republic of Yemen.
71. Programs in Kenya, Sierra Leone, and South Africa also provide vocational training and support for entrepreneurship for youth.
72. Andrews and Kryeziu 2012 for the World Development Report 2013.
73. Andrews and Kryeziu 2012 for the World Development Report 2013.
74. Brodmann, Grun, and Premand 2011, 3.

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