

# Localized Risk Perceptions among Youth in Koupèla and Tenkodogo, Burkina Faso

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## 1. Introduction

This report presents a description of the risk perceptions of young people, both men and women, in Koupèla and Tenkodogo, both cities in the Central-East region of Burkina Faso. The report is based on an ACROPOLIS mission that took place from 07 until 14 July 2016 in both cities. During this mission 12 focus groups have been organized with the local population to identify their risk perceptions.

In line with the work done by OECD on risk and fragility, and in line with the development of the ACROPOLIS risk management framework for the Belgian development cooperation, data are structured according to the five risk categories related to fragile situations: political, societal, economical, security and environmental risks.

At the end of the report we summarize several conclusions and suggest some recommendations for the further formulation and identification of the new cooperation programme between Belgium and Burkina Faso.

## 2. Objectives

First, the objective of the mission was to further develop and test the Risk Management Framework that ACROPOLIS has been asked to develop for the Belgium development cooperation. More in particular, the risk management work group (DGD/BTC/Cabinet/ACROPOLIS) commissioned to further test the framework and instrument on the local level, after two tests were realized on the national level (Mali and Burkina Faso). As such, the mission should also be seen as a follow-up mission of the ACROPOLIS mission in May 2016 to Burkina Faso, during which the national risk analysis was conducted.

Second, the objective of the mission was also to contribute to the preparation of the new cooperation programme that BE will sign with the BF government. End of May the Central-East region has been identified as the potential zone of intervention for the new programme. More in particular, a new BTC mission for further analysis of the region is planned for second half of July. As such, the ACROPOLIS mission aims to give input for this BTC mission.

## 3. Methodology

### Introduction

First, the methodology used builds upon the Risk Management Framework as being developed by ACROPOLIS for DGD. In particular, this means that we start from the same analytical framework, structured along the 5 OECD-DAC risk categories for fragile situations. However, the aim was to assess if and how the methodology should be adopted when used for local level analysis.

Second, our methodological choices were also guided by the need for complementarity with the BTC mission. This complementary has been sought on two levels. First, while the BTC mission has a focus on socio-economic development, the ACROPOLIS mission will focus strictly on a risk analysis. Second, as

the BTC mission will mainly make an assessment in the institutional level, the ACROPOLIS mission will focus on the analysis of risk perceptions by the local population.

## Focus groups

Hence, based on these elements we have adopted a focus group approach. Conducting focus groups is a well-known way to collect local perceptions in an inductive way, in order to get a qualitative analysis around a certain topic, in our case risk perceptions by the local population.

Cities	Students	Entrepreneurs	Farmers	TOTAL
Koupèla	H	H	H	3
	F	F	F	3
Tenkodogo	H	H	H	3
	F	F	F	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>12</b>

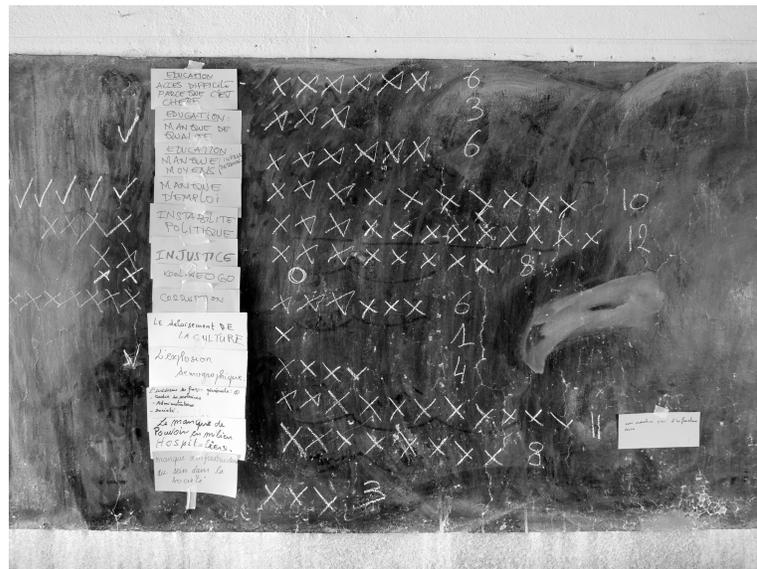
The composition of the focus groups was defined along the following lines. First of all, due to budget and time limitations, we focused on a particular subgroup of the local population that is assumed to play an important role in the new programme, i.e. local youth. We identified young people according to the UN definition (14-15 years). Second, we identified three subgroups according to their economic strategy to provide in their livelihood: students (formal job after graduating), small entrepreneurs (apprenticeship of technical/professional job, own business), and peasants (both agriculture and livestock). Third, we also differentiated between women and men, in order to understand the influence of gender on risk perceptions. Finally, we conducted focus groups in Koupèla and Tenkodogo.

Femmes	87
Hommes	88
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>175</b>
Koupela	87
Tenkodogo	88
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>175</b>
Students	57
Entrepreneurs	58
Farmers	60
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>175</b>

Hence, in total we conducted 12 focus groups discussions with 175 participants, always with homogenous groups according to region, gender, and economic strategy.

## Participatory Rural Appraisal: Risk Ranking

Data collection was done while making use of participatory rural appraisal (PRA) techniques. More in particular, we adapted a risk-ranking exercise towards the local situation. This was necessary, as the local population did not properly understand the 'risk language'. Therefore, we translated the concept of risk into threats that could impede the realization of their project and realization of their ambitions. Thus, each discussion started with introducing this basic question: what are threats that will impede you to achieve your ambitions and projects in the future. Participants were asked to answer to this question individually, which resulted in a variety of individually defined risk factors. A second step was to group all these individual risk factors and define a common list of risk factors. The third step was to start a group discussion on the pairwise ranking of the risk factors, i.e. discussing all possible combinations of two risk factors while asking to each time register what risk factor has most priority. On the basis of this exercise and discussion a prioritization list of risks is produced. In a last step this prioritization list is discussed and validated by the group.



## Reliability

Reliability of qualitative focus group discussions is based on two principles. First, according to the principle of saturation focus group discussions should be continued until no new insights are produced. This should guarantee that no voices are left out. The larger and more vague the target group, the more focus groups you will need to gather all relevant opinions and voices. However, less focus groups will be necessary when the target group is limited and well defined. This was indeed the case for this study, but still the number of focus groups was limited to fully guarantee that saturation was achieved.

Second, reliability is also based on internal and external coherence of data, and this on the basis of the triangulation principle. First, triangulation is realized during the focus group discussion, as several opinions and perceptions are confronted with each other and weighed against each other. Second, triangulation between focus group is achieved, hence the importance to be able to compare identical groups and thus work with homogenous groups (gender, location, economic strategies). Third, triangulation is done between the facilitator and reporter. After each focus group there is an exchange between both to improve the interpretation of the findings. Finally, triangulation between data and secondary sources is possible (e.g. with the national risk analysis that was done before. As a result of this multiple triangulation process you are able to assess the internal coherence of the data and findings. This substantially guarantees the reliability of the data.

## 4. Findings

### Political Risks

Political risks were mainly mentioned by students and much less by entrepreneurs and farmers. Students were much more aware of the potential for political instability, impunity, incivility, and injustice (with several references to 'national' cases such as the Norbert Zongo case). They indicate that the state fails to perform its basic functions (e.g. security, basic social services such as education and health services) and is unable to guarantee basic rights for its citizens (e.g. the freedom of speech).

The data hint two different explanations. First, a certain level of education seems to be a condition for a certain level of political awareness. Secondly, however, because of their higher educational profile, the risk that they will directly be confronted with political risk factors is much higher than for entrepreneurs and farmers, as students will mainly need to rely on state institutions to access a job in the civil service. The fact that political risks were almost not mentioned by entrepreneurs and farmers seems to indicate that for a substantial part of the local youth state-society relationships should not be taken for granted, and state institutions are not necessarily the best way to reach these young people: whereas students had a clear idea of what a state should be and do for them much less expectations were raised by both other groups.

### Societal Risks

However, entrepreneurs and farmers did mention **corruption** as a crucial risk, yet this was not in particular related to national or even local politics, but referred to experiences with corruption, clientelism and favoritism in their daily lives. Hence, corruption was more perceived as a societal than a purely political risk. Corruption as a general term referred to a complex set of different practices as experienced in daily life. Entrepreneurs, for example, focused on corruption at the workplace and favoritism of their patron, but also mentioned unfair competition between economic agents; farmers discussed mainly corruption with respect to land issues; such as the unfairness of a neighbor recuperating his land after you invested several years in soil improvement; and although students mentioned 'national level' or high-level political corruption or state capture, they also referred to the more particular reality of corrupt practices related to entrance examinations for the public service. In general, **corruption** was identified by all three groups as one of the most difficult risks to tackle and resolve, as it was perceived as a general culture that is not easily eradicated. Perhaps the most important aspect to take into account is the fact that corruption was as such not limited to state institutions, politics, or administrative corruption: it was perceived as a societal problem, that also affects relationships within and between families, between citizens, among friends, in the economic sphere, and so on.

If we continue with societal risks we can notice the importance of the **intergenerational conflict**, i.e. the risk of conflicting relationships between youth and their parents. More in particular this risk refers to the classical disagreement on school, job and relational choices. Different kinds of conflicts were related to school and education. First of all, there could be disagreement on the necessity of schooling. This was more the case for girls in general, and for farmers (and to a lesser extent entrepreneurs) in particular. People that received no education at all were frustrated about this, and mentioned the ignorance of their parents as one of the main causes of their lack of education. More widespread was the case when schooling was interrupted: many did

receive some basic education, yet at a certain level parents decided that schooling became too expensive or unnecessary and asked their children to help them with their economic activities (in most cases agriculture) and find their proper economic activities to become financially independent. Lastly, if parents agreed to continue schooling, there was disagreement on which way to go. For example, in several cases parents wanted their children to go to university in order to enter public service while the children preferred technical or professional education that promises access to a job and financial independency more rapidly. In addition, there was also disagreement on what study to choose once at university.

If we look at professional choices, similar conflicts existed. Perhaps the clearest illustration was found among farmers. In general, the fact that young people were active in agriculture was sometimes more based on the obligation by their parents than their own individual choice. As a consequence, most see subsistence farming as their last resort, and will take every opportunity to find an economic alternative. This is also due to their proximity to the cities of Koupèla and Tenkodogo where they can observe other young people earning more money than them. But also young entrepreneurs in the urban centers have conflicts with their parents with regard to professional choices. In general, the parents look for a workplace and patron to learn a profession. Thus, also here individual choice is limited and disputes arise between parents and their children on which profession to choose. In addition, the patron you work for is mostly in one or another way linked to the family, which also substantially decreases the possibility to build a professional and independent relationship with him.

Conflicts around relational choices are much more a risk for young girls. Young girls want to avoid at all costs conflicts with their parents about marriage, their husband or children. That a woman would live at odds with her parents is a sensitive issue for young girls, yet also here potential conflicts arise as parents and their daughter can disagree on marriage and the choice of husband.

To summarize, intergenerational conflict reflects a classical struggle between two generations within a changing social, economic and cultural context: central question is how one can best adapt to this changing context, and it is clear that the two generations sometimes have different opinions on what strategies to choose.

A more particular societal risk that was only mentioned by farmers was **land conflicts**. Land conflicts can be divided in three groups: first, conflicts within the community, between families and neighbors related to demarcation of land and borrowing and use of land by community members; second, conflicts within the community between farmers and cattle breeders; and third, conflicts between the communities and the state related to allocation of land plots by the local government.

Lastly, gender was also identified as one of the main issues that could produce societal risks. See the conclusion section for further elaboration on this issue.

## Economic Risks

Similar risks can also be translated into a particular language that better suits the daily reality of the group/person in question. Economic risks are a good example of this. Although all economic risks centered on the risk of not being able to provide a livelihood for the family, students, entrepreneurs and farmers defined this risk from their particular reality.

Students, for example, defined it as the risk of **unemployment**, as their particular economic reality prescribes that they should find a job in the formal sector, either in the public service or in the private sector. The risk of not succeeding is directly related to their schooling. A first factor is the fact that many among them will not be able to finish their schooling trajectory because of lack of financial resources. The quality of their education is a second factor. More in particular the delay at universities (i.e. the need to spent more years than necessary to obtain a diploma) and the fact that the educational system is too theoretically focused are two critical quality issues. Lastly, the educational system is not well aligned with the job market. Thus, even if one succeeds to obtain a diploma, this is no guarantee of a job. More in particular, the public service is only accessible through passing entrance examinations, with few available places increasing the risk of clientelism and corruption. Therefore, young people expressed the need for more technical or professional education that promises access to a job more easily and financial independency more rapidly.

Entrepreneurs defined their economic risk as the **lack of investment to start their own business**, becoming independent from their patron and create their own workplace, restaurant, shop, and so on. In their view, this is the only way to increase and make their livelihood more sustainable. Obstacles to achieve this goal are multiple: lack of capital to invest and material to start business, lack of professional and technical training to execute business, and if they succeed, lack of market for their products or services due to strong competition and lack of purchasing power of the local population.

Farmers, in turn, defined their economic risks as their **dependency on subsistence agriculture**. From their viewpoint they are trapped in an agricultural system that does not allow for sustainable improvement of their livelihoods. They identify structural elements – insufficient rainfall, land degradation, insufficient agricultural inputs – as causes of this situation and do not see how this will possibly change in the short term. Also, the own harvest serves to feed the family, but is not enough to cover other familial expenses, such as school, health services, transport, family obligations (marriage, funeral), and so on. This explains why a majority of the farmers was more focused on finding a second job in the dry season (vendor, masonry, maraîchage, ...).

## Security Risks

Security risks were not defined as a priority. In almost all discussions insecurity was mentioned, but received a low priority ranking. In general, discussions did not mention national level security risks such as terrorism, regional instability, transnational criminal networks or incapable security forces, but reflected again everyday practices that affected the security situation of the participants. Mostly they referred to **roadblocks, theft, and petty criminality** in general.

In several cases this initiated a discussion on the **Kogwleogo** issue. And although discussions were mostly heated, with a clear division between proponents and opponents, the Kogwleogo were never perceived as a real risk or danger in the daily lives of the participants. Although this will of course substantially differ according to the region, it seems to suggest that the Kogwleogo as such do not pose a widespread problem among the population, yet the Kogwleogo issue does have the potential to intensify social tensions within the population between different groups that oppose or support the Kogwleogo. For example, although not very pronounced, opinions about the Kogwleogo mostly were defined along two social fault lines: rural (pro) versus urban (contra), and educated (contra) versus uneducated (pro).

## Environmental Risks

Perhaps the most explicit and clear example that illustrates how risk perceptions are framed by economic strategies was related to environmental risks. **Insufficient rainfall** was priority risk number one for farmers although it was not mentioned at all by students and entrepreneurs.

It is interesting to mention that global warming or climate change was not once mentioned as cause of insufficient rainfall. Instead, in several cases it was perceived as caused by the local population, more in particular, because of deforestation.

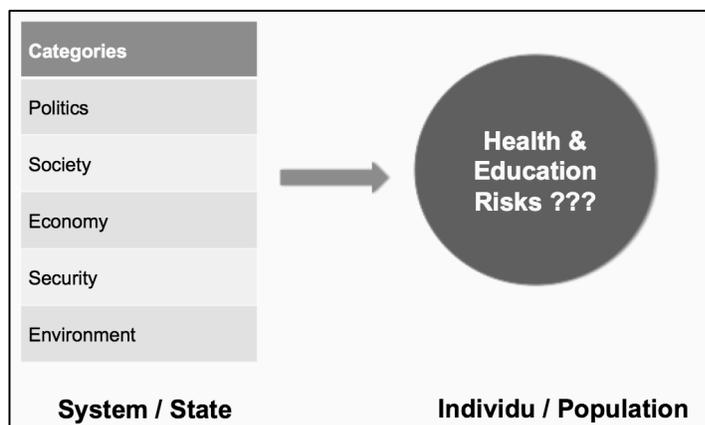
Next to insufficient rainfall as such, also the lack of **natural resource management**, and more specific the management of water reservoirs and groundwater resorted under this risk factor.

## 5. Conclusions

### Risk Categories: health and education?

A first conclusion is that the used risk categorization tends to make invisible certain risk factors. The above section presents a description of the risk perceptions of young people, both men and women, in Koupèla and Tenkodogo. In line with the work done by OECD on risk and fragility, the above section has been structured according to the five risk categories related to fragile situations: political, societal, economical, security and environmental risks.

There are however two recurrent risks that have been prioritized by all participants, independent of economic activities, gender or region that do not fit this categorization, i.e. **the risk of health problems and the risk of being uneducated**. Both were prioritized because they have a fundamental impact on the resilience of the population to deal with other identified risks. Many times a similar reasoning was observed: health problems and being uneducated – they called it ignorance, illiteracy, or the simple fact of being unable to write and read – are both critical setbacks that substantially limit your individual capacity to confront other threats in your life. Health problems in particular were identified as beyond all other kinds of risks.



It does raise questions regarding the used risk categorization for fragile situations. Although important state functions such as security, rule of law and political participation are identified in the five risk categories, it seems that the provision of basic social services – another crucial state function – has been forgotten. Part of the explanation lies in the fact that fragility analysis mostly starts from a national and state-level analysis, assessing the risks related to fragile state institutions, and is less focused on the individual experiences by the population of

this fragility. Nevertheless, also on the institutional level it should be possible to assess the provision of basic social services. Fact is that this study seems to indicate that the lack of basic social services is somehow less visible in current analytical frameworks as a crucial risk for populations living in fragile situations.

### Economic strategies: students, entrepreneurs and farmers

A second conclusion in that risk perceptions are substantially framed according to the economic strategies conducted. In other words, students, entrepreneurs and farmers are not only confronted with differentiated risk landscapes, but also set different priorities when confronted with these different risks. The most obvious examples are that only students mentioned and prioritized political risks whereas environmental risks only came up and were identified as high risks during focus groups with farmers.

Category	Students	Entrepreneurs	Farmers
Politics	Political instability, injustice, corruption	X	X
Society	Corruption, intergenerational conflict, gender	Corruption, intergenerational conflict, gender	Corruption, intergenerational conflict, gender, land conflicts
Economy	Unemployment	Lack of investment	Subsistence agriculture
Security	Kogwleogo	Kogwleogo	Kogwleogo
Environment	X	X	Insufficient rainfall
No Category	Health Problems, Education	Health Problems, Education	Health Problems, Education

However, the most important and perhaps subtle differentiation is found with respect to economic risks, as these are most closely related to the chosen economic strategy of each group. Economic risks are of course based on a similar anxiety among all that these risks will restrain chances on a sustainable livelihood. As a consequence, economic risks for youth are for example easily summarized as the problem of high youth unemployment. But what does that really mean? Unemployment for a student.

entrepreneur or farmer is not the same: students refer to formal jobs, entrepreneurs discuss the lack of investment and clients, farmers in their turn highlight their joblessness during the dry season. Thus, under this broad banner of youth unemployment you will find a complex of differentiated economic realities, each with its own risk landscape. The question is in how far programmes that are mostly externally-driven and top-down implemented are able to take into account this complex diversity of economic risks?

On the other hand, it is also important to highlight the presence of similarities between the different subgroups. First of all, both the risk of remaining uneducated (illiteracy, ignorance) and being confronted with health problems were two high priority risk factors. As mentioned in the previous section, this seems to indicate that the lack of basic social services is an important aspect that makes the local population more risk-prone or at least increases their vulnerability vis-à-vis certain risks.

Second, although students, entrepreneurs and farmers translate their economic risks to their proper economic reality as described above, one should not deny the **elephant in the room: poverty**. How particular the economic realities and associated risk landscapes of students, entrepreneurs or farmers are, their common problem is their lack of resources. Large parts of the population lack the financial resources to escape their poverty situation. This lack of resources is twofold, and is applicable to all three subgroups. On the one hand, people do not have the capacity to invest in their economic activities, be it to pay school fees in the case of students or financial capital to invest in an own business for entrepreneurs or agricultural inputs or livestock for farmers. On the other hand, the economy does not have the capacity to absorb their economic activities: even if students graduate, there are not enough jobs; even if entrepreneurs manage to start their own business, there is not necessarily a market for their products or services; and even if farmers manage to invest in agricultural inputs, it does not necessarily mean a higher income because of high dependency on climatological factors and market forces. Thus, the elephant in the room has a double connotation: the **poverty of the population** (unable to make investments) and the **poverty of the economy** (unable to valorize investments).

Other similarities worth noting are **intergenerational conflict** and **corruption**. Although always interpreted from the own environment, both risks came up in each session and constitute the two major societal risks as defined by the three subgroups. Gender, the other societal risk factor, will be discussed more in depth in de the following section.

Lastly, their perceptions on security risks were similar in that they were generally speaking not prioritized by any of the three groups. In most sessions insecurity was discussed, many times making reference to the problematic of the Kogwleogo, but never it was ranked high during prioritizing the identified risks.

As a conclusion, one could argue that this combination of similarities and differences makes sense: similarities refer to **systematic risks** that affect the entire population (lack of basic social services, security situation, societal risks), while differences refer to more **idiosyncratic risks** that are tightly connected to the economic strategies of each group (economic risks in general, and environmental risks for farmers). An exception would be the political risk category, as this reflects a common context for all three groups. But even for political risks the link with the economic strategies explains at least partly the difference, as it can be assumed that students as a subgroup will be more confronted and affected by the political instability once they enter university (an important civil society actor) or work for the state after passing the public service entrance examinations.

## **Gender: women vs. men**

It has already been mentioned in the previous section, but it is worth noting that gender does play a crucial role and explains a different risk landscape for men and women. As a general conclusion gender-related risks are mostly economic or societal.

With respect to political and environmental risks it was not possible to observe a substantial difference between perceptions of men and women. As explained above, the link with economic strategies was far more important for both political (students) and environmental (farmers) risks.

However, when it comes to societal and economic risks differences between men and women can be observed. With respect to societal risks it was observed that women are confronted with **additional social pressure related to familial issues**. We already mentioned that a young woman should by all means avoid living in conflict with her parents. The need to find a good husband with agreement of her parents adds to this social pressure. Furthermore, the risk of being pregnant before the marriage from a boyfriend and/or the risk of not being able to give birth during the marriage are issues that take a central place in the lives of young women. More in general, women identify their husband as a crucial risk factor, not necessarily because they conduct more risky behavior (although alcohol abuse and violence have been mentioned), but more importantly because women are more dependent on their husbands than vice versa. Or as we could observe during each meeting: men talked about themselves, women were talking about their husbands.

Category	Women	Men
Politics	=	=
Society	Additional social pressure for women	
Economy	Less jobs, more difficult access, work-live balance	Independency, Competition
Security	Kogwleogo, criminality, sexual violence	Kogwleogo, criminality
Environment	=	=

With respect to economic risks similar observations could be made. In this case the dual requirement to provide for the family and yet remain economically active posed problems for most women. In addition to this **work-live balance** problematic, women also expressed that they are subordinated because there are less suitable jobs for them (women are not easily

accepted for masonry, mechanics, and so on) and because they are discriminated when applying for jobs (men are given priority in direct competition).

Furthermore, it could also be argued that there are some more **'hidden' gender-related risks**. It was clear in all three groups that women are less educated and are more worried about health problems. Mainly women referred to ignorance and illiteracy as crucial setback to tackle their daily problems. With respect to health problems women are more vulnerable for them because of giving birth, and they have the responsibility conferred for the health of children. Hence it is obvious that women prioritized more than men the risk of being uneducated and having health problems.

Lastly, it should also be mentioned that women are confronted with a particular security risk, i.e. **sexual violence**.

## Koupèla vs. Tenkodogo

Data do not seem to highlight substantial differences between Koupèla and Tenkodogo city with respect to political, security and environmental risks. However, a comparison between both cities was not the direct aim of the study. More analysis is needed to further assess regional differences. For example, analysis of the communal elections held in May 2016 will in all probability shed some light on the particular current political reality of both cities.

What could be observed was a difference in economic activity. Since Tenkodogo is a larger urban center in comparison to Koupèla also more economic activity was observed. The effect of this difference on the socio-economic situation of its inhabitants was for example illustrated by the fact that most participants in Koupèla arrived by bike while in Tenkodogo some possessed a motorcycle. The need for industrialization – more in particular agricultural transformation – was also expressed in Tenkodogo and

not in Koupèla. In addition, on the level of societal risks it is possible to argue that Koupèla is still more rurally oriented (land conflicts, conflicts between farmers and cattle breeders, traditional role-taking for women) while Tenkodogo is more confronted with an urbanized society (more in particular with respect to the role of women in the familial, relational and economic sphere).

Another aspect that was highlighted more in Tenkodogo than in Koupèla was **migration as an alternative economic strategy**. Many participants, in particular men, envisaged to seek what they called the 'adventure', i.e. seek their economic fortune abroad. In most cases they referred to regional migration, to Ivory Coast, Guinea Bissau, Gabon, and so on. For some this would only be a stopover to continue to Europe or the United States. Most participants had family and/or friends that already went on 'adventure' abroad. Many could present stories of successful migration resulting in economic progress of the family at home, illustrated for example by the construction of a new house. Asked for their preference between migrating to a regional country or using the equivalent of travel costs to start a own business at home, most opted for migration as their preferred strategy to make economic progress. One of the possible reasons why migration was more mentioned in Tenkodogo is the fact that this city is characterized by a mix of Mossi and Bassi, of which the latter community has a strong link with Italy, where substantial Bassi worked as migrant workers in the tomato industry. But migration is not only sought abroad, also making the switch to Ouagadougou was mentioned, and even the journey from Koupèla to Tenkodogo was perceived as a step towards economic progress.

Category	Koupèla	Tenkodogo
Politics	=	=
Society	= (Mossi; more rural)	= (Mossi, Bassi; more urban)
Economy	+	- (more economic activities)
Security	=	=
Environment	=	=

## National vs. Local

When the national and local level risk analyses are compared to each other, it is immediately clear that they both reflect a very different perception of reality: both levels do not only give different weight to several risk categories (e.g. more focus on political risks on the national level), but in many cases they also present a different interpretation of most risk categories.

For example, political risks were not only less highlighted on the local level, they were also differently interpreted: they did not refer to national level politics (e.g. government legitimacy after elections, national reconciliation, coup d'état, resurrection, ...) but to everyday experiences of what was perceived by them as the effect of political risks: corruption, clientelism and favoritism in their daily lives, abuse/misuse of aid programmes (not benefiting the local population), the absence of basic social services (education, health care).

Category	National	Local
<b>Politics</b>	Legitimacy, reconciliation, role civil society, ...)	Clientelism, corruption, aid dependency, absence of social services
<b>Society</b>	Inequality, injustice, impunity, radicalization, ...	Generation, gender, land
<b>Economy</b>	Macro-economic factors	Economic survival
<b>Security</b>	Terrorism, security forces, Kogwleogo, ...	Kogwleogo, criminality
<b>Environment</b>	=	=

A similar reasoning can be presented for economic, security and societal risks. Regarding economic risks macro-economic parameters were absent during discussions, while the focus was on their daily livelihood strategies, reflecting a focus on parameters that directly have an impact on their economic survival. Also for security risks reference was made to localized security threats such as theft, petty criminality, roadblocks, or sexual violence for women in particular instead of national level security risks such as regional instability, terrorism, or the need for security sector reform. The Kogwleogo were however mentioned on both levels, yet received much less priority on the local level. With respect to societal risks national level factors such as inequality, impunity, injustice, and radicalization were not addressed. Instead, again risks related to more everyday relational situations were mentioned, such as conflicts between youth and their parents, and between women and men. Also on the societal level there was one risk, i.e. land conflicts, that was mentioned both on the national and local level.

Lastly, it was observed that in general environmental risks were addressed in the same manner on both levels, and also received a similar prioritization on the national and local level.



## 6. Recommendations

For the recommendations we start from the assumption that the new programme will focus on socio-economic development in the Central-East region. On the basis of the present study you will find below a list of ten risks that will affect the effectiveness of the new programme if not properly addressed.

### 1. Poverty levels: *“C’est le manque de moyen, monsieur.”*

- ✓ How will the new programme deal with the poverty level of the local population and economy? Government statistics can be a good starting point to analyse this risk, but apart from the questionable reliability of these data, the current study reveals that beyond these statistics a complex set of local realities exist that explain how people experience their poverty and deal with the risks that are associated with their poverty situation. Fact is that efforts regarding socio-economic development should set realistic objectives and start from a correct analysis of the local socio-economic situation.

### 2. Social services: *“La santé, c’est au delà de la menace.”*

- ✓ How will the new programme take into account the absence of several key social services that substantially limit the resilience of the local population to deal with certain risks? In particular education and health services have been identified as two preconditions to be able to engage with other risks that the local population are confronted with. Both affect short (e.g. health problems) and long (e.g. basic education) term resilience of the local population.

### 3. Gender: *“J’ai peur de ne pas avoir un mari.”*

- ✓ How will the programme integrate a gender-sensitivity with respect to risk? More in-depth analysis is also here desirable, but it is already clear that similar risks have a differentiated impact on men and women. In addition, several risks are women-specific such security risks (sexual violence) and relational risks related to family, marriage, and family planning.

### 4. Migration: *“L’aventure”*

- ✓ How will the new programme handle migration as an alternative strategy for economic progress? As mentioned, economic migration is diverse: within the region (Ivory Coast, Guinea Bissau, Gabon, ...), to the capital Ouagadougou, or even from Koupèla towards Tenkodogo. Will the programme work *on* or *around* migration strategies: will the aim be to put a halt to migration or to invest and support economic migration?

### 5. Regional Development & Rural Exodus: *circulation à sens unique*

- ✓ How will the programme integrate a regional approach and deal with the risk of destabilising regional equilibriums? For example, Tenkodogo is already a magnet attracting people from Koupèla. The underlying question is how the new programme will deal with rural exodus, urbanization and the unpopularity of agriculture. Should the programme work against or

facilitate the rural exodus?

#### 6. Decent work: “*C’est l’exploitation*”

- ✓ How will the new programme deal with issues of decent work when supporting socio-economic development and creating jobs? The vulnerability of the local population is not only related to an absence of jobs and economic opportunities, but also to existing jobs and economic opportunities (and the creation of new ones) that are not productive and fail to deliver a fair income, provide security in the workplace, guarantee social protection, personal development, freedom of expression and equal treatment of women and men. In other words, only decent work will have a sustainability effect in the long term and will contribute in a sustainable way to the resilience of the local population. Thus, how will the programme be able to support or create decent work?

#### 7. Technical and professional training: *Les patrons vs. les centres*

- ✓ How will the new programme take into account the widespread demand for better technical and professional training? Absence of such training was defined as a crucial setback, more and better technical and professional training was seen as a kind of *deus ex machina* that will solve all problems. There are risks associated with this optimism: focusing on training without a contextualized analysis and an integrated approach is doomed to fail. In that sense, it is important to take into account that good practices that were effective in other situations will not necessarily work here. One of the crucial questions seems to be the choice between improving the existing system of apprenticeship with a patron (and focusing on decent work conditions) or supporting a new more formal system of technical and professional training.

#### 8. Pockets of exclusion: *un cinéma ou un mirco-crédit?*

- ✓ How will the new programme succeed in avoiding pockets of exclusion while assuring that the programme is perceived by the local population as a fair distribution of advantages among the population? There is a high sensitivity to this issue because they have been confronted with a ‘tradition’ of programmes and projects without clear advantages for the local population in general. Thus, one should take into account a generalized mistrust among the population against the government, its international allies and their external interventions, and foresee strategies to rebuild that trust. As a minimum, one should avoid pockets of exclusion. One way is to work in an integrated way, i.e. focusing on limited interventions while assuring that within the limited intervention zone a large majority of the population can observe the advantages of the programme. Another possible and complementary way is to assure an intelligent mix of private and public goods. In that sense, during one focus group participants indicated that they prefer the construction of a cinema for all than the distribution of micro-credits for a limited number of them. Private goods deliver an individual advantage, and as such, create a higher potential for corruption, mismanagement, competition and ultimately conflict. Public goods, on the other hand, deliver a collective advantage with potential positive effects on state-society relations, as it offers opportunities for the local state to prove its importance and utility towards the local population.

#### 9. Politics: “*Qui gère le pays, c’est la rue ou l’état?*”

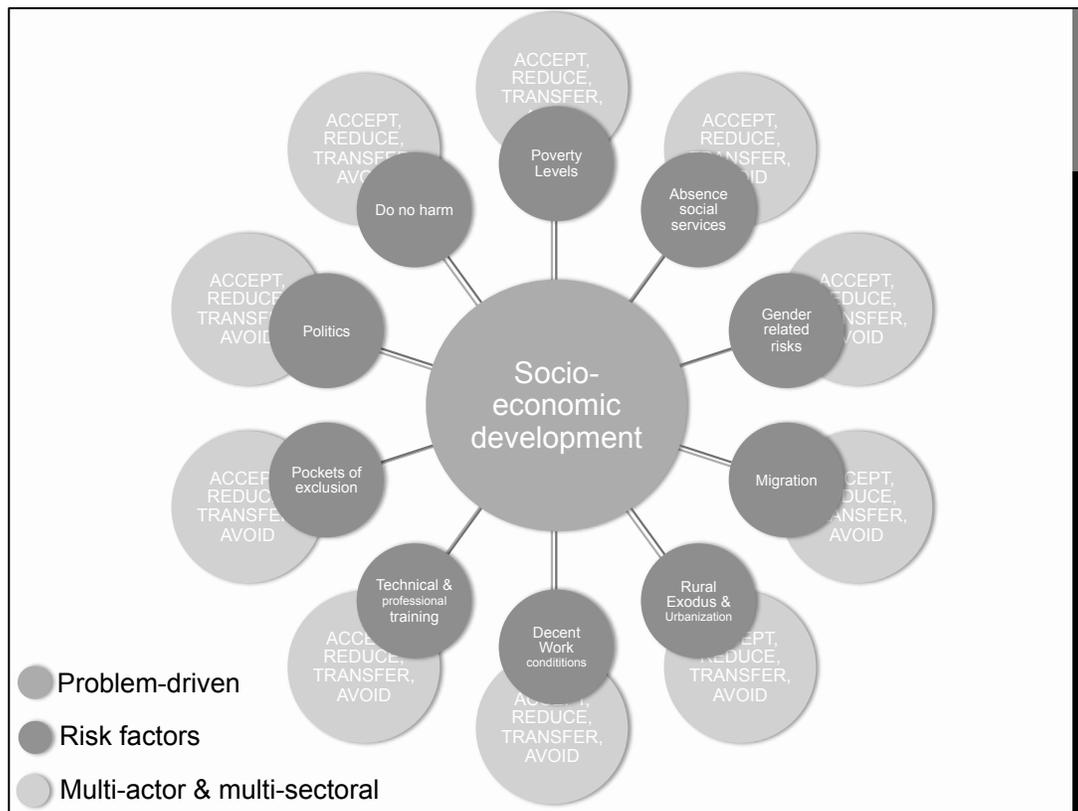
- ✓ How will the new programme take into account the national political context? It is not because the national political context does not take a central place in the daily risk perceptions of the local population, that this context has disappeared. The chance that it affects the local population on a daily basis is indeed small, but sudden political instability can create a systemic shock for all at a given moment in time. When this will be the case, it will demand the availability of several thoughtful scenario’s and the flexibility on the national and political

level (Embassy, Minister) to act on these scenario's.

#### 10. Doing No Harm: “Des promesses vides du gouvernement et leurs partenaires.”

- ✓ How will the new programme assure alignment to the principle of doing no harm? This risk is mainly related to the potential negative impact of the new programme on state-society relations in the long term. Next to the explicit objectives of the programme – probably focusing on socio-economic development – the programme will be implemented with or together with local authorities. This means that the programme will directly and indirectly affect local state-society relations. As already mentioned, the starting position is a generalized distrust against the state and its international allies. Very few international donors are considered an ally of the population. How will the new programme find smart solutions to take into account this triangle between the local population, local authorities and their international presence?

When assessing how the new programme will deal with this differentiated set of risks, it should be made clear that the new programme will not be able to tackle all of them. Therefore, it is important to analyze if and how other actors are already tackling some of these risks and look for complementarity with these actors. However, several risks apply to all programmes, and will affect the effectiveness of the programme when not properly taken into account. Thus, the challenge is to find a correct balance between accepting, reducing, transferring and avoiding certain of the risks listed above.



## 7. Annexes

### Focus Group Data

DATE	PLACE	GROUP	GENDER	CATEGORY
8/07/16	Koupela	Students	Men	
<b>RISKS</b>				
1	Political instability			Politics
2	Incivility			Politics
3	Staying jobless			Economy
4	Injustice			Politics
4	Lack of health services			Health
5	School drop out (to expensive)			Education
5	Lack of resources / delay at university			Education
5	Corruption			Politics
6	Demographic pressure			Society
7	Inadequate education (theory vs practice)			Education
7	Lack of infrastrucure			Economy
8	Cultural degradation			Culture
9	Koglweogo			Security

DATE	PLACE	GROUP	GENDER	CATEGORY
8/07/16	Koupela	Students	Women	
<b>RISKS</b>				
1	Political insecurity			Politics
2	School drop out (lack of resources)			Education
2	Difficult access for women to jobs			Society
3	Inadequate education			Education
4	Poor education			Education
4	Inadequate education			Education
5	Corruption			Politics
6	Violence against women			Society
7	Education: lack of support of parents			Education
7	Family problems			Society
8	Demographic pressure			Society
9	Unintended pregnancy			Society
9	Egoism			N/A
10	Kogwleogo			Security

DATE	PLACE	GROUP	GENDER	CATEGORY
9/07/16	Koupela	Entrepreneurs	Men	
RISKS				
1	Alcohol abuse			Society
1	Health problems (also work-related)			Health
2	No family support for professional choice			Society
3	No fin. resources to start business			Economy
4	Lack of professional training			Education
5	Lack of clients			Economy
5	Laziness			N/A
5	Difficult relation with patron			Economy

DATE	PLACE	GROUP	GENDER	CATEGORY
9/07/16	Koupela	Entrepreneurs	Women	
RISKS				
1	Problems of pregnancy			Society
2	Health problems (also because of work)			Health
2	Forced marriage			Society
3	No basic education			Education
3	No fin. resources to open business			Economy
4	Lack of professional training			Education
5	Lack of clients			Economy
6	No transport to work			Economy

DATE	PLACE	GROUP	GENDER	CATEGORY
10/07/16	Koupela	Farmers	Men	
RISKS				
1	No rain			Environment
2	No water management			Politics
3	Land insecurity			Politics
4	Lack of job in dry season			Economy
5	Crop diseases			Environment
5	Deforestation			Environment
6	Livestock diseases			Environment
7	School drop out			Education
7	No clients			Economy
7	Impossibility to pay for health services			Health
7	Lack of agricultural inputs			Economy
8	Conflict Farmers - Cattle breeders			Society

DATE	PLACE	GROUP	GENDER	CATEGORY
10/07/16	Koupela	Farmers	Women	
RISKS				
1	No rain			Environment
2	Impossibility to pay for health services			Health
3	Lack of agricultural inputs			Economy
4	Crop diseases			Environment
5	School drop out			Education
6	Lack of financial resources to open business			Economy
7	No fruit trees			Economy
8	Livestock diseases			Environment
8	Deforestation			Environment

DATE	PLACE	GROUP	GENDER	CATEGORY
11/07/16	Tenkodogo	Students	Men	
RISKS				
1	Corruption			Politics
1	No technical/professional education			Education
2	Health problems			Health
2	No fin. resources to go to university			Economy
3	No factories and industry (transformation)			Economy
4	Empty promises by politicians/donors			Politics
4	Increase of population			Society
4	Lack of resources/delay at university			Education
5	Insecurity			Security
6	Lack of recreation and sport facilities			N/A
7	Lack of self-confidence			N/A

DATE	PLACE	GROUP	GENDER	CATEGORY
11/07/16	Tenkodogo	Students	Women	
RISKS				
1	No fin. resources to start business			Education
1	Corruption			Politics
2	Lack of government support			Politics
2	Health problems			Health
2	Inadequate education (technical education)			Education
3	Insecurity			Security
3	No job			Economy

4	High school fees	Education
4	Lack of university infrastructure	Education
5	Sexual abuse	Society
5	No dialogue (youth/youth,youth/gov)	Politics
6	Lack of moral support family	Society
7	Wrong friends	N/A
7	Population growth	Society
7	Illiteracy (of parents)	Education
8	Discrimination of women	Society

DATE	PLACE	GROUP	GENDER	CATEGORY
12/07/16	Tenkodogo	Entrepreneurs	Men	
RISKS				
1	Health problems			Health
2	No fin. resources to open workplace			Economy
3	No infrastructure (market, electricity, transport)			Economy
4	Lack of professional training			Education
5	Problems with the patron			Economy
5	Lack of clients			Economy
6	Strong competition			Economy
6	Fees and taxes			Economy

DATE	PLACE	GROUP	GENDER	CATEGORY
12/07/16	Tenkodogo	Entrepr.	women	
RISKS				
1	Health problems			Health
1	Problems with family			Society
2	Lack of resources to access school			Education
3	Pregnancy			Society
4	No fin. resources to open business			Economy
5	Lack of material to work			Economy
5	Problems with husband			Society

DATE	PLACE	GROUP	GENDER	CATEGORY
13/07/16	Tenkodogo	Farmers	Men	
RISKS				
1	Health problems			Health
1	Lack of rain			Environment
2	Poverty of parents			Economy

3	Lack of education	Society
3	Lack of second job in dry season	Economy
4	Lack of land	Economy
4	Lack of possibility yo migrate	Society
5	Lack of agricultural inputs	Economy
5	Lack of vertile lande	Environment
6	Nolivestock	Economy

DATE	PLACE	GROUP	GENDER	CATEGORY
13/07/16	Tenkodogo	Farmers	Women	
RISKS				
1	Health problems			Health
2	Lack of rain			Environment
3	Lack of second job in dry season			Economy
4	Lack of agricultural inputs			Society
5	Lack of second job in dry season			Economy
6	Lack of vertile lande			Economy
7	Lack of education			Society
8	Crop diseases			Economy
9	Livestock diseases			Environment

## Mission Programme

Date	Place	Activity
Thursday 07/07/2016	Ouaga Koupéla	Flight Brussels - Ouagadougou, BF Travel Ouagadougou – Koupéla
Friday 08/07/2016	Koupéla	2 Focus Group Discussions (students)
Saturday 09/07/2016	Koupéla	2 Focus Group Discussions (AGR)
Sunday 10/07/2016	Koupéla	2 Focus Group Discussions (farmers) Transport Koupéla – Tenkodogo
Monday 11/07/2016	Tenkodogo	2 Focus Group Discussions (students)
Tuesday 12/07/2016	Tenkodogo	2 Focus Group Discussions (AGR)
Wednesday 13/07/2016	Tenkodogo	2 Focus Group Discussions (farmers)
Thursday 14/07/2016	Tenkodogo Ouaga	Transport Tenkodogo – Ouagadougou Debriefing Embassy Flight Ouagadougou – Brussels
Friday	Brussels	Debriefing DGD-BTC