



# STATE FRAGILITY IN BURKINA FASO

Analysis and Policy Brief

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## Section 1 – Introduction

### 1.1 Executive Summary

For decades, the land-locked country of Burkina Faso has avoided the exogenous shocks and internal conflicts that have plagued so many of its neighbors. As a result, authoritarian rule has overseen the informal social systems primarily responsible for steady incremental increases in Burkinabé capacity. In 2014, a groundswell of democracy overtook the country, and the advent of civilian leadership signaled that the potential for an exit out of fragility was on the horizon. However, the incursion of regional Islamic extremist groups has challenged the resilience of state security mechanisms as well as the capacity of its fledgling democratic institutions, demonstrating that Burkina Faso remains fragile and threatening to undo hard-earned gains. It is unlikely that Burkina Faso will be able to withstand further shocks over the long term, and a failed state in central West Africa could have cascading effects in the global fight against violent extremism. For a middle power such as Canada, the options to support Burkina Faso are dependent upon Canadian national interests and desired levels of commitment.

### 1.2 Methods

This report utilized the fragility theory and cluster analysis put forth by Carment and Samy<sup>1</sup> as a principal framework for its analysis of Burkina Faso. Approaches put forth by Grävingholt, Ziagja, and Kreibaum<sup>2</sup> were also considered due to their similar spheres of authority, legitimacy, and capacity (ALC) in order to enrich analysis and guide data input. Multiple fragility indexes, including the Fund for Peace Fragile States Index, the Bertelsmann Transformation Index, and the Ibrahim Index of African provided baseline trends that fed into the combined cluster analysis. An initial examination of social, economic, and political cohesion in Burkina Faso produced a series of structural causes and “drivers” of fragility. The examination focused primarily on service delivery relative to each of the ALC clusters - first in terms of the formal political system, taking Webberian view of the state functionality - and later through the lens of social-contract theory which blended formal and informal systems of regulation and governance common in West African state models.<sup>3 4 5</sup> Six sub-clusters – Security and Crime, Governance, Economic Development, Human Development, Demography and Population, and Environmental Factors – were then individually explored to affirm the previously identified drivers. This identification of key institutions, actors, and stakeholders within them allowed for a more precise understanding of associated risk as a function of the probability and negative impacts on fragility drivers. Placing our findings within the ALC framework, our assessment was consistent with several other well-established fragility indices on Burkina Faso.<sup>6</sup>

These assessments had two puzzling and cascading implications for policy options that needed to be addressed in order to offer a complete analysis. First, ours as well as other published fragility assessments on Burkina Faso did not appear to match the recent media narratives,<sup>7 8</sup> diplomatic reports,<sup>9</sup> or security estimates. To respond to this, we accepted Call's challenge of universal fragility rankings and returned to our clusters to apply a more discrete analysis and disaggregate previous commonalities.<sup>10</sup> Here, our application of informal systems adherence and social-contract theory<sup>11</sup> as a basis for legitimacy was more heavily favored. Further, as no field research was able to be conducted in support of this project, regional anthropological reports regarding the informal West African regulatory systems were examined as a substitution,<sup>12 13</sup> the results of which reinforced subsequent findings. While no “traps” were determined, greater emphasis on contextual awareness demonstrated the existence of a “security gap.”<sup>14</sup> Though conceptually accurate, Call's description of a security gap was ultimately problematic in that causal linkages associated with civil war or internal socio-cultural grievances were not present.

This friction flowed into our second implication for policy; fragility triggers existed both within and beyond the sphere of the state, both in terms of service delivery as well as geographic terrain. Here a principle of conflict diffusion was fittingly applied, wherein it was determined that external factors are motivated by the state's capacity to either reject or be resilient to them. This directly challenged earlier ALC estimates, generating revision. Applying a refined cluster analysis and gauged fragility triggers, three scenarios were built out to demonstrate potential fragility futures for Burkina Faso. Based on these scenarios, a series of policy options intended for Global Affairs Canada (GAC) are then presented without recommendation or prioritization.





## Section 2 – Background and Stakeholders

### 2.1 Current Status

Over the past decade, Burkina Faso has slowly progressed away from fragility due to the social, economic and environmental policies addressed hereafter. These successes emerged in the wake of the 2014 Burkinabé Uprising – the rejection of the previous authoritarian regime under president Blaise Compaoré. This period was marked by immense social dissatisfaction spurred by numerous acts of theft and looting committed by military officers,<sup>15</sup> resulting in frequent clashes between law enforcement and students.<sup>16</sup> In 2014, tensions climaxed when Compaoré attempted to circumvent the two-term presidential limit and run for re-election in 2015;<sup>17</sup> however, hundreds of thousands of Burkinabé protested in the capital of Ouagadougou to denounce this reform.<sup>18</sup> Soon after, Compaoré announced his resignation, taking refuge in Côte d'Ivoire. In the interim, the Burkinabé army oversaw the transition of power.<sup>19</sup> In November 2015, organized elections were held, through which Roch Marc Christian Kaboré, former prime minister and president of the National Assembly of Burkina Faso emerged as (and remains) president.<sup>20</sup>

While the Kaboré era has been an improvement upon that of his predecessor's, there are nonetheless a myriad of issues presently facing the state. First, terrorist activity linked to al-Qaeda and groups operating between Niger and Mali have produced several hundred Burkinabé casualties since 2016.<sup>21 22</sup> The subsequent deterioration of the security landscape is the weak link in Burkina Faso's climb out of fragility. In addition to these security concerns, relatively weak governance continues to create inefficiencies and gaps in service delivery for the Burkinabé, especially in rural areas.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, the state has yet to address its fundamental constitutional instability, which has paralyzed the advance of Burkina Faso.<sup>24</sup> Optimistically however, the democratic integrity displayed during the recent November 2020 presidential election represents a new chapter for Burkina Faso's democratic system. On the economic front, performance has remained relatively stable in 2019 despite the COVID-19 pandemic and security crisis. The state has experienced minor GDP growth, led mainly by the services sector<sup>25</sup> which counterbalanced the decline of agricultural, mining, and construction performance.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, fiscal deficit and public debt improved in 2019.<sup>27</sup> Burkina Faso also achieved significant improvements in the infrastructure and environment, notably in the water sanitation sector,<sup>28</sup> ensuring better access to safe drinking water, piped water.<sup>29</sup> In light of these successes, we believe that the country's slight 2020 downturn into fragility does not indicate a trend towards collapse but rather the cause of such temporary shocks. Once these exogenous stressors are controlled, we believe that Burkina Faso will be able to resume its course towards improving the political, environmental and socio-economic shortcomings addressed hereafter.

### 2.2 End User

This policy brief is intended for Canada's international development programming in Burkina Faso, coordinated by Global Affairs Canada (GAC) – specifically the West and Central Africa Bureau. This department supports Burkina Faso's *National Economic and Social Development Plan* (PNDES) which aims to reform national institutions and develop human capital, which includes the promotion of strengthening of a health system and access to education.<sup>30</sup> Additionally, GAC supports Burkina Faso's initiative for socio-economic and agri-sectoral development.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, through the Peace and Stabilization Operations Program (PSOPs), GAC is responsible for managing Canada's commitments to the International Sahel Coalition, an alliance that seeks to support partners as the G5 Sahel countries through economic, military, social and political intervention and address instability in the region.<sup>32</sup>

### 2.3. Key Actors (See Annex B)

Internal Stakeholders
<p><b>Burkina Faso State Officials:</b></p> <p>Burkina Faso is currently led by President Roch Marc Christian Kaboré of the People's Movement for Progress, and Prime Minister Christophe Joseph Marie Dabiré. While this regime represents a considerable improvement upon the previous Compaoré era, rent-seeking behavior remains very much at play, particularly in regards to the mining sector.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, “the filing of jobs or dismissals of public servants often serve favoritism or political motivations, hindering effective management.”<sup>34</sup> That said, there are several actors who represent likely facilitators of social and economic change within the country, such as the drivers of the PNDES, including the National Steering Committee and Permanent Secretariat of the PNDES, and relevant ministers, as listed in Annex B.</p>



**Burkina Faso Armed Forces and Members of the Security Sector:**

Until 2014, Burkinabé military officers held the executive powers of the state. In the past three years, internal Burkinabé security organizations faced consistent threats, and their inability to counter asymmetric tactics consistently continues to undermine the state's legitimacy. The current Minister of Defense, Chérif Sy, is a life-long political leftist and career journalist who was given the ministry as part of 2015 political reforms. The Minister of Security, Ousséni Compaoré, is embattled from his own police forces. General Moïse Miningou, Commander of Burkinabé Armed Forces, is respected but under resourced. Meanwhile, US Major General Dagvin Anderson, Commander SOCAFRICA, oversees the combined regional counterterrorism efforts in the region, but has limited American forces in the area. The French Task Force BARKANE also operates fluidly in the region.

**Mossi and Foulse Self-Defense Militias (Koglwéogo):**

In response to the rise of interregional violence perpetrated by Islamist extremist groups, Mossi and Foulse communities, predominantly in the Northern border region of Burkina Faso, have recently formed self-defense militias and clashed with Fulani communities, who have been accused of being "jihadi sympathizers".<sup>35</sup> Clashes between these groups, and the rise of fear mongering and militarism writ large, risk complicating the already precarious security situation, deepening social cleavages, and hindering attempts to unify disparate groups throughout the country. When considering policy options, the utmost care must therefore be taken so as to not demonstrate favoritism or reinforce existing cultural biases, as such could trigger minority/majority conflict.

**National Labour Unions:**

While much of the Burkinabé economy resides in the informal sector and subsistence farming, national labour unions nonetheless possess considerable power and influence in the political sphere. Indeed, Burkinabé trade unions have a long history of mobilizing "their organizational power and their well-established networks, both among trade union federations, despite different ideological orientations, and between trade unions and other civil society organizations."<sup>36</sup> Accordingly, national trade unions may be viewed as key entry points towards socio-economic change, including: the CGT-B, the CNTB, the CSB, the FO-UNSL, the ONSL, the USTB and the UAS.

**External Stakeholders**

**The Sahel Coalition:**

Established in January 2020, the Sahel Coalition represents a partnership between G5 Sahel countries (Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Niger) and 12 Alliance members: France, Germany, the European Union, the African Development Bank, the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank, the United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Finland.<sup>37</sup> The Coalition seeks to achieve stabilization and development through four key pillars: fighting against terrorism; strengthening the capabilities of the G5 states' armed forces; supporting for the return of the state and the administrations in the territory, and development assistance.<sup>38</sup> Canada's contributions to the coalition aim to "help advance the group's priorities for peace and security, economic and social development, inclusive government, gender equality and climate change."<sup>39</sup>

**Members of the Islamic State, Al-Qaida, and Other Extremist Groups:**

In recent years, Mali-based members of the Islamic State and al-Qaeda "have exploited porous borders and a weak state to launch attacks – growing in number and deadliness – on military personnel, infrastructure and civilians."<sup>40</sup> This is in addition to the recent escalation of activity from the Burkinabé group Ansarul Islam.<sup>41</sup> The actions of such groups have resulted in not only loss of life<sup>42</sup> but also loss of infrastructure and capacity for service delivery,<sup>43</sup> the closure of hospitals and schools,<sup>44</sup> and a loss of confidence in the 2020 general election.<sup>45</sup> While these groups are not the cause of Burkina Faso's fragility, they do represent the largest stressor thereof.

**Border States (Mali and Niger):**

As a result of the ongoing crisis in Mali, the Liptako Gourma region, encompassing Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger, has experienced a large upsurge of violence since early 2018. This conflict, predominantly led by Malian Islamic armed groups, has posed great spillover effects on both Burkina Faso and Niger, resulting in the displacement of over 235,000 people – more than 70,000 of which now reside in Burkina Faso.<sup>46</sup> Accordingly, the events currently unfolding in Mali – and to a lesser extent Niger – directly and negatively impact the security and welfare of Burkina Faso.



## Section 3 – Fragility Analysis

### 3.1 General Trends and Key Drivers of Fragility (See Annex C)

In the years following the transition of power from the Compaoré regime to the modern Kaboré government, Burkina Faso has consistently been improving in each of the six clusters under consideration, with the exception of a noticeable downturn within the past year. This regression is predominantly due to the rise of transregional extremism, spillover effects from the security situation in neighboring Mali and Niger, as well as the more recent impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic. The previous five years however have yielded slow but steady improvement marked with economic, human and environmental developments in the forms of the PNESD and the *National Adaptation Plan* (NAP).

While Burkina Faso had made steady progress throughout this period, it is nonetheless faced with various fundamental weaknesses which drive underlying fragility. First, inefficient and inexperienced governance results in "huge amounts of resources [being] wasted due to corruption, clientelism, favoritism, poor coordination, and the country's lack of infrastructure and official monitoring."<sup>47</sup> Due to mismanagement and corruption, "available human, financial and organizational resources are utilized efficiently in very few areas."<sup>48</sup> There is thus a lack of proper investment in human and infrastructure development. This lack of investment in human and physical capital leaves the vast majority of the population uneducated and unskilled, thus dependent on subsistence agrarian farming. Consequently, the state as a whole has little possibility for significant economic expansion, as they remain dependent on meager resource exploitation and subsequently prone to external economic shocks in the global market for gold and cotton. These negative externalities of corruption and mismanagement are felt more heavily in rural areas, where – despite the majority of the population residing therein – "national institutions are still deemed nearly irrelevant."<sup>49</sup>

Importantly, the state's inability to suppress violence has created a situation of high insecurity wherein pre-existing infrastructure has become compromised (i.e. the destruction of buildings, inaccessibility of roads and the closure of schools) which further impedes upon the state's growth potential and overall social welfare. Indeed, Burkina Faso's ineffective security forces and inability to suppress transregional extremist violence represents a key driver of its present decline back into fragility, as it effectively removes the relatively stable backdrop by which the state was able to achieve steady – albeit slow – success over the course of Kaboré's leadership.

### 3.2. Cluster Analyses

Here, we present our analyses of each of the six clusters of fragility, as put forth by Carment and Samy.<sup>50</sup> For the sake of a more 'policy-friendly' presentation, we have chosen to relegate our indicators and data points to tables in the indicated annexes. For a visual representation of the more general trends of fragility please refer to annex D.

#### 3.2.1 Security and Crime (See Annex E)

Risk Intensity	Direction
Severe	Deteriorating

The conclusion of the Compaoré regime marked the beginning of a steady deterioration in the Burkinabé security apparatus. For decades, joining the military was viewed as a means of political ascension rather than governmental service.<sup>51</sup> The prosecution of several high-ranking military officers for their attempt at re-seizing power post-2014 uprising publically demonstrated the subordination of the military to civilian control.<sup>52</sup> Concurrent to these domestic reductions, violent extremist groups increasingly began to intrude into Burkina Faso's northeastern Sahel Region, establishing proto-extortion state and sanctuary from neighboring Mali and Niger counterterrorism forces. Terrorist attacks in Ouagadougou demonstrate a consistent threat from Islamist militants originating from these sanctuary areas where fatalities in 2019 averaged between 150-200 military and civilian deaths related to clashes per month.<sup>53</sup> Guerrilla tactics remain common, suggesting that extremists in the north enjoy a degree of sanctuary within the region, not only from favorable terrain but also from a coerced local population.<sup>54</sup> The lack of effective Burkinabé security has led to the rise of self-defense militias who display varying degrees of loyalty to the central government or respect for rule of law. Most notably, the vigilante group known as the Koglwéogo operates with impunity and some degree of popular support, particularly in eastern areas, extorting and punishing alleged criminals as well as posing threats to commercial vehicles.<sup>55</sup>



Interstate war risks are very low due to Burkina Faso’s close economic ties, shared tribal bonds, and counterterrorism cooperation with neighboring countries. This also stems from relative low capacity within regional militaries. Comparable to its land-locked neighbors of Mali and Niger, a few trends are worth noting. Burkina Faso (11,200) and Mali (10,000) boast similar bodied militaries, while Niger’s is about half their size (5,300); however, funding varies substantially. Niger’s annual defense budget is approximately \$325M USD, while Burkina Faso’s is only about two-fifths of that at \$130M USD. Mali only spends \$70M annually on its military, but like Niger, it is the recipient of substantial foreign military aid as well as foreign military troops garrisoned in the country. Burkina Faso is the only country of the three that boasts attack aviation assets, though very limited in number. Niger (-\$3.73B USD), Mali (-\$4.19B USD), and Burkina Faso (-\$3.06B USD) all hold similar external debt, but where Niger (\$1.31B USD) and Mali (\$647M USD) each have some sizable foreign reserves as offsets, Burkina Faso (\$49M USD) does not.<sup>56</sup> As mentioned, only in the past three years have internal Burkinabé security organizations – police and military – faced consistent asymmetric threats and their inability to counter tactics stems from long term conventional military investments despite the presence of state-based adversary. As a result, intrastate security issues remain most likely for the near future, though the threat of organic civil war or coup remains a low probability at this time.<sup>57</sup>

The Government of Burkina Faso actively maintains state of emergency in the entire East and Sahel regions, the provinces of Kossi and Sourou in the Boucle de Mouhoun region, the province of Kenedougou in the Hauts Bassins region, the province of Loroum in the North region, and the province of Koulpelogo in the Center-East region.<sup>58</sup> These areas along different parts of the national border are non-contiguous geographically, but extremists within each share a common network, meaning the threat radiates from a transregional base. Active military operations, curfews, and movement restrictions, including bans of motorcycles and other vehicles are ongoing or could occur in the affect provinces. Both the US and Canada diplomatic posting to Burkina Faso are considered ‘unaccompanied’ and travel is restricted throughout the country due to threats of terrorism, kidnapping, and banditry.<sup>59</sup> However, homicide and other violent crime, while on the rise, remain low, even within growing urban centers and contested spaces,<sup>60</sup> suggesting that even in regions and provinces with contested access, a degree of informal order is being provided from armed groups.

### 3.2.2 Governance (See Annex F)

Risk Intensity	Direction
Moderate-Severe	Improving

Although the government is seen as legitimate, there is a certain mistrust in the government's capacity to detect and contain violence, while jihadist attacks promote justice for victims within community groups.<sup>61</sup> One ethnic group in particular, the Fulani, are often the targets of reprisals from the Burkinabé army who suspect them of being jihadists. On the other hand, the Fulani are also attacked by jihadist militias and are victims of threats and kidnapping.<sup>62</sup>

A more fundamental challenge in relation to governance is corruption entrenched in all levels of the state institutions, which acts as an obstacle to democratic development.<sup>63</sup> Indeed, many Burkinabé consider corruption as naturally part of politics and public administration as central authorities often bypass local institutions when it comes to politically and economically issues.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, the institutional separation of the three branches of power - executive, legislative and judicial - is constitutionally prescribed, but considerably limited in practical terms.<sup>65</sup> In practice, the judiciary is politicized and influenced by the executive’s interests, which fostered a culture of impunity at all levels.<sup>66</sup>

Customary authorities (traditional rulers) also play an essential role, both within and alongside the State's power structure.<sup>67</sup> State administrations often call on chiefs to enforce state laws which often enjoy great authority among rural populations.<sup>68</sup> The involvement of traditional chiefdoms in the management of power is a factor that structures political and democratic processes in Burkina Faso.<sup>69</sup> The non-integration of these two systems of governance weakens the State as well as the functioning of democracy.<sup>70</sup> Nonetheless, Burkina Faso's government has been vocal on its commitment to strengthening and promoting women's inclusive policies,<sup>71</sup> initiating concrete actions such as the criminalization of female genital mutilation and have implemented laws to criminalize violence against women and girls, including forced and early marriage and sexualized violence.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, Burkina Faso is committed to better governance, as outlined by the government’s commitments in the PNDES to improve the structural development of the country's economy and the general well-being of Burkinabé.<sup>73</sup> While it is too early to properly assess its impact, preliminary results since its implementation have proven to be encouraging.



### 3.2.3 Economic Development (See Annex G)

Risk Intensity	Direction
Moderate-Severe	Improving

Based on traditional economic indicators (GDP growth, GDP per capita, Gini Index, etc.) Burkina Faso has been steadily growing over the past decade – yet such growth has been slow and of an insufficient level to escape fragility in itself. Given that Burkina Faso is heavily centered on the exploitation of limited natural resources (cotton, gold, etc.) the success or failure of their economy is incredibly dependent on external factors such as rainfall, quality of soil and global prices of exported goods. The economic fragility of Burkina Faso is thus driven by its lack of diversification and ability to withstand environmental and world economy shocks. This reliance on natural resource exploitation is driven in part by the country's lack of investment in infrastructure and human capital. Without proper infrastructure (rural roads, reliable electricity, effective administration,) the Burkinabé workforce lacks the ability to maximize production levels and gains from trade. Similarly, without a sufficiently educated workforce, Burkina Faso lacks the knowledge base to diversify or modernize its economy. These limitations are compounded by high population growth and youth dependency rates which strain resources while offering little towards economic productivity.

These drivers – environmental dependence, lack of human development and youth bulge – will most likely be exacerbated by the current humanitarian crisis in neighboring states which will divert government funding and attention away from building economic resilience and human capital development and towards the security and defense sector. Additionally, the current security situation has already resulted in a wide array of school closures, which will impact the youth bulge's human development opportunity and, consequently, Burkina Faso's long-term economic growth potential. Finally, although urban migration rates are relatively high, there is a fundamental lack of employment opportunities in such areas. Accordingly, individuals in urban areas predominantly engage in informal work or find employment in the service industry. This is reflected by increases in service sector employment and GDP value and a broader economic shift towards the service industry. This sector does not produce material products, however, which impacts Burkina Faso's ability to engage in growth through trade. As noted by the African Development Bank, Brookings Institute and other institutions,<sup>74</sup> industrialization and manufacturing will play a key part in leading African countries out of fragility. As such, Burkina Faso will need to support the creation of industrial jobs in tradable areas such as mining and manufacturing in order to drive economic growth and stability.

### 3.2.4 Human Development (See Annex H)

Risk Intensity	Direction
Moderate-Severe	Improving

Burkina Faso is making progress across most major dimensions of human development, including education, life expectancy, gender equity, GDP per capita and the provision of basic services. That said, this progress is relatively slow, and while upwards trends are encouraging, overall performance in this sector is still rather low. The fundamental issue of this cluster is the lack of capacity to adequately invest in human development (education, health, provision of services, etc.). Given this lack of investment, much of the population is left with few opportunities to break out of subsistence farming or other low paying service sectors. This lack of human development feeds into the fragility of the economic cluster, in that uneducated, under-supported workforces lead to minimal growth or stagnation. This is a particularly important driver of fragility, given the large youth bulge of Burkina Faso. While increasing enrollment and completion rates are encouraging, it is likely that the current transregional humanitarian crisis will impact the availability of key services for human development including schools, hospitals and food delivery. Such consequences may arise due to resource strains resulting from the addition of displaced persons from neighboring countries to the population, or the outright closure of institutions due to violence, insecurity or health concerns.

Another key driver of fragility reflected in the human development cluster is the social cleavage between the urban and rural population, reflected by severe horizontal inequalities.<sup>75</sup> Indeed, Burkina Faso is marked with a massive divide in public service delivery between rural and urban populations in terms of availability of electricity, sanitation services, clean drinking water and handwashing facilities. This disparity is particularly disconcerting given the fact that over 70% of Burkinabé live in rural areas,<sup>76</sup> where public service delivery is incredibly lacking. It is important to note that access to clean water is decreasing in rural areas, which not only impacts drinking water supplies, but also





key inputs into agricultural production, which accounts for over 20% of the country's GDP value.<sup>77</sup> This lack of clean water in rural areas further leaves subsistence farmers particularly vulnerable to droughts, compounding on the fundamental situation of horizontal inequity. Moreover, given the low percent of Burkinabé who have access to handwashing facilities, the potential of rapid COVID-19 transmission is rather high, although Burkina Faso demonstrates a relatively low incidence rate of the virus at present (See annex M). This however may be due to a lack of testing capabilities rather than a lack of virus spread in itself.

### 3.2.5 Demography and Population (See Annex I)

Risk Intensity	Direction
Moderate	Improving

Since 1955, Burkina Faso has seen both steady increases in life expectancy rates and decreases in infant and child mortality rates.<sup>78</sup> While there is little data to indicate that the Burkinabé government has played a direct role, incremental increases to education and health services could be assumed to have had indirect effects. Nearly all measurable demographic rates regarding health and education demonstrate not only commensurate levels but similar trends in neighboring countries of Mali, Niger, and Ghana.<sup>79</sup> Consequently, population growth has exploded in the region.<sup>80</sup> As a result, urbanization within Burkina Faso has rapidly grown over the past decade, stressing a previously niche service market against the traditional agrarian and pastoral economies.<sup>81</sup>

Like many West African countries, informal societal institutions have traditionally provided greater security and predictability than federal governments, which often have toothless policies. Granted, informal systems habitually come with dynamics of their own as well as limited service delivery; nevertheless, successive Burkinabé governments have leaned on these networks to fill gaps and maintain unity within a diverse population, offering legitimacy as well as consistency. This governance crutch demonstrates an imbalance on the social contract between the state and the public, subordinating formal state service delivery on a meaningful scale while simultaneously preventing state collapse.<sup>82</sup> While the government is criticized by the population on a variety of issues, it is at least criticized universally across demographic divides, suggesting deficits in capacity and services delivery rather than legitimacy bias. The Fulani tribe in the northeastern part of the country has historically been seen apart from the majority Mossi/Foule tribes, creating a horizontal inequality<sup>83</sup> within otherwise unifying informal systems. Relative to other West African nations however, Burkina Faso has been mostly successful at negating inter-communal pressures associated with an otherwise patchwork of tribal designations and religious divides.

In recent years, Burkina Faso has presented a net migration loss per annum,<sup>84</sup> largely associated with continue violence related to Islamic terrorist groups operating in the region. This has created massive amounts of internally displaced persons (IDP), affecting urban population swells and human security concerns. Over the past five years, extremist violence and intimidation has driven more than one million people from their homes in Burkina Faso (approximately 5% of the country's population), 450,000 of which occurred during 2020 alone.<sup>85</sup>

### 3.2.6 Environment (See Annex J)

Risk Intensity	Direction
Moderate	Improving

Burkina Faso is a country with limited natural resources and highly vulnerable to climate change<sup>86</sup>. Over the last 20 years, the state has been dependent on and affected by severe rain decrease due to the decline in water resources and soil degradation<sup>87</sup>. The Notre Dame's Global Adaptation Index (ND-GAIN) measured Burkina Faso's levels of vulnerability to climate change as well as the readiness of countries to respond to this process; Burkina Faso is the 25th-most-vulnerable country of those assessed<sup>88</sup>. That said, Burkina Faso was one of the first African countries to commit in signing the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change in 1993 and the Kyoto Protocol in 2005<sup>89</sup>. Burkina Faso published its National Adaptation Plan (PNA) in September 2015, which focused on the most vulnerable sector, agriculture, water resources, livestock and forests/biodiversity<sup>90</sup>. Since then, Burkina Faso has been able to sustainably strengthen agriculture's competitiveness in sectors other than cotton by increasing the income derived from agricultural exports and set up reforestation programs<sup>91</sup>.



## Section 4 – ALC Analysis

### 4.1 General ALC Trends (See Annex D)

Here we present (in decreasing level of severity) our overall assessments of Burkina Faso's Authority, Capacity and Legitimacy. While Burkina Faso may exhibit higher levels of authority relative to capacity, we argue that the former presents a much greater risk to overall state fragility, as it creates the most pronounced spillover effects onto other clusters. Accordingly, while we view capacity as having the lowest level of baseline performance, we view this area as less severe than authority, given that the former is slowly improving while the latter is rapidly declining. Finally, we view legitimacy as the least pressing (yet non-negligible) source of fragility, given recent democratic achievements including the state's first true democratic election held in November of this year.

#### 4.1.1 Authority

Current Level	Direction
Medium-Low	Falling

The 2015 political agenda to reduce the military created a perfect storm as it was widely rumored that Compaoré government had an informal deal with the Jihadists to remain beyond the country's borders.<sup>92</sup> Now, the Burkinabé state finds itself quite literally surrounded by security problems. Transregional extremism blankets the country's access to Mali and Niger to the north and east while a separate group has moved in to the country's southwestern regions, cutting off transportation to Côte d'Ivoire. Only Ghana remains open, a country that traditionally has had north-south divisions, creating informal distance and yet another exploitable gap for insurgents. Beyond geography, Burkina Faso finds itself without international security partners as well, something it has found difficulty acquiring in short order. In addition to military constraints, national police are equally embattled, most recently leading to formal strike against the Minister of Security.<sup>93</sup> Without the ability to enforce rule of law, the Islamic extremists have sunk into the local artisanal gold mining sector, exploiting laborers and using profits to fund global jihadist activities.<sup>94</sup> Given the lucrative nature of extremism's occupation, they will be reluctant to leave without a fight.

Devoid of the security threats brought on by extremism, the informal systems used by the government to manage its authority and promote overall capacity would not only be likely to continue incremental gains but eventually they would 'graft' into the formal aspect of the state itself.<sup>95</sup> It is from this perspective that Burkina Faso is often seen as slowly exiting fragility; extremist security threats are classified as external to the state, like a belligerent neighbor. Seen this way, they behave as a sort of embedded trigger that consistently challenges the resilience of the state in manner similar to a driver, though ironically more extreme. This assessment agrees with the Burkinabé government's assessment that security is of principal concern, as it is not only a threat to service delivery, but it is also a threat to the concept of democratic legitimacy within the nation at this critical time in their history.

The strategic implications associated with Burkina Faso succumbing to fragility within the authority cluster are significant, not simply domestically, but for the region. The northeastern Sahel Region of Burkina Faso would provide an immense tri-border area, rich in extraction resources, from which violent extremist could project into the region, causing further destabilizing effects within neighboring state. Domestically, if Burkina Faso regresses too greatly, the risk of failed statehood will not only matter: the legitimacy of democracy could become generationally tainted by ineffectiveness, likely signaling a return what will be perceived as a functional military rule.

#### 4.1.2 Capacity

Current Level	Direction
Low	Rising

In the years following the 2014 uprising, Burkina Faso has experienced stable positive growth in its capacity to provide citizens with basic services, employment, and human development opportunities (See Annexes G and H). It is important to note that the state has achieved this without developing alarming levels of aid dependency. That said, while the state's capacity may be generally improving it still remains at a low baseline level, even in comparison to other West-African States.<sup>96</sup>



This lack of service capacity is most apparent in rural areas of Burkina Faso, where, as noted by the IWA, the inequity of human development and service delivery largely stems from "the geographical spread of the population and this is directly linked to two aspects, namely geography of dispersed rural communities and the high urbanization rate."<sup>97</sup> In all areas of human development – health, education, sanitation, water – rural areas exhibit a disproportional lack of service provision despite the high overall rural population. Indeed, the state is marked by a staggering urban-rural divide (See Annex H). These urban-rural disparities are likewise compounded by fundamental gender gaps, in that "discriminatory social norms and informal laws challenge the implementation and efficiency of policies and programmes promoting gender equability across the country. Gender inequalities therefore persist and national averages often mask strong regional disparities."<sup>98</sup>

### 4.1.3 Legitimacy

Current Level	Direction
Medium	Rising

Although Burkina Faso is somewhat of a hybrid regime, fresh off the heels of the borderline authoritarian Compaoré government, current leadership under President Kaboré has managed to make great strides in terms of overall legitimacy. For example, the general population of Burkina Faso views its relationship with the current government as improving, in that "more than half of Burkinabé respondents to the 2019 GCB believe that corruption has decreased in the past year and that the current government is doing a good job countering corruption."<sup>99</sup> Moreover, "28% [of citizens] feel that Burkina Faso was a full democracy; 36% see only minor problems with democracy in the country, 25% identify major problems. Only 5% say that in their view, Burkina Faso is no democracy at all."<sup>100</sup>

That said, there are elements of isomorphic mimicry in that corruption still remains a large issue of legitimacy, wherein government officials often accept bribes from rich (urbanized) elites which do not feed back into development; consequently, economic reforms disproportionately benefit urban areas to the exclusion of rural sectors. Similarly, while overall income inequality has likewise decreased, there are nonetheless major gaps between the government's focus between the rural agricultural sector and the urban industrial sector. Being somewhat of an emerging democracy however, the November 2020 general election represents a momentous turning point within Burkina Faso, as it marks the first *truly* democratic election process in modern Burkinabé history. Given this large step away from the state's authoritarian history, we are optimistic that in the coming months and years, the legitimacy of Burkina Faso will continue to improve on both the domestic and international stage.

## 4.2 Scenarios

Some fragile states enjoy high levels of direct international involvement, both in terms of developmental aid or direct foreign military engagement. Within these 'aid darlings' critical assessments can be difficult due to political complexity as well as instances of isomorphic mimicry. As a very fine silver lining, Burkina Faso is not one of those states. Instances of isomorphic mimicry as well as its effects are clearer here, allowing fragility drivers to be more homogeneously contained and assessed. Our scenarios accept this, and examine feasible and probable events that, based on their effects, generate considerations and risks for Canadian interests within Burkina Faso.

### 4.2.1 Baseline Scenario

Despite this year's slight regression into fragility, Burkina Faso has slowly been improving during the years following the 2014 Uprising. Moreover, the Kaboré government is received relatively favorably by its citizens as a whole – particularly in comparison to his predecessor. While the state has made steady steps out of fragility within the past decade, it would be unwise to conclude that Burkina Faso is in a good position. First, while the state has been improving, the overall level of authority, legitimacy and capacity is still relatively low. Second, these aforementioned successes have been achieved amidst a relatively secure and stable backdrop. Presently, this stable environment is in grave danger of vanishing due to COVID-19 and the current security situation. These exogenous shocks impede efforts to address the core drivers of fragility including rural-urban disparities, human and economic development and the strengthening the efficacy of governance, as the majority of Burkinabé remain focused on 'survival' rather than 'development.' Accordingly, we view the next six months as critically important in determining the overall trajectory





of Burkina Faso: if the security situation and global pandemic are able to be adequately suppressed and controlled, the state will be able to build off of established frameworks and resume its previous course towards improvement. If these situations exacerbate or are otherwise unable to be controlled, such progress may be for naught. We choose to err on the side of optimism and begin under the presumption that Burkina Faso is generally improving – slowly but precariously – and is currently taking adequate steps to ensure that recent successes may continue.

#### **4.2.2 Best Case Scenario**

If the security situation is controlled, it is anticipated that Burkina Faso will once again benefit from a stable and secure environment, being able to rebound from its recent dip into fragility. In this scenario, given the aforementioned economic, human and environmental development plans currently in place (as well as future improvements and renewals thereof), it is anticipated that in the long-term, the state will be able to increase its baseline growth through economic transformation towards manufacturing and industrialization, increased female participation in the workforce and governance, and increased human development targeted at rural populations. In the next six months however, the ideal end-state will be a return to the relative stability exhibited by the state in previous years. Achieving this best-case scenario absolutely hinges on controlling the security situation. Needless to say, strong leadership and governance will be a necessary precursor to achieving this ideal end-state; therefore, the now two-term regime Kaboré must continue to maintain the spirit of democratic cooperation following a decisive electoral victory.

#### **4.2.3 Worst Case Scenario**

The worst-case scenario for Burkina Faso is characterized by a convergence of shocks in which the severity of transregional violence exacerbates dramatically; a 'second-wave' of COVID-19 further disrupts supply chains and access to services, and the state's fragile sense of democracy is tested due to tensions following the November election. While Burkina Faso may be able to withstand one or two of these exogenous variables, it is unlikely that their current levels of resistance would be able to endure a total convergence thereof – particularly over such a small timeframe. Accordingly, the worst-case scenario would effectively remove any sense of stability and security within the state, shatter the state's authority to protect from violence, capacity to deliver services to its population, and perception of legitimacy both internationally and domestically. In this scenario, Burkina Faso would effectively be pushed back into Compaoré-era levels of fragility.

#### **4.2.4 Wild Card Scenario**

In one potential scenario, the self-defense militias formed by Mossi and Foulse communities actively target Fulani communities. Consequently, self-defense militias would erupt into large-scale vigilantism as a response to transregional violence; human rights abuses between majority and minority ethnicities would become apparent in the media, and the international community would intervene. While this tension is predominantly found in the northern areas of Burkina Faso, in this wild-card scenario, a UN peacekeeping force or other third-party actor would remain in Burkina Faso's northeastern regions for an extended period of time, shifting the factors and dynamics of fragility.

### **Section 5 – Policy Options and Conclusions**

#### **5.1 Option 1: Counterterrorism and Military Assistance**

Through inter-departmental coordination with the Department of National Defence, GAC enters into direct military assistance with Burkina Faso through the alignment of existing Ministry of Foreign Affairs mandates<sup>101</sup> to support counterterrorism and peacekeeping efforts, creating a regional security approach across the neighboring countries of Mali and Niger. The intent of this option is to disrupt and degrade violent extremist sanctuaries within the three countries, forcing their displacement. Over the short term – two to three years – direct military assistance surges to secure the Sahel region in Burkina Faso to reduce extremist influence and restore a sense of normalcy to afflicted provinces. At the end of this time, Canada will assess if continued presence should be scaled down, continued, or withdrawn. Through the desired goal of decreased extremist presence, Burkina Faso will be able to regain its slow but consistent trajectory out of fragility. This option represents a minimalist approach for Canada, with Canadian special operations forming the central means of support, at least in the short term. As a 'Five Eye' partner, Canada will likely assume a needed leadership role in regional counterterrorism efforts, uniting coalition support from the existing French military footprint as well as from the United States who would welcome the offset.



GAC must consider a balanced timeline and scaled approach for the state to return to positive authority growth as military assistance artificially contains the problem in the interim. To offset this difficulty, this option considers building partnered capacity of the Burkinabé security forces to maintain legitimacy through military security, something hereto unattempted by any other foreign actor. This secondary effort would leave Burkina Faso better equipped to handle a resurgent situation, should one arise. Further, combined efforts with neighboring countries would increase cooperation and set conditions for additional longer-term relationships. However, beyond military assistance, this option anticipates that Burkinabé governance can resume capacity and service delivery initiatives that have been stymied due to the security situation. While small aid packages can be considered in support of this option, both public and private sectors are minimally engaged and unimpeded. As a military-centric engagement, metrics for Canada naturally remain military-oriented, considering a variety of battle statistics associated with combat as well as effects on friendly, enemy, and civilian demographics. Military funding will also be monitored as a gauge of efficiency. At the conclusion of two to three years, metrics may shift to more civil-military focus, measuring functionality in public service delivery such as schools and hospitals in previously effected areas. Economic revenue and freedom of movement would also provide clear indicators of success.

The primacy of military counterterrorism activities will likely have disruptive effects on local supply chains and other informal service delivery mechanisms. Damage to infrastructure as well as the environment must be considered during the conduct of operations as it relates to resumption of service delivery. Through a solely counterterrorism lens, tensions between Mossi/Foulse and Fulani communities may become exacerbated in the wake of success as normative cultural biases resume in the reconstruction process. Care in monitoring socio-security interactions will be important in order to avoid the emergence of a different, more organic, security problem. While this option provides clear benefits to Canada – economic interest stabilization and international counterterrorism leadership – it ostensibly ignores the internal, root causes of fragility, choosing instead to focus on the external, exacerbating triggers. Short-term achievement may forecast improvements, but long-term outcomes are less certain.

## **5.2 Option 2: Economic Capacity Building and Development Assistance**

GAC supports strengthening Burkinabé public and private sector infrastructure through development projects in order to diversify and strength the country's economic base. This option seeks to increase human security factors through service delivery and capacity, which will in turn foster resilience to fragility triggers through an enhanced social contract. This option presents an initial short-term approach of two-to-three years, focusing on key mining sectors and transportation corridors in the western part of the country as proof of concept. At the end of eighteen months, funding will be assessed to determine if augmentation and continuation are appropriate. Within the desired objective of capacity building through development and economics, Burkina Faso is able to indirectly undermine violent extremism through opportunity and increased quality of life. Within a limited time horizon, this option still represents a financial commitment from Canada as well as GAC's ability to rally support from public agencies as well as private sector investments. Additionally, Canada could seek diplomatic buy in from other foreign governments who have private financial stakes or developmental interest in Burkina Faso.

GAC should consider an aggressive implementation timeline in order to maximize its ability to assess impacts. However, analysis and prioritization of resources must be accomplished prior to initiation in order to correctly apply and align the contributions of private entities within governmental efforts. Private sector outreach can be anticipated to support local Burkinabé development in areas that directly reinforce their interests, allowing GAC to support other projects that are mutually reinforcing. Specifically, Canadian development should focus on the infrastructure that links mining sectors and other private industry to proximal markets, distribution hubs, and urban centers. Radiating off these projects, the Burkinabé government would be collectively required to provide subsidized public service efforts, such as clinics and schools in the adjacent rural areas. Despite considerable distance from the hotbed of extremist violence and intimidation in the northeastern part of the country, development would still require some form of security to protect local labour as well as Canadians abroad. Evaluating this sort of engagement will depend greatly on the length of the mandate. The shorter the period, the more likely metrics will be associated with measures of performance such as kilometers of road laid, teachers hired, or clinics supplied. If engagement windows are elongated, corresponding measures of effectiveness such as increased road traffic, literacy rates, and public health statistics would provide more substantive indicators of success.



Canada will have to balance oversight of aid monies with autonomy of aid agencies in order to have a better estimate of effectiveness. As well, GAC must remain cognizant of external factors, like COVID or environmental degradation, that may skew metrics over the short term. Also, while the betterment of human security is meant to undermine extremist recruitment and their influence, it might also be perceived as favoritism of the western parts of the country over Mossi/Foulse and Fulani communities that make up the majority of the population and endure the brunt of the current conflict. Siphoning development funds should be expected as an organic Burkinabé offset mechanism. Finally, support to localized security or privatized security could lead to the fractal militarization of different groups exhibiting informal allegiances as well as alternative revenue streams. Though developmental support that deepens of service delivery, this option bolsters Burkina Faso's strengths within more stable parts of the country, reinforcing resilience. While this effort prioritizes the capacity and service delivery in areas of private Canadian interests, it overlooks the immediacy of fragility triggers effecting Burkina Faso. Short-term investments will certainly generate impacts, but they will be difficult to evaluate within a limited approach.

### **5.3 Option 3: Security Sector Reform and Nation Assistance**

GAC assumes a more comprehensive and long-term strategy to Burkinabé assistance and aid, offering a more robust 'nation assistance' engagement plan in order to increase the security situation and reinforce Canadian private sector interests. This option aims to provide Burkina Faso a strong partnership, investment opportunities, and international recognition at a critical point in Burkinabé history that seeks to embrace the legitimacy of civil governance. As a long-term approach – 6 to 8 years – Canadian nation assistance can take on constancy and an increased scope. Success is not qualified by the removal of fragility triggers alone but also in terms of decreasing or removing of the drivers as well. While Canada would seek to maintain a preferred partner role indefinitely based on substantial Canadian economic interests, a true indicator of success would be additional Western countries seeing their own investment opportunities into Burkina Faso. This option represents the largest and most committed option for Canada, requiring GAC to coordinate security, economic, developmental, and diplomatic efforts simultaneously. This uncommon role may ultimately serve as the basic for the formation of a regional foreign policy.

Aspects, if not the totality, of the previous two options should be considered within this third option. The military aspect of the engagement may start as a lynchpin but will give way to combined civil-military development projects as well as eventual peace building efforts in more secure regions. Military operations and capacity building nest within greater security sector reform (SSR) that holistically engages the Burkinabé military and Ministry of Defense. Concurrent development and aid efforts also require increased interaction with the Ministry of Transportation and Ministry of Mines to effectively stimulate local economies and provide jobs for surging youth populations. GAC would be responsible for economic incentives for Canadian businesses to invest in Burkina Faso's private sector, generating legitimate tax base for the Burkinabé government and decreasing reliance on informal service delivery systems and corruption over time. By combining both of the previous objectives, this option champions the legitimacy of Burkinabé civil governance through expanded diplomatic relations. In addition to protecting private Canadian interests, increased ties between the two countries dually promotes both countries on the international stage. Preceding discussions on metrics all remain valid; however, with an increased time horizon, increased sensors can collect indicators that are more pronounced over longer periods. Access to ministries could also add an imposed level of fiscal oversight as a stipulation to Canadian aid dollars.

Fundamentally, GAC has never led a nation assistance operation such as suggested and would require a degree of internal restructuring in order to organize development, reform, security, and even private sector engagements. Initial costs associated with larger engagements will also need to be balanced as expectations for the first two-to-three years still need to be clearly set. Decreases in metrics of violence and extremism will be critical as the inverse may be catastrophic and lead to sunk security costs. Engagements of scale also affect the partner: a more predictable aid relationship runs the risk of increasing isomorphic mimicry within Burkina Faso's fledgling civilian intuitions. Regionally favoritism could also exacerbate existing socio-economic horizontal inequalities if unchecked. However, it also offers the opportunity for Burkina Faso to reestablish its federal reserve, a significant loadstone to local and regional influence relative to its neighbors. Ultimately, this final option proposes the greatest opportunity for Burkina Faso to benefit through measured aid pragmatically applied toward exhibited triggers and drivers of fragility. However, its expansive (and expensive) approach is also its weakness, risking a patron-client relationship that prohibits Burkina Faso from effectively managing itself.



## Section 6 – Annexes & Sources

### Annex A: List of Acronyms and Glossary of Terms

#### Acronyms

**AQIM** – al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb  
**BTI** – Bertelsmann Transformation Index  
**CDP** – Congress for Democracy and Progress  
**CGT-B** – The Confédération générale des travailleurs du Burkina  
**CNP/PNDES** - PNDES National Steering Committee  
**CNTB** – Confédération nationale des travailleurs du Burkina  
**CRD** – Regional Consultation Framework  
**CSB** – Confédération syndicale burkinabè  
**CSD** – Sectoral Consultation Framework  
**CSO** – Civil Society Organization  
**ECOWAS** - Economic Community of West African States  
**EU** – European Union  
**FO-UNSL** – Force ouvrière–Union nationale des syndicats libres  
**GAC** – Global Affairs Canada  
**GCB** – Global Corruption Barometer  
**GDP** - Gross Domestic Product  
**GNI** – Gross Net Income  
**HDI** – Human Development Index  
**IDA** – International Development Agency  
**IFC** – International Finance Corporation  
**IMF** – International Monetary Fund  
**IWA** – International Water Association  
**MPP** – The People's Movement for Progress  
**NAP** – National Adaption Plan  
**NGO** – Non-governmental organization  
**ODA** - Official Development Assistance  
**ONSL** – Organisation nationale des syndicats libres  
**PNDES** – Plan national de développement Economique et social (National Plan for Economic and Social Development)  
**PSOPs** – Peace and Stabilization Operations Program  
**SDC** – Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation  
**SOCAFRICA** – Special Operations Command, Africa  
**SP/PNDES** – PNDES Permanent Secretariat  
**TSCTP** – Trans-Saharan Counterterrorism Partnership  
**UAS** – Unité d'action syndicale  
**UEMOA** – Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine (West African Economic and Monetary Union)  
**UEMOA** – West African Economic and Monetary Union  
**UN** – United Nations  
**UNDP** – United Nations Development Programme  
**UNDP HDR** – United Nations Development Programme Human Development Report  
**UNICEF WASH** – United Nations Children's Fund Water, Sanitation and Hygiene  
**UNPPP** – United Nations Partnership for Prevention and Peacebuilding  
**USTB** – Union syndicale des travailleurs du Burkina Faso  
**WAAPP** – West African Agricultural Productivity Program  
**WHO** – World Health Organization



## Glossary of Terms

**Authority** – "ability of the state to enact binding legislation over its population and to provide the latter with a stable and safe environment."<sup>102</sup>

**Capacity** – "power of the state to mobilize public resources for productive uses."<sup>103</sup>

**Hybrid Regime** – "ambiguous systems that combine rhetorical acceptance of liberal democracy, the existence of some formal democratic institutions and respect for a limited sphere of civil and political liberties with essentially illiberal or even authoritarian traits."<sup>104</sup>

**Horizontal inequalities** – "inequalities between culturally defined groups, such as ethnic, religious, racial or caste-based groups. The concept of horizontal inequality differs from the 'normal' definition of inequality (which we term 'vertical inequality') in that the latter type lines individuals or households up *vertically* and measures inequality over the range of *individuals* rather than *groups*, whereas HIs are *multidimensional* and encompass economic, social, cultural status and political dimensions."<sup>105</sup>

**Isomorphic Mimicry** – "wherein the outward forms (appearances, structures) of functional states and organizations elsewhere are adopted to camouflage a persistent lack of function."<sup>106</sup>

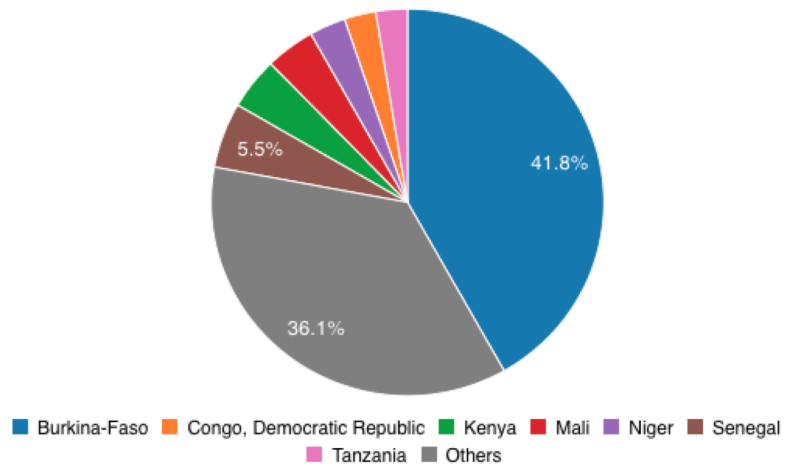
**Legitimacy** – "ability of the state to command public loyalty to the governing regime and to generate domestic support for government legislation."<sup>107</sup>



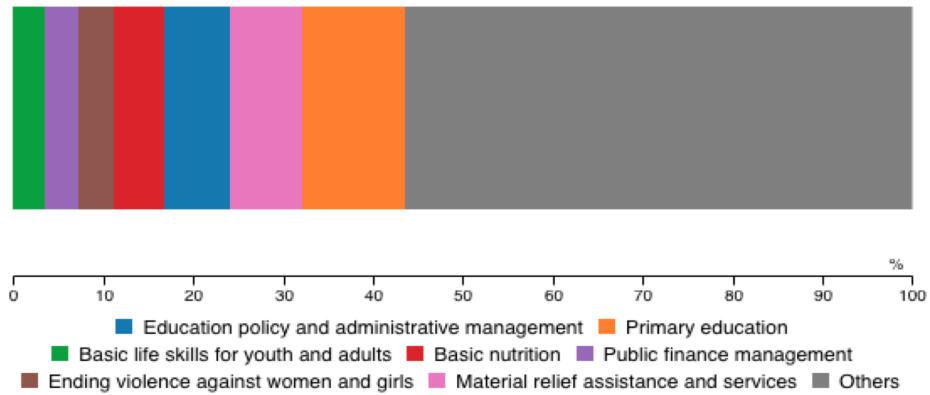
## Annex B: Stakeholder Analysis

### Current Global Affairs Programming Breakdown (West African Region)

#### Country / region



#### Sector





### Detailed Table on Stakeholders

Blue = Primary Stakeholder Likely to Facilitate Cooperation and Change

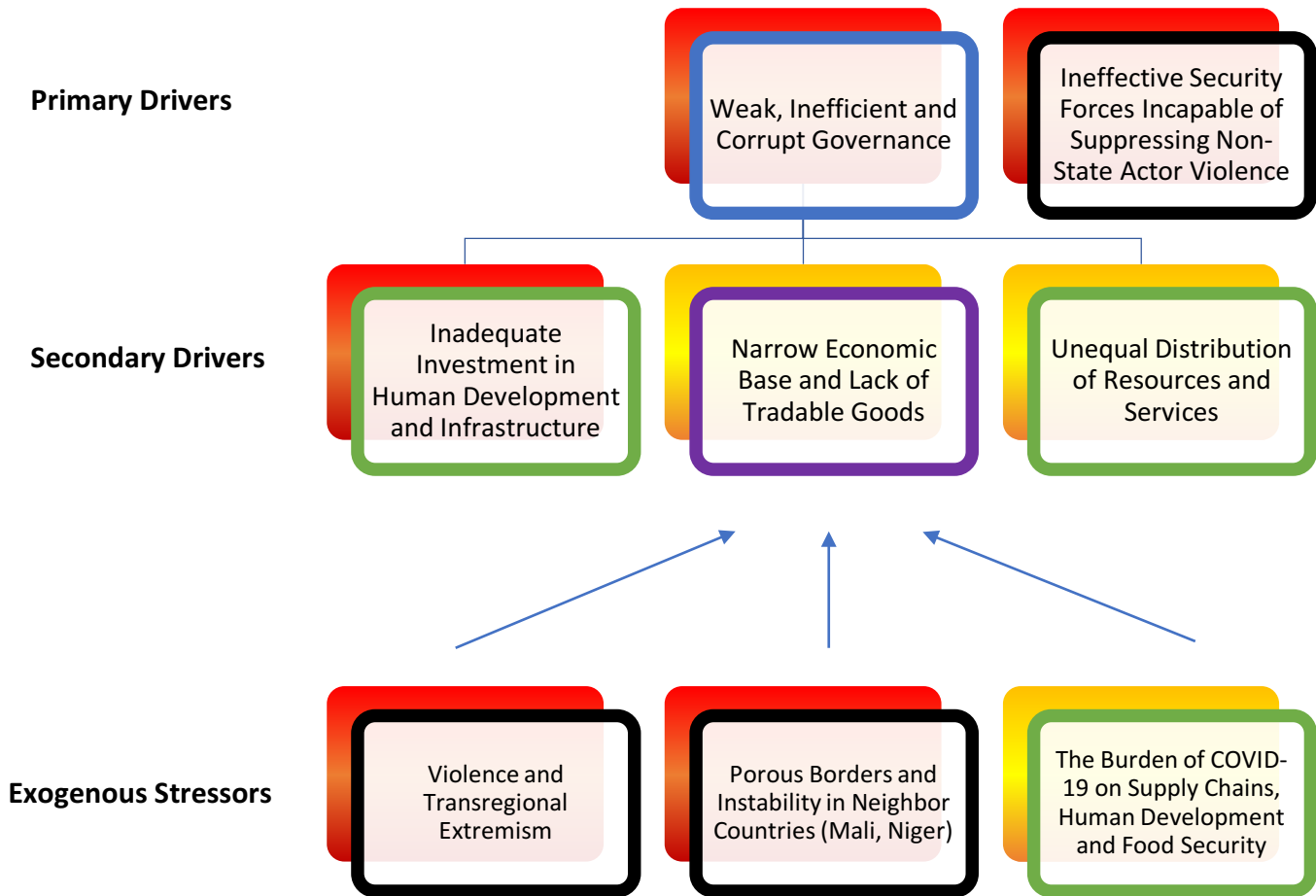
Red = Primary Stakeholder Likely to Resist Cooperation and Change

Black = Secondary Stakeholder and/or Uncertain Position

		Sector			
		Security	Governance	Aid and Development	Civil Society and Misc.
<b>Level</b>	<b>International</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sahel Coalition</li> <li>• Al-Qaida and non-state terrorist groups</li> <li>• French Forces</li> <li>• Border states (I.e. Mali and Niger)</li> <li>• Trans-Saharan Counterterrorism Partnership (TSCTP)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• European Union</li> <li>• United Nations</li> <li>• WHO</li> <li>• International donors</li> <li>• Foreign states</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• World Bank</li> <li>• IMF/IFC</li> <li>• UEMOA</li> <li>• ECOWAS</li> <li>• WAAPP</li> <li>• IDA</li> <li>• UNICEF WASH</li> <li>• Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• International NGOs</li> <li>• Foreign non-state donors</li> <li>• Foreign Media</li> <li>• West African Network for Peacebuilding</li> <li>• International trading partners (gold, cotton)</li> <li>• International mining operations based in Burkina Faso (Goldrush Resources, Gold Rim, etc.)</li> <li>• Burkina Faso diaspora</li> </ul>
	<b>National</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Burkina Faso Armed Forces</li> <li>• National Police</li> <li>• General Moise Miningou, Commander of Burkinabé Armed Forces</li> <li>• General Dagvin Anderson, Commander SOCAFRICA</li> <li>• Chérif Sy, Minister of Defense</li> <li>• Ousséni Compaoré, Minister of Security</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Roch Marc Christian Kaboré, President of Burkina Faso</li> <li>• Christophe Joseph Marie Dabiré, Prime Minister of Burkina Faso</li> <li>• Members of the National Assembly of Burkina Faso</li> <li>• The People's Movement for Progress (MPP) (Incumbent Party)</li> <li>• Congress for Democracy and Progress (CDP) (Opposition Party)</li> <li>• Eddie Komboïgo, leader of the CDP (Presidential Candidate 2020)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The National Steering Committee and Permanent Secretariat of the PNDES</li> <li>• Eric Wendenmanegha Bougouma, Minister of Infrastructure</li> <li>• Hadja Fatimata Ouattara, Minister of Economic Development and Jobs</li> <li>• Lassané Kabore, Minister of Economy, Finance and Development</li> <li>• Salifo Tiemtore, Minister of Youth and Youth Entrepreneurship Promotion</li> <li>• Leonie Claudine Lougue, Minister of Health</li> <li>• Stanislas Ouaro, Minister of Education Literary and National Language</li> <li>• Niouga Ambroise Ouedraogo, Minister of Agriculture and Water Resources</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National Media</li> <li>• National CSOs</li> <li>• National Labour Unions: (CGT-B; CNTB; CSB; FO-UNSL; ONSL; USTB; UAS)</li> <li>• The Sectoral Frameworks for Dialogue</li> <li>• National banks (Bank of Africa, Ecobank Burkina, Banque Atlantique Burkina Faso, etc.)</li> <li>• National Electric Company of Burkina Faso</li> <li>• National Railway Management Company of Burkina Faso</li> </ul>
	<b>Sub-National</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Regional Police</li> <li>• Prison guards</li> <li>• Locally deployed armed forces</li> <li>• Local militia groups</li> <li>• Mossi and Foulse Koglweogo (self-defense militias)</li> <li>• Le Balai Citoyen or “Clean Sweep”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Local authorities (mayors, wards, aldermen, etc.)</li> <li>• Local justices, courts and attorneys</li> <li>• Regional Councils</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Local business leaders (inform or formal economy)</li> <li>• Agricultural collectives and/or potential groupings of local subsistence farmers</li> <li>• Local aid organizations partnered with INGOS</li> <li>• Individuals, households and firms who may influence economic trends</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditional Spiritual Leaders and Communicators (Griot)</li> <li>• Local Media: (L’Observateur Paalga, Le Pays, Le Faso, etc.)</li> <li>• The Regional Frameworks for Dialogue</li> <li>• Regional schools, hospitals and healthcare facilities</li> <li>• Patients, students and beneficiaries of services</li> <li>• Women and Youth groups</li> <li>• Local CSOs</li> </ul>



### Annex C: Key Drivers of Fragility

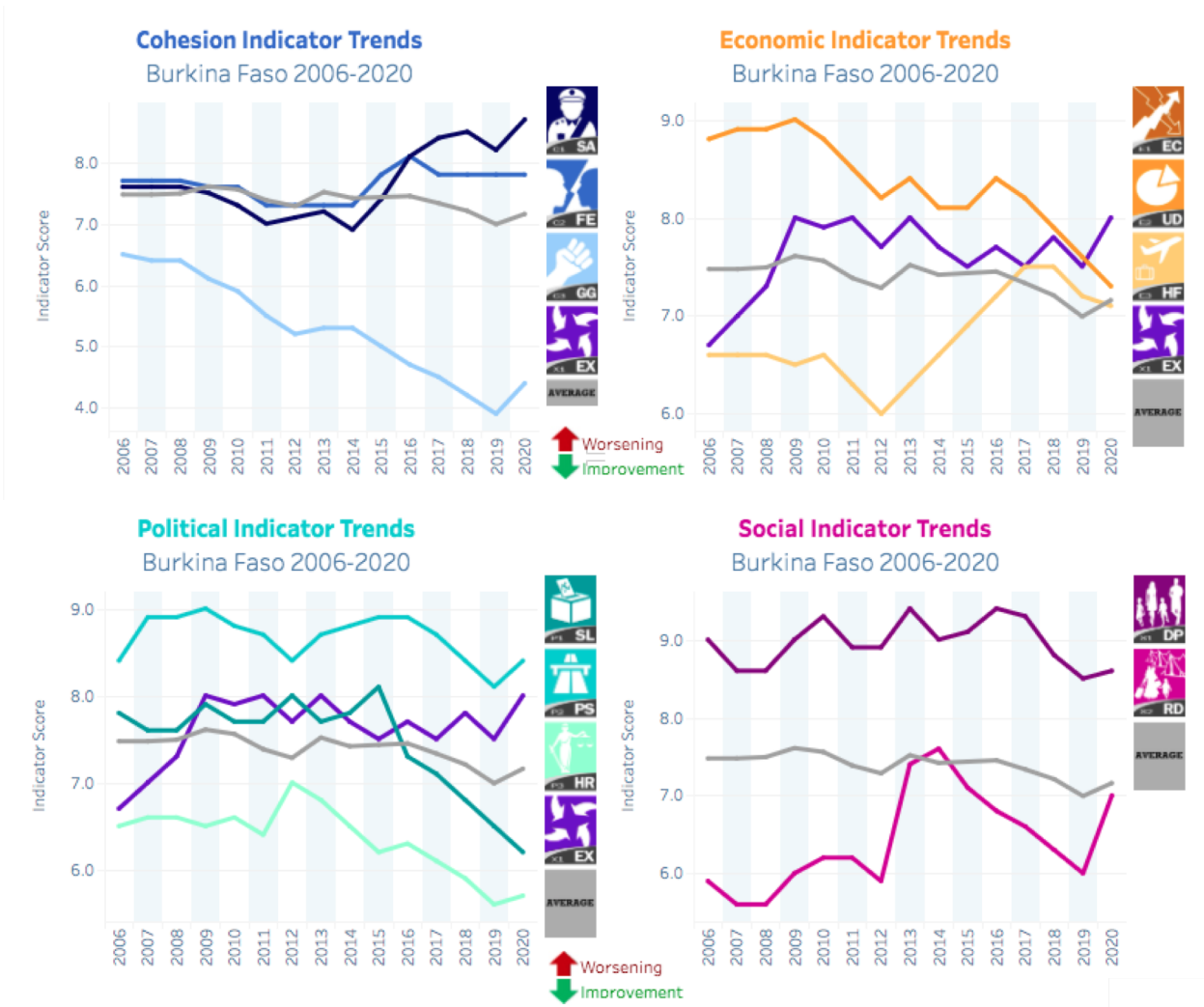
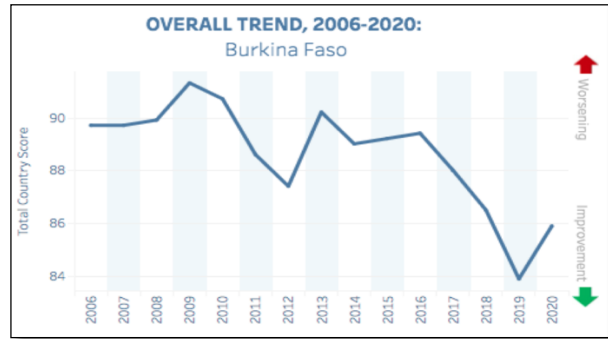


- Governance
- Security and Crime
- Human Development
- Economic Development





## Annex D: Fragile States Index Cluster Trends

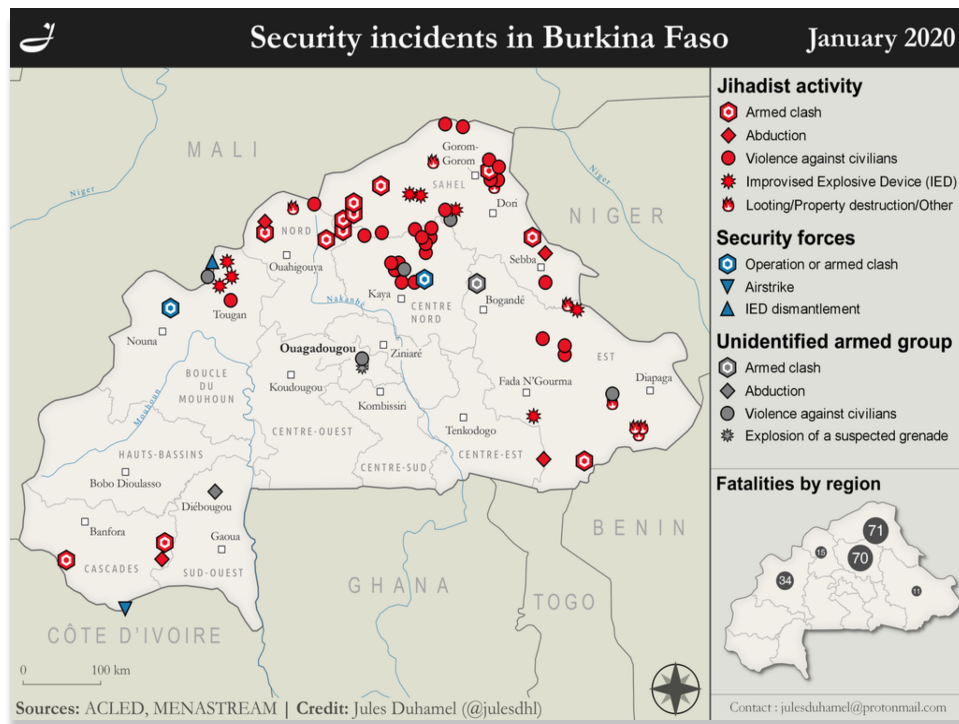


It is important to note that though there are differences between subdivisions, each of the four clusters under consideration have generally been improving on the whole, as indicated by the average grey lines. That said, the past year (2019-2020) has demonstrated a slight regression into fragility on all accounts.



## Annex E: Security and Crime Data

Key Indicators	Most Recent Data and General Trends
Military Expenditure (% of GDP) (2019) <sup>110</sup>	2.4% - Increasing
Annual Defense Budget (2020)	\$130,000,000 USD
Military Service Personnel Composition (2019) <sup>111</sup>	11,200 personnel (7,000 Army; 300 Air Force; 3,900 National Gendarmerie)
Battle-related deaths from armed conflict <sup>112</sup>	4/5 ELEVATED / Worsening
Control of Territory <sup>113</sup>	5/5 SEVERE / Worsening (> 20%)
Deaths from non-state actors in one-sided violence and non-state conflict <sup>114</sup>	5/5 SEVERE / Worsening
Formal alliances <sup>115</sup>	3/5 MODERATE / No Change
Homicide rate	1/5 LOW / No Change
Violent Crime <sup>116</sup>	3/5 MODERATE / No Change
Presence of armed security officers <sup>117</sup>	5/5 SEVERE / Worsening
Presence of police officers <sup>118</sup>	1/5 LOW / Worsening





## Annex F: Governance Data

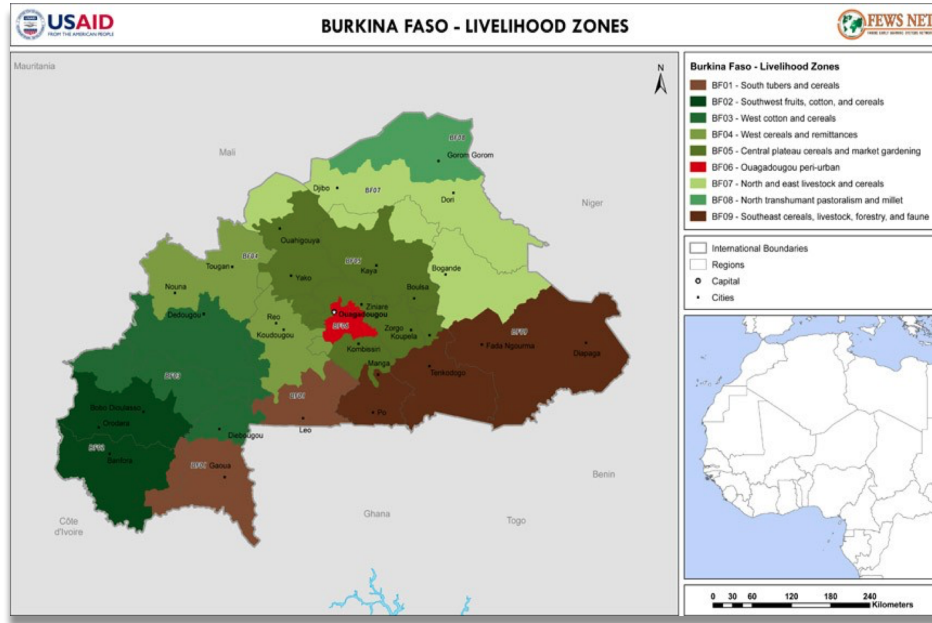
<u>Indicators</u>	<u>Scores</u>
Steering Capability <sup>120</sup>	5/10 - Steady
Consensus Building <sup>121</sup>	6/10 - Steady
Rule of Law <sup>122</sup>	4.75/10 - Slight increasing
Stability of Democratic Institutions <sup>123</sup>	6/10 - Increasing
Political Participation <sup>124</sup>	7/10 - Increasing



### Annex G: Economic Development Data

Key Indicators	Most Recent Data and General Trends
GDP (Current US\$) (2019)	15.746 – Increasing
GDP Per Capita (Constant 2010 US\$) (2019)	822.4 – Increasing
GDP Growth Annual % (2019)	5.7% - Improving (slight 2019 downturn)
Net ODA Received (% of GNI) (2018)	7.1 – Decreasing (slight 2018 increase)
General government gross debt (% of GDP) (2019)	42.5 - Increasing
Inflation, consumer prices (annual %) (2019)	3.9 – Unstable
External Debt Stocks (% of GNI) (2018)	23.4 - Decreasing
Trade Openness – Trade % of GDP (2019)	60.2 – Stable
Unemployment Total (% of workforce) (2020)	6.4 – Increasing
Agriculture value added (% of GDP) (2019)	20.3 – Decreasing
Industry value added (% of GDP) (2019)	22.4 – Decreasing
Services, value added (% of GDP) (2019)	44 – Increasing
Employment in Agriculture (% of total employment) (2020)	24.7 – Decreasing
Employment in Industry (% of total employment) (2020)	33.9 - Increasing
Employment in Services (% of total employment) (2020)	41.4 -Increasing
Tax Revenue (% of GDP) (2018)	15.0 - Increasing
Logistics performance index: (1-5 scale) (2018)	2.4 – Stable

(The preceding draw on the most recent World Bank Development Indicator Data available)<sup>125</sup>



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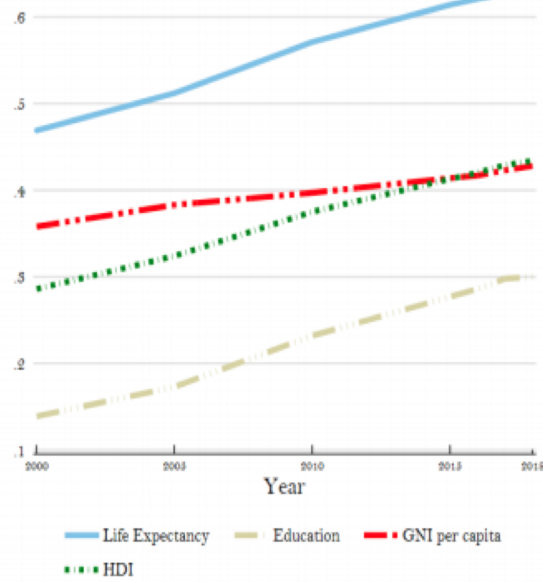
## Annex H: Human Development Data

Key Indicators	Most Recent Data and General Trends
Human Development Index (2018) <sup>127</sup>	0.434 - Improving
Gini Index (2014)	35.3 - Improving
Life Expectancy at Birth, Total (Years) (2018) <sup>128</sup>	61.2 - Increasing
Mortality Rate, Infant (per 1,000 live births) (2020):	53.9 - Decreasing
Mean Years of Schooling (2018) <sup>129</sup>	8.9 – Increasing
School Enrolment, Primary (% Gross) (2018)	96.1 - Increasing
Primary Completion Rate Total (% of Age Group) (2018) <sup>130</sup>	65.5 - Increasing
Gender Development Index (2018) <sup>131</sup>	0.875 - Stable
Literacy Rate, Adult Total (% of people ages 15 and above) (2018)	41.2 - Increasing
Current Health Expenditure, per capita (Current US\$) (2017)	44.4 -Increasing
Prevalence of Undernourishment (% of Population) <sup>132</sup> (2017-2019)	19.2 -Increasing
People using basic drinking water services (% of rural population) (2017)	35 - Decreasing
People using basic drinking water services (% of urban population) (2017)	79.9 -Stable
People using basic sanitation services (% of rural population) (2017)	11.3 - Increasing
People using basic sanitation services (% of urban population) (2017)	39.4 -Decreasing
Access to electricity, rural (% of rural population) (2014)	4.7 – Increasing
Access to electricity, urban (% of urban population) (2018)	62.3 - Increasing
People with basic handwashing facilities (% of rural population) (2017)	7.5 - Increasing
People with basic handwashing facilities (% of urban population) (2017)	22.7 - Stable
Individuals using the internet (% of population) (2017)	15.9 - Increasing

(Unless otherwise noted, the preceding draw on the most recent World Bank Development Indicator Data available)<sup>133</sup>

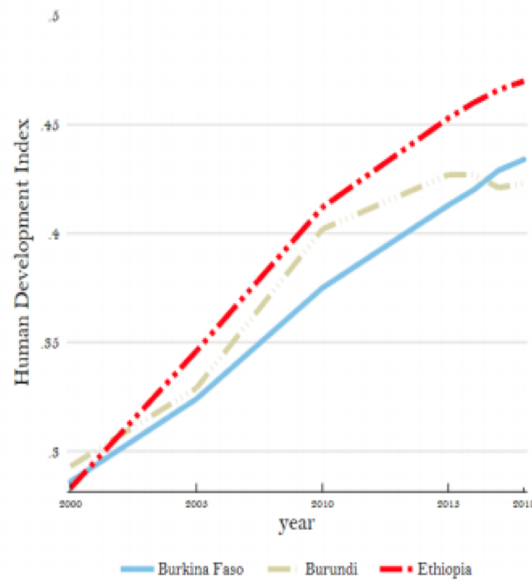


Figure 1: Trends in Burkina Faso's HDI component indices 2000-2018



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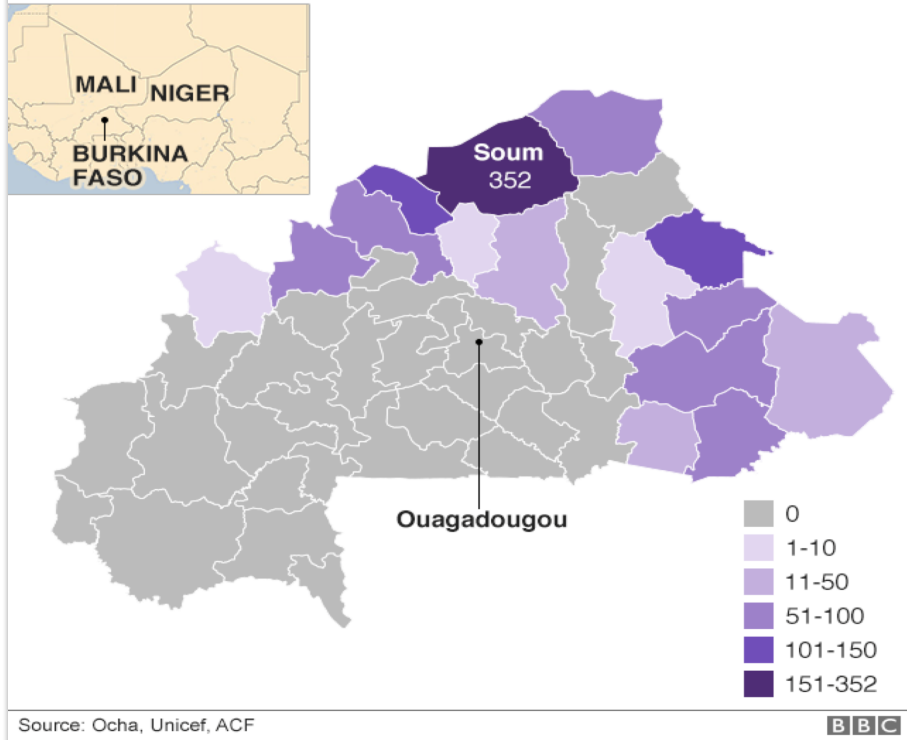
Figure 2: HDI trends for Burkina Faso, Ethiopia and Burundi, 2000-2018



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### Schools closed because of security incidents in Burkina Faso







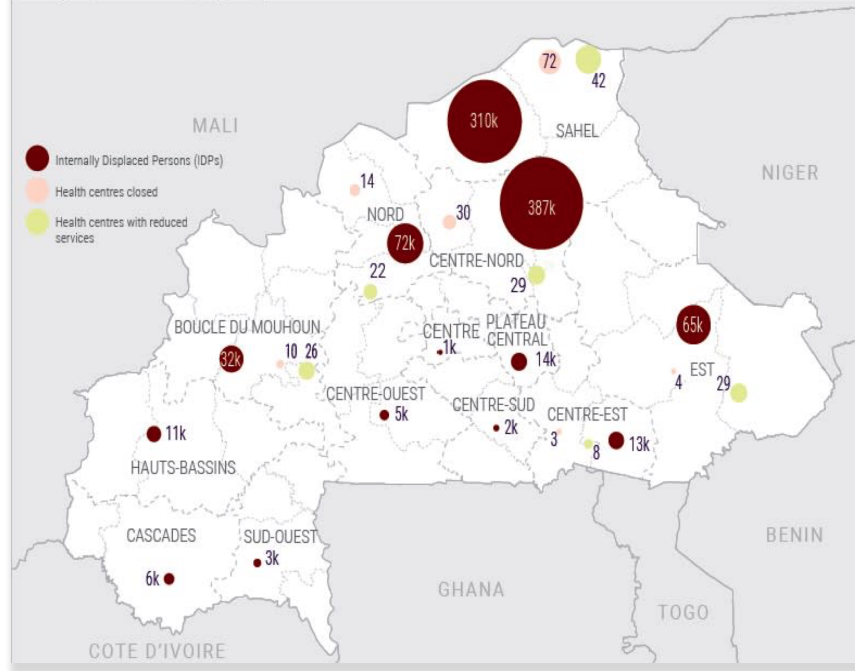
## Annex I: Demography and Population Data

Key Indicators	Most Recent Data and General Trends
Ethnic Composition (2010 estimate) <sup>137</sup>	Mossi 52%, Fulani 8.4%, Gurma 7%, Bobo 4.9%, Gurunsi 4.6%, Senufo 4.5%, Bissa 3.7%, Lobi 2.4%, Dagara 2.4%, Tuareg/Bella 1.9%, Dioula 0.8%, unspecified/no answer 0.3%, other 7.2%
Religious Composition (2010 estimate) <sup>138</sup>	Muslim 61.5%, Roman Catholic 23.3%, traditional/animist 7.8%, Protestant 6.5%, other/no answer 0.2%, none 0.7%
Refugees and Displaced Persons (2020) <sup>139</sup>	Refugees (country of origin): 20,951 (Mali) IDPs: 921,471
Age dependency ratio, young (% of working-age population) (2019)	84.4 – Decreasing
Age dependency ratio, old (% of working-age population) (2019)	4.5 – Stable
Incidence of HIV, all (per 1,000 uninfected population) (2019)	0.1 – Decreasing
Population density (people per sq. km of land area) (2018)	72.2 – Increasing
Population growth (annual %) (2019)	2.8 – Stable
Population, total (2019)	20,321,378 – Increasing
Rural population (% of total population) (2019)	70.0 – Decreasing
Urban population (% of total population) (2019)	30.0 – Increasing

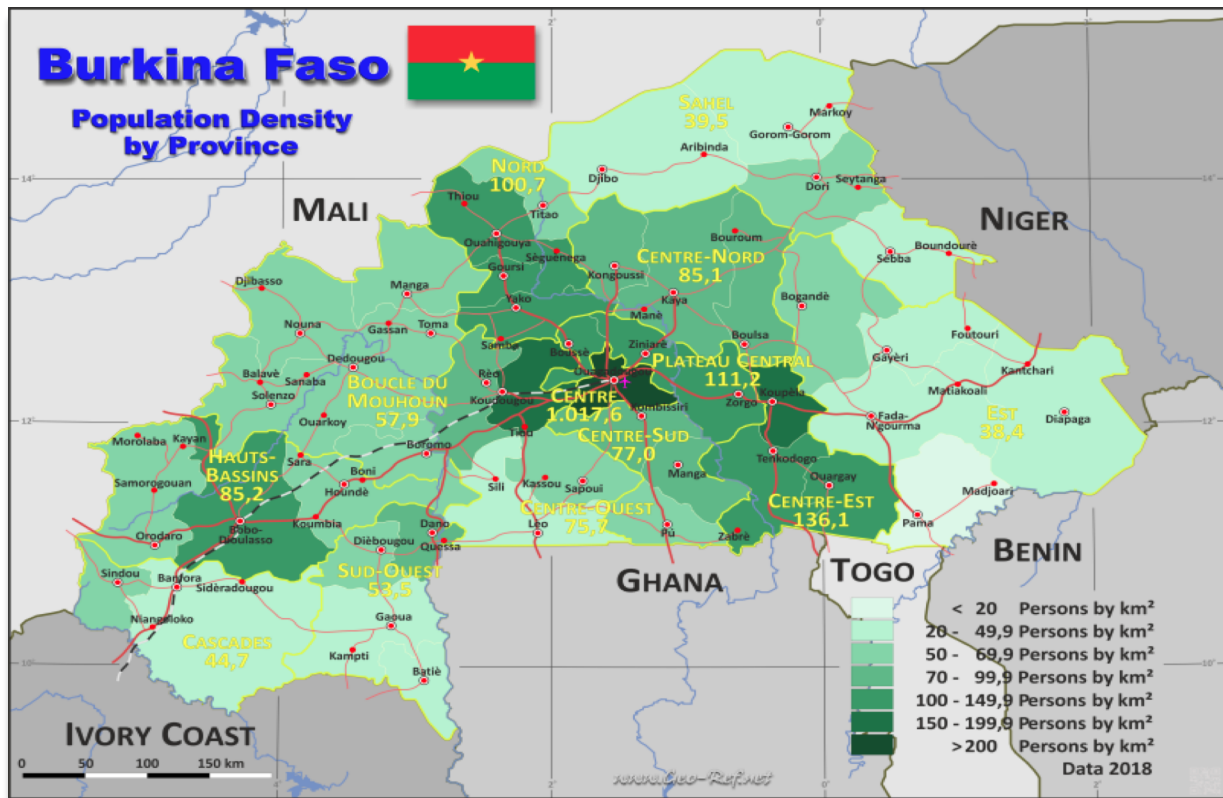
(Unless otherwise noted, the preceding draw on the most recent World Bank Development Indicator Data available)<sup>140</sup>



Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) per region and overview of health centres with reduced services or closed



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## Annex J: Environmental Data

Indicators	Scores	Ranking
Promotion of Environmental Sustainability <sup>143</sup>	59.5 /100.0 - Bouncing back from 2010 to 2015 <sup>144</sup>	15/53
Enforcement of Environmental Policies <sup>145</sup>	43.9 /100.0 - Slowing Improvement from 2010 to 2015 <sup>146</sup>	27/43
Sustainable Management of Land & Forests <sup>147</sup>	62/ 100.0 from 2010 to 2015 Slowing Improving <sup>148</sup>	25/54



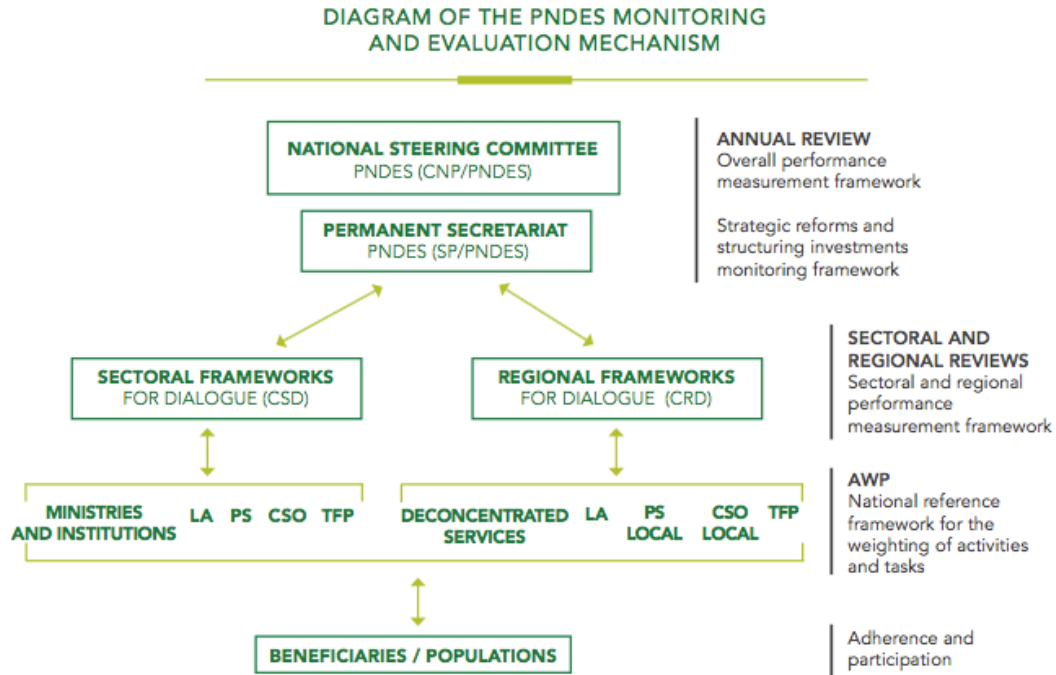
## Annex K: Environmental Plan

12 priority actions: From the National Adaptation Plan published in September 2015

Sector	Adaptation priorities
Water	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Put in place protection measures, areas to control pollution of waterways, and water storage (both above- and below-ground), particularly in the cotton growing areas of the country</li> <li>· Improve planning and management of Oursi Lake to reduce climate impacts on both the lake and the ecosystems and populations it supports</li> <li>· Stop siltation and accumulation of sediments in lakes and waterways</li> <li>· Develop scenarios that identify impacts and vulnerabilities and inform recommendations on programs and actions to promote adaptation</li> </ul>
Agriculture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Irrigation: Increase overall irrigated agricultural production in the country to 50% by 2015; protect cereal production by promoting increased use of irrigation in the Northern region, and develop irrigated agriculture in the provinces of Gourma, Namentenga, Tapoa, and Sanmatnga</li> <li>· Develop an adaptation strategy specific to the agricultural sector</li> <li>· Improve strategy for supporting agricultural research related to the creation and introduction of adapted crop varieties</li> <li>· Strengthen early-warning and prevention systems to improve food security</li> <li>· Protect agricultural production by using appropriate technologies in the south-west and east of the country</li> <li>· Build the adaptive capacity of households</li> <li>· Develop and implement agricultural insurance</li> </ul>
Livestock	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Improve fodder production and access to livestock food stocks</li> <li>· Secure pastoral regions and strategic pastoral areas</li> <li>· Develop and implement early-warning systems and response tools to prevent crises related to water and fodder access</li> <li>· Establish security stocks of veterinary supplies</li> </ul>
Forestry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Improve planning and management of natural forests, including valuing of non-wood forestry products in the east of the country</li> <li>· Improve community management of fauna and its habitat in the Mouhoun region</li> <li>· Promote energy-saving and renewable energy technologies</li> </ul>



## Annex L: Structure, Targets and Aims of the PNDES



### AXIS 1 : : REFORM THE INSTITUTIONS AND MODERNIZE THE ADMINISTRATION

STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES	EXPECTED IMPACTS
<b>Promote good political and administrative governance</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ democracy, human rights, justice and peace are reinforced</li> <li>▶ security and civil protection are reinforced</li> <li>▶ defence is reinforced</li> <li>▶ access to accurate information for all is guaranteed</li> <li>▶ regional and international co-operation is improved</li> <li>▶ public administration is effective and efficient</li> <li>▶ the system of accountability is developed at all levels</li> </ul>
<b>Promote good economic governance</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ planning, the management and financing of development are effective</li> <li>▶ the business environment provides greater incentive and the initiative and management capacities of the private sector are reinforced</li> </ul>
<b>Strengthen decentralisation and promote good local governance</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ the effectiveness of decentralisation and local governance is improved</li> <li>▶ the local economies are reactivated and regional disparities are reduced in particular through effective regional planning</li> </ul>



## AXIS 2 : DEVELOP HUMAN CAPITAL

### STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

### EXPECTED IMPACTS

Promote population health and accelerate demographic transition

- ▶ access to quality health services is guaranteed to all
- ▶ the nutritional state of the population, in particular of women and children, is improved
- ▶ demographic transition acceleration process to trigger the demographic dividend is effectively launched

Increase the offer and improve the quality of education, higher education and training, to match the needs of the economy

- ▶ access of all to quality education is improved
- ▶ the availability and employability of human resources are improved
- ▶ access to quality higher education adapted to the needs for the transformation structural of the economy is guaranteed

Promote research and innovation at the service of the structural transformation of the economy

- ▶ research and innovation are more focused on the structural transformation of the economy

Promote decent employment and social protection for all, including for young people and women

- ▶ decent employment and social protection are guaranteed to all
- ▶ social and gender inequalities are reduced and women are promoted as active players of development

Improve the living environment, access to water, sanitation and good quality energy services

- ▶ access of all to a decent standard of living, water and quality sanitation is guaranteed
- ▶ access to quality energy services and energy efficiency are guaranteed
- ▶ urban growth is planned and controlled
- ▶ access to decent housing and public buildings is guaranteed for all

## AXIS 3 : STIMULATE THE SECTORS WITH GROWTH POTENTIAL FOR THE ECONOMY AND EMPLOYMENT

### STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

### EXPECTED IMPACTS

Sustainably develop a productive and resilient agro-sylvo-pastoral, wildlife and fisheries sector more market-oriented and based on the principles of sustainable development

- ▶ the primary sector contributes to food security, productive employment, the supply of the local food processing industry and is respectful of the sustainable development principles
- ▶ the resilience of the agro-sylvo-pastoral, wildlife and fisheries households to risks is reinforced

Develop a competitive industrial and artisanal sector, with high added value and generating decent employment

- ▶ the industrial and artisanal sector is more dynamic in terms of the creation of wealth, employment and export
- ▶ the contribution of cultural, tourist and sporting industries to the economy is improved
- ▶ the impact of the mining sector on the rest of the economy is greater

Promote trade and the expansion of service industries with high added value and generating decent employment

- ▶ the tertiary sector is formalized and more dynamic and generates decent employment
- ▶ the marketing of local products is reinforced

Develop quality and resilient infrastructure, to promote the structural transformation of the economy

- ▶ the capacities to mobilize and manage water resources are reinforced
- ▶ the quality, reliability and accessibility of the infrastructure are improved to facilitate the structural transformation of the economy
- ▶ the contribution of competitiveness and growth poles (agropoles, technopoles, SEZ) to the economy is improved

Reverse the environmental degradation trend and sustainably ensure the natural and environmental resource management

- ▶ the environment and natural resources are sustainably managed
- ▶ the capacities to mitigate and adapt to the harmful effects of climate change are strengthened with a view to a transition towards the green economy



### PNDES IMPACT INDICATORS

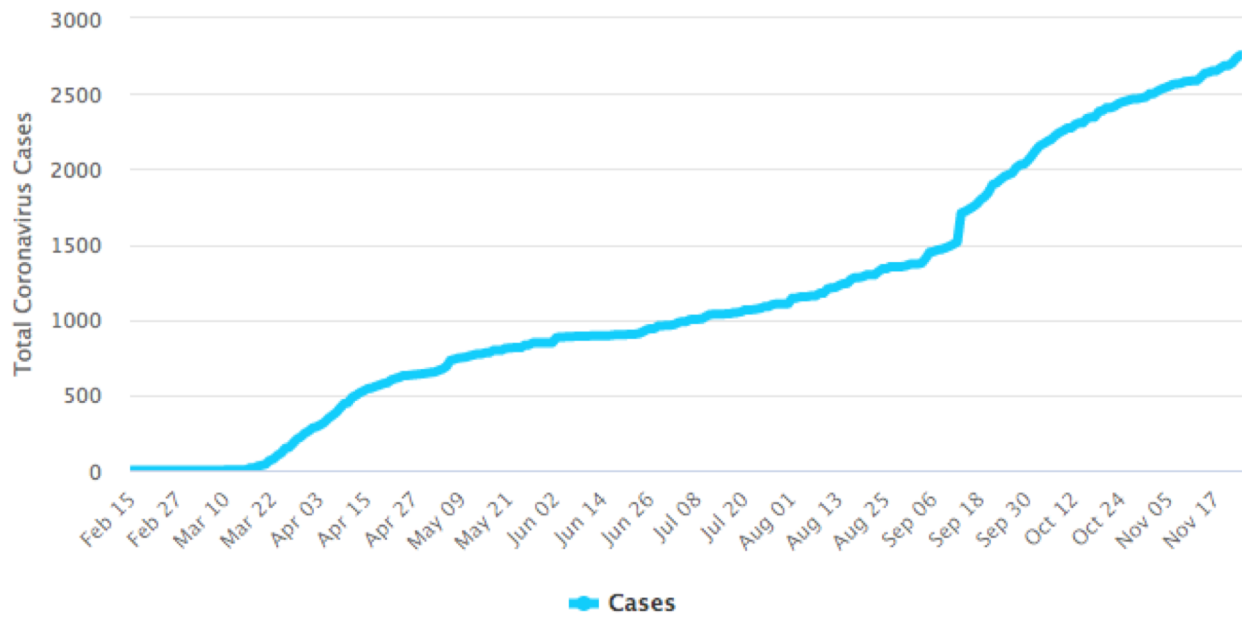
	Values 2015	Targets 2018	Targets 2020
Incidence of poverty	40,1%	38%	< 35%
Incidence of poverty in the rural areas	47,5%	44%	< 38%
Depth of poverty	3,3%	2,7%	1,6%
Economic growth rate	4,0%	8,2%	8,0%
Share of manufacturing industry in GDP	6,6%	8%	12%
Share of manufactured goods in the exports of goods	10,6% (2014)	15%	20%
Labour productivity (in thousands of CFAF)	818,6	950	1 050
Average number of decent employments created per annum	22 700	≥ 50 000	≥ 50 000
Demographic growth rate	3,1% (2006)	2,8%	2,7%

Source: MINEFID (2016), Burkina Faso



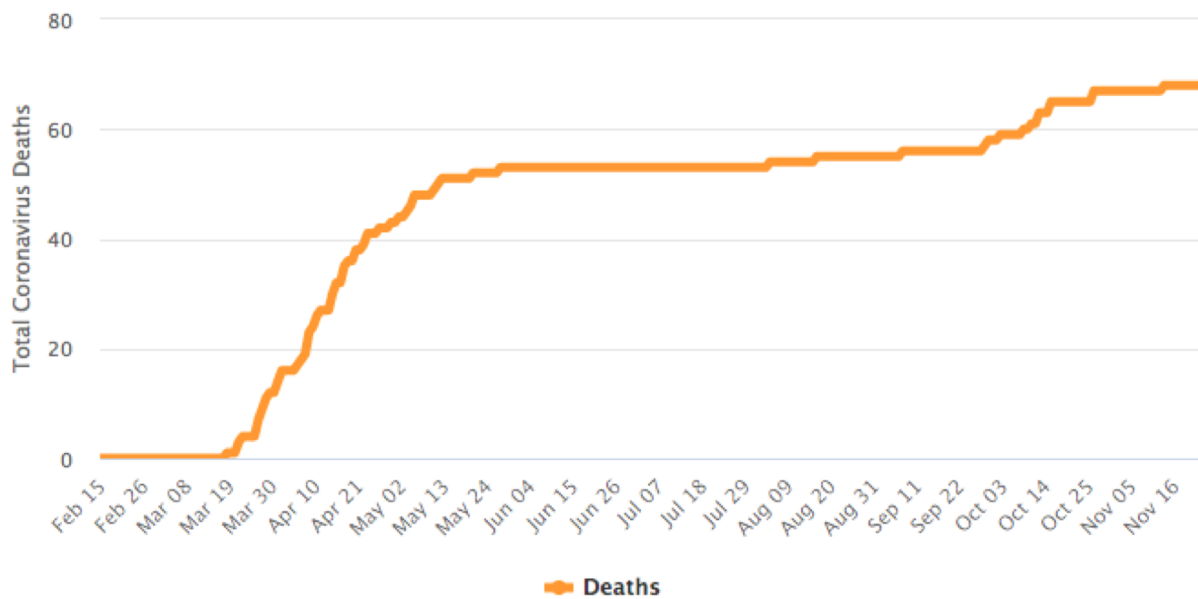
**Annex M: COVID-19 Data and Trends**

**Total COVID-19 Cases in Burkina Faso**



150

**Total COVID-19 Deaths in Burkina Faso**

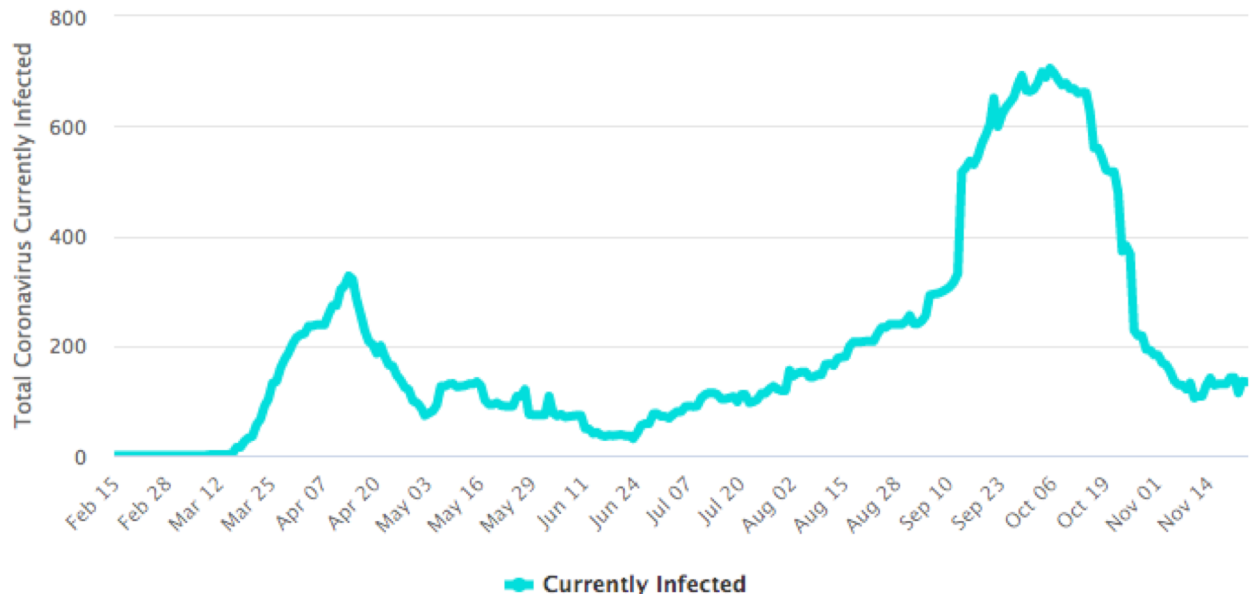


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## Active COVID-19 Cases in Burkina Faso



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